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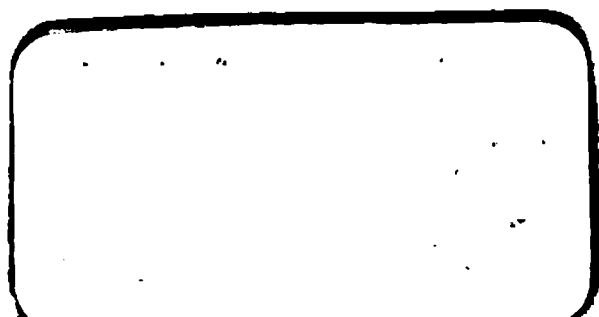
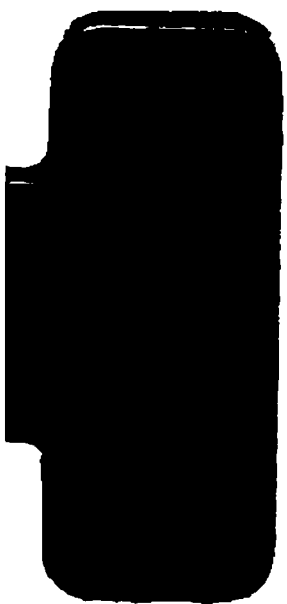
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Antiquities in the South-West of France. By BUNNELL LEWIS, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	1
On a Signaculum of St. James of Compostella. By C. D. E. FORTNUM, Esq., F.S.A.	33
Cannibalism in England. By C. E. GREAVES, Esq., Q.C.	38
The Rothwell Crypt and Bones. By S. SHARP, Esq., F.S.A., F.G. S.	56
Roman Billericay. By J. A. SPARVEL BAYLY, Esq., F.S.A.	70
The Tomb and Helm of Thomas La Warre, in the Church of Broadwater, Sussex. By W. BURGESS, Esq.	78
Easton Maudit. By the Rev. A. J. FOSTER, M.A.	88
Roman Inscriptions in Northamptonshire. By W. THOMPSON WATKIN, Esq.	93
The Land of Morgan. Part IV. The Earls of Gloucester and Hertford. By G. T. CLARK, Esq., F.S.A.	117
The Parish Church of Harefield, Middlesex, and the Manor of Moor Hall. By W. F. VERNON, Esq.	145
Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1878. By W. THOMPSON WATKIN, Esq.	154
Recent Discoveries at Ilium. By Dr. H. SCHLIEMANN, Hon. F.S.A.	169
Notes on a Brass of Robert de Haitfeld and Ada his wife, Owston Church, Yorkshire. By the Rev. C. R. MANNING.	172
On a Monumental Brass in Christ's Church Cathedral, Dublin. By Sir PHILIP GREY EGERTON, Bart., M.P.	213
The Babingtons, Knights of St. John. By G. T. CLARK, Esq., F.S.A.	219
St. Denis, Paris. By J. H. PARKER, Esq., C.B., F.S.A.	231

	PAGE
On the Sepulchral Effigy of a Priest of the thirteenth century in Ledbury Church, Herefordshire, and on other Sculptured Memorials in that Church. By M. H. BLOXAM, Esq., F.S.A.	237
History of the Priory of Dartford, in Kent. By the Rev. C. F. R. PALMER . . .	241
Dunster Castle. By G. T. CLARK, Esq., F.S.A.	309
On the Roman Occupation of the West of England, particularly the County of Somerset. By the Rev. Prebendary SCARTH, M.A.	321
The Table of Abod. By the Rev. W. J. LOFTIE, B.A., F.S.A.	337
Il Caporale at Orvieto. By W. BURGESS, Esq.	343
Inaugural Address of the Right Rev. the Bishop of Bath and Wells to the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Taunton.	348
Remarks on the Mediæval Architecture of the City of Wells. By J. H. PARKER, Esq., C.B., F.S.A.	358
The Salting Mounds of Essex. By H. STOPES, Esq., F.G.S.	369
A Few Words on Towers and Spires. By Sir C. H. J. ANDERSON, Bart. . . .	373
The Fate of Tonbridge Castle.	378
ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS :—	
Relative to Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire. By J. BAIN, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.	95
Petition by the Lady Isabella, Countess of Bedford, temp. Richard II. By the same.	174
Relating to Yorkshire. By the same.	272
Relating to Cerne Abbey, Dorset. By the same.	380
Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute—November, 1878, to July, 1879	99, 177, 277, 382
Balance Sheet for 1878	286
Report of Annual Meeting at Taunton, 1879	389
NOTICES OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS :—	
Henry VII, Prince Arthur, and Cardinal Morton. By the Rev. T. MOZLEY	105

CONTENTS.

v

	PAGE
A Key to Domesday, exemplified by the Dorset Survey. By the Rev. R. W. EYTON, M.A.	108
Old English Plate. By W. J. CRIPPS, M.A.	113
Palgrave Family Memorials. Edited by C. J. PALMER and S. TUCKER, (Rouge Croix)	115
The British Barrows. By the Rev. W. GREENWELL, M.A., and G. ROLLSTON, M.D.	185, 292
Prehistoric Times. By Sir J. LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P.	199
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Journal, Vol. II.	204
An attempt to identify the Arms formerly existing in the windows of the parish Church and Austin Friary at Warrington. By W. BEAUMONT, Esq., and J. P. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.	209
Historical Memorials of Beauchief Abbey. By S. O. ADDY, M.A.	<i>ib.</i>
Lectures on the Rise and Development of Mediæval Architecture. By Sir G. G. SCOTT, R.A., F.S.A., LL.D.	287
Church Work and Life in English Minsters. By the Rev. MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A.	304
The Genealogist's Guide to Printed Pedigrees. By G. W. MARSHALL, LL.D.	308
Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire. A posthumous work of the Rev. W. HILEY BATHURST, M.A. With notes by C. W. KING, M.A.	419
ARCHÆOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE	116, 211, 422
INDEX TO VOLUME XXXVI.	427

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE.
Map of Aquitania Tertia To face	1
Plan of Mosaics at Jurançon „	17
Lucy de Béarn Sarcophagus „	22
Signaculum of St. James at Compostella „	34
The Broadwater Helm „	83
————— „	84
Seal found at Abergele	104
Mazer at Oriel College, Oxford To face	115
Monument to Regina „	157
Brass of Robert de Haitfield and Ada his wife, Owston Church, Yorkshire „	173
(The Institute is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. C. R. Manning for this wood-cut.)	
Roman Monumental Slab found near Carlisle „	177
(The Editor of the Graphic has been kind enough to lend this block to the Institute.)	
Effigy of a Priest in Ledbury Church „	237
Canopied Tomb and Effigy of a Lady in ditto „	239
(The Institute is indebted to Mr. M. H. Bloxam for the loan of these illustrations.)	
Pair of Postilion's Boots found at Bagshot House	279
Mazer of a Fuller's Company	284
(The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society have been kind enough to lend this block to the Institute.)	

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

vii

PAGE.

Fountains Abbey, view across nave	-	-	-	-	To follow	288
St. Mary's Abbey, York. Vestibule of Chapter House	-				„	<i>ib.</i>
Chair of Ripon Minster	-	-	-	-	„	<i>ib.</i>
Canterbury Cathedral, Trinity Chapel	-	-	-	-	„	<i>ib.</i>
Cathedral of Sens, Nave	-	-	-	-	„	<i>ib.</i>
Temple Church, London. View in circular aisle	-	-			„	<i>ib.</i>
St. Denis. Interior of one of the Apsidal Chapels	-	-			„	<i>ib.</i>
Ely Cathedral. Galilee Porch	-	-	-	-	„	<i>ib.</i>

(For the whole of the illustrations the Institute is indebted to the
liberality of Mr. Murray.)

Plan of Dunster Castle	-	-	-	-	To face	309
The Table of Abbot	-	-	-	-	„	337
Stela of Pernefort	-	-	-	-	„	342
Iron Mace from Carlisle	-	-	-	-	-	383
Silver Racing Bells from ditto	-	-	-	-	-	<i>ib.</i>
Silver Seal of Mahomedan Priest	-	-	-	-	-	385
Plan of Earthworks at Norton Fitz Warren	-	-	-		To face	415

(From the Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society.)

ERRATA.

P. 40, foot-note 5, for "*οἴτωλ εἶγομεν*" read "*οὔτω λεγομεν.*" P. 41, foot-note 6, for "hostile" read "hostilem ;" *ib.*, for "manibus" read "maceribus ;" *ib.*, for "on" read "non."

ERRATA TO VOL. XXXV.

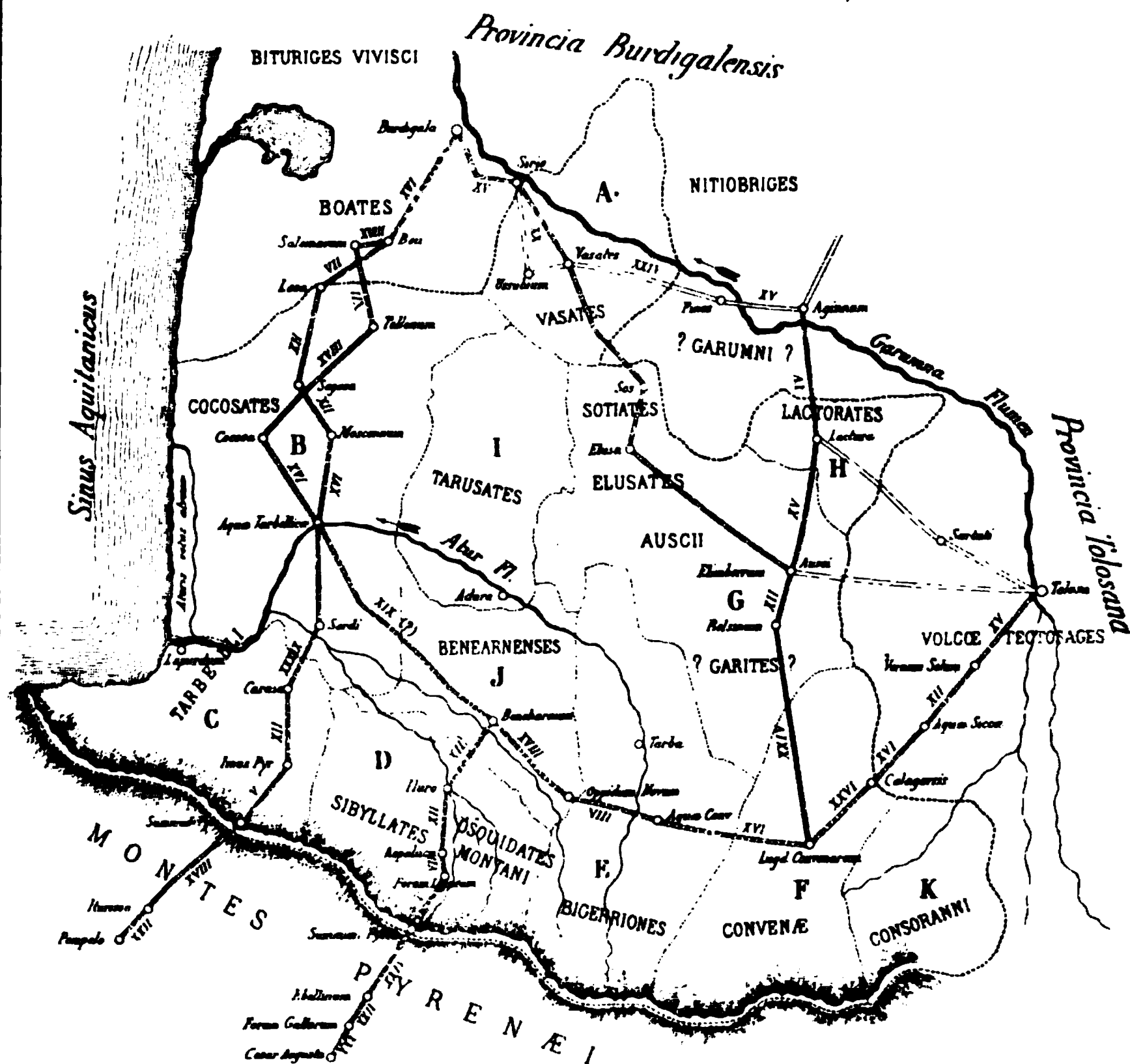
P. 384, note 3, for "1543" read "1643." P. 387, l. 21, for "solenniae," read "solennia."

AQUITANIA TERTIA SIVE NOVEMPOPULANIA

PROVINCIA ECCLESIASTICA AUSCITANA

SEPTEM VIÆ ROMANÆ

UNDECIM DIOECESES



FROM THE CONGRÉS SCIENTIFIQUE DE FRANCE. 1873.

The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1879.

ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTH-WEST OF FRANCE,

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

The South-West of France was occupied by the Romans, Visigoths, Franks, Saracens, and Normans successively, and thus became rich in historical associations; it was the scene of the romantic legends that relate the story of Charlemagne and his paladins; it not only gave birth to, but reared Henry IV., the greatest of French Bourbons;¹ it was the cradle of the Reformed Church, justly called heroic;² and lastly, in our own century, it witnessed some of the most brilliant exploits achieved by the genius of Wellington. On the other hand, we find here scarcely any temples, theatres, or aqueducts built by the Romans, and no mediæval structures that can vie with the vast cathedrals in other parts of France. In this region, therefore, an ample harvest of antiquities is not to be reaped, but if we search patiently, some scattered fragments may be gleaned.

I propose to limit my remarks for the most part to two classes of remains—the Roman and the Romanesque.³

¹ Henry IV was born in the Château of Pau, and reared in the neighbouring village of Billère, which is on the road to Lescar. The house of his foster-father, *Maison Lassansah*, shows over the entrance the inscription: *Saubegarde deü Rey; Le Cœur, Promenades Archéologiques aux environs de Pau et dans la vallée d'Ossau*, pp. 15, 16, and *Le Béarn*, p. 102, plate 1.

² The accounts of the Reformation in the South of France have been written chiefly by Roman Catholics, but I understand that Monsieur Cadier, a Protestant minister at Pau, is collecting materials for a work on this subject. The follow-

ing books are by Protestant authors: *Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret*, par Théodore Muret; *Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret*, par Madlle. de Vauvillers; *Crespin's Martyrologie Protestante*. The Société d'Histoire de France has issued a limited number of copies of a MS. by Nicolas de Bordenave.

³ Pre-historic antiquities are not wanting in this region; e.g. from Bielle in the Vallée d'Ossau, an excursion may be made to the Cercle de pierres above the village of Bilhères, which must not be confounded with Billère abovementioned. It will be necessary to take a guide, as the inhabitants speak patois, and to most

Leaving out of consideration the coins, which would more properly fall within the domain of the Numismatic Society, we may group the existing monuments of the Romans under three heads :—Roads, Inscriptions, and Mosaics.¹

The following are the most important roads :

I. From Asturica to Burdigala, i.e., from Astorga to Bordeaux, a distance of 421 miles.² The stations on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees are Pompaelo (Pamplona)³ and Iturissa (Osteritz); the road crossed the frontier at Summus Pyrenaeus (Roncevaux), and was carried through Imus Pyrenaeus (St. Jean Pied de Port) and Carasa (Garris) to Aquae Tarbellicae (Dax),⁴ whence it was continued to Bordeaux in a sinuous course. Some traces of this way have been discovered south of the Pyrenees, on the banks of the Iraty, and in the valley

of them French is unintelligible. For this branch of the subject the following memoirs may be consulted : *Habitations lacustres du midi de la France* (région Pyrénéenne), par M. F. Garrigon, *Contes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, tome 73, p. 1220 ; *Les tumuli des environs de Pau*, par M. Paul Raymond, *Revue Archéologique* ; *Dolmen et cromlechs situées dans la Vallée d'Ossau*, arrondissement d'Oloron, par M. Paul Raymond, *Rev. Archéol.* The late Mons^r. P. Raymond, for some time Archiviste and afterwards Secrétaire-Général of the Basses Pyrénées, was probably better acquainted than anyone else with the antiquities of the department. An account of the dolmen at Buzy is given by Le Cœur, *Le Béarn*, p. 185. The map of the Vallée d'Ossau, Eaux-Bonnes, Eaux-Chaudes, by J. B. Bonnacase, géomètre, is on a large scale, and will be useful to the explorer.

¹ I purposely omit any description of the Roman remains at Dax, because a full account of them has been published by Mr. Roach Smith, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v, pp. 226–240, plates xxv, xxvi. He censures the inhabitants severely for the demolition of the ancient walls, but they may be excused for preferring their health and comfort to the preservation of these monuments. The *enceinte* of fortifications, excluding the sun's rays and preventing the circulation of air, aggravated the humidity caused by the hot springs, from which the town takes its name (*De Aquis*). Mr. Roach Smith visited this place in 1858 ; since

that date the destruction has been carried still further, and only the north-eastern portion of the wall now remains.

² Amongst the Spanish tribes the Astures have a special interest for English readers, as they were stationed in the north of Britain—a fact abundantly proved by inscriptions. See the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 479 ; *Index vii*, *Military Affairs* ; and Dr. Bruce, *Roman Wall*, especially p. 109. It should be observed that the form *Asturum* occurs on the stones, showing that Spaniards are meant, and not the *Asti* in north Italy.

³ The *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, edited by Dr. William Smith, gives only the form *Pompelo*, which occurs in Strabo (*Πομπέλων*), but *Pompaelo* is more correct, as appears from inscriptions containing the word *Pompaelonenses* ; moreover, the best manuscripts of Ptolemy have *Πομπιδλων* ; Hübner, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. ii, p. 401. He derives *Pompaelo* from *Pompeius*, and compares with it *Graccurria*, a town sixty-four Roman miles west of *Cæsaraugusta*, named after *Gracchus*. The modern appellation *Pamplona* comes from *Bambilonah*, a Moorish corruption of the Latin. *Ford's Handbook of Spain*, ed. 1878, p. 532.

⁴ This name is sometimes written *D'Acqs*, which shows the derivation from *Aquae* ; comp. Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxi, c. ii, s. 4. *Emicant benigne passimque in plurimis terris aliae frigidae, aliae calidae, aliae junctae, sicut in Tarbellis Aquitanica gente.*

near Villanueva; but north of the mountains they are absent;¹ however we may infer the direction of the route with a degree of probability so high that it almost amounts to certainty. The road seems to have passed through the Col d'Ibañeta, and to have descended by the valley of Saint Michel to St. Jean Pied de Port, as the steep mountains on the north side of the Val Carlos present insuperable obstacles. But the natural configuration of the sites is not the only argument; this line of communication was used in the Middle Ages, as is proved both by written evidence of titles and terriers, and by the establishment of commanderies of the military orders. When we consider the excellence of the Roman roads and the solidity with which they were constructed, we cannot doubt that the barbarians for centuries continued to travel by the same highways as the nation that preceded them. In all probability on this road the great disaster happened A.D. 778, which is the subject of the only French epic, the *Chanson de Roland*.² Charlemagne was on his return from Spain, when half of his forces were destroyed, and his famous paladin Roland was killed. Such is the historical account, but according to Spanish legends incorporated into our English epic,

Charlemain and all his peerage fell
By Fontarabia.³

II. From *Cæsaraugusta* to *Beneharnum*, i.e., from *Saragossa* to *Lescar*.⁴ The stations on this road are *Forum Gallorum* (*Gurrea*), *Ebellinum* (*S. Juan de la Peña*), *Summus Pyrenaeus* (*Santa Christina*)⁵ *Forum*

¹ Even the paucity or absence of Roman remains in the Pyrenean region is instructive, as it shows how obstinately the inhabitants resisted the Roman invaders. Horace, *Odes*, iii, 8, 21, *Servit Hispanae, retus hostis orae*. It seems as if the Basques carried their hostility to the Romans so far as to extirpate even the traces of their dominion.

² *La Chanson de Roland*, with translation, introduction and notes, edited by F. Génin. Chant ii, Chant iii, Table analytique, p. 335.

³ Milton, *Paradise Lost*, book i, v. 586.

⁴ Monsieur François St. Maur, following Marca, the historian of Béarn, places the site of *Beneharnum* at *Lescar*, or to

speak more accurately, at the quartier St. Julien, just below the town; but other French antiquaries have expressed very different opinions on this subject. Walkenaer identifies *Beneharnum* with *Mas-lacq*, near *Orthez*; Monsieur Perret places it at *Orthez* itself, and the Abbé Lartigau is in favour of *Bellocq*, near *Puyoo*. *Congrès Scientifique de France*, xxxix^e Session à Pau, Tome ii, pp. 121-131.

⁵ The ancient name *Summus Pyrenaeus* still survives in the modern *Sumport* or *Somport*, a village near *Santa Christina*, where the ruins of a monastery may be seen; it was founded by Gaston IV, who also built the hospital at *Gabas* and the convent at *Sauvelade*.

Ligneum (Urdos), Aspaluca (Accous), and Iluro (Oloron). The modern name Gurreea may be only a corruption of Gallorum, as the liquids R and L frequently interchange; Aspaluca and Iluro are evidently the same words as Aspe and Oloron. With respect to the latter it is worthy of notice that the place is called in Basque, Iri-Uru, which means "the city of the waters;" a very appropriate designation, since the Gaves of the Aspe and Ossau meet here, and by their confluence contribute much to the picturesque beauty of the site. Moreover Iluro is an instance of a Spanish name occurring north of the Pyrenees, and therefore one of the many proofs of the extent to which the Iberian race had spread.¹ The argument from toponymy is confirmed by Caesar's statement that the Aquitanians, when they opposed the expedition of the younger Crassus, obtained auxiliaries and leaders from Spain.² This road, like that from Astorga, is marked by Hübner on both sides of the Pyrenees as "certain, but not yet explored," hence it offers a subject for original investigation to the antiquary; but though material traces are at present wanting, its course may be inferred not only from the places mentioned in the *Antonine Itinerary* and the modern names corresponding with them, but also from evidence of two other kinds, viz. : the physical character of the country through which it passed, and the inscriptions discovered upon it. On the Spanish side the road must have followed the Rio Gallego and the valley of Jaca,³ while north of the

¹ Iluro occurs twice amongst the cities of Spain, in Baetica, north-west of Malaga (Malaga), now Alora, so that the old name has undergone only a slight modification; and in the Provincia Tarraconensis, north-east of Barcelona, near Mataro. The modern town corresponding to Iluro in Aquitania is Oloron, not Oleron, and thus may be easily distinguished from the Ile d'Oleron in the Bay of Biscay, opposite Rochelle.

² Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, book iii, chaps. 20-27, is the most important passage in the classical writers for the history of Aquitaine. The commander-in-chief was not personally engaged in the subjugation of this part of Gaul, which will account for the comparatively few particulars concerning this district found in his Commentaries. Le Cœur, Béarn, p.

3, says the Aquitanians opposed Crassus so successfully that Caesar's presence in their country became necessary; but Caesar himself tells us that they surrendered to his lieutenant Publius Crassus. The latter was a skilful and energetic commander, and had previously reduced under the Roman sway, with only a single legion, the powerful States of Armorica. This important exploit is omitted in the account of Caesar's lieutenants, given by the Emperor Napoléon III, in his *Vie de Jules César*, tome ii, appendix D, No. 2.

³ Jaca is the modern representative of the ancient Jacetani, who with the Oscenses (Huesca) and other neighbouring states, rendered valuable assistance to Caesar in his campaign against the Pompeian generals, Afranius and Petreius; *Caes. De Bell. Civ.* i, 60.

Pyrenees it must have been carried through the vallée d' Aspe, where a stone may still be seen a few miles south of Oloron, on which is engraved an account of its repair in ancient times.

This road was always one of the chief lines of communication between Spain and France, and along it Abdalrahman led the Saracen host, that threatened to overspread Western Europe, but was destroyed by Charles Martel at the battle of Tours. It is difficult to find in classical antiquity the name Beneharnum, for other writers are silent, and Pliny does not give any word that approaches nearer than Venami, for which Marca has proposed to read Venarni, without manuscript authority as far as I am aware.¹

III. From Aquae Tarbellicae to Burdigala, *i.e.*, from Dax to Bordeaux, through Cocosa, Tellonum, and Salomacum in a zig-zag, crossing No. II. twice, and finally rejoining it at Boii. At first sight there seems no reason for making this road, but it may have been designed to connect with each other and with the grand route from Astorga to Bordeaux towns that were formerly more important than we should suppose them to have been, judging from the statements of authors or existing remains.

IV. From Aquae Tarbellicae to Tolosa, *i.e.*, from Dax to Toulouse, nearly following the present line of railway, as is the case with several Roman roads in our own country. The stations were Beneharnum, Oppidum Novum, Aquae Convenarum, Lugdunum Convenarum, Calagorris, Aquae Siccae and Venum Solum. Oppidum Novum may be identified with Nay, which seems to be a corruption of the Latin adjective. Aquae Convenarum is placed by some at Capvern, by others at Bagnères de Bigorre, where many inscriptions have been found. Strabo, who devotes only a single section to the whole of Aquitania, mentions Onesion therma in the country of the Convenae near the Pyrenees, and says that these waters

¹ Marca's proposal to read *Venarni* in the list of Aquitanian tribes given by Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. iv, c. 19, is approved by the learned and accurate Wesseling, Antonine Itinerary, ed. 1735, p. 452; but this conjecture has not been adopted by

the most recent editors, Sillig and Jan. *Venarni* approaches very closely to Beneharnum, B and V being so pronounced in Spanish that they can scarcely be distinguished.

were very good to drink, but it is impossible to decide whether he is speaking of Bigorre or Luchon; however an argument in favour of the latter has been derived from the name of the rivulet One, which bears some resemblance to the Greek name.¹ Lugdunum Convenarum is now called S. Bertrand de Comminges; its great importance in ancient times is proved by numerous remains, *e.g.*, an inscription in honour of a Roman Emperor on the south eastern gate, a head of Jupiter and sepulchral stones in the façade of the cathedral, and arches in the suburbs that belong to an aqueduct, and a circus or theatre. Calagorris, now Cazères, is another proof that the Iberians had spread into Southern Gaul, as we find the name again on the road from Cæsaraugusta to Asturica.² Aquæ Siccae is said to be Aygas-Secs, which also sounds Spanish, and Vernum Solum is now La Vernose.

V. From Burdigala to Argentomagnum, *i.e.*, from Bordeaux to Argenton-Indre. The stations were Sirio, Ussubium, Fines, Aginnum, Excisum, Augustoritum. The road took a south-easterly direction, following the Garonne as far as Agen, whence its course was north-easterly, towards the centre of France. Sirio is the same as Cerons, near the embouchure of the River Ciron, where it falls into the Garonne. Ussubium is Urs, near La Réole, where a votive altar has been found bearing the word Ussulico. A little north of Agen is the station Excisum, now Villeneuve, but the site is identified by a monastery there called Exsciense in the titles of the abbey of Moissac.

VI. From Aginnum to Lugdunum Convenarum, *i.e.*,

¹ Though Strabo says so little about Aquitaine, with his usual sagacity he has struck the key-note for succeeding inquiries into the antiquities of this district, both classical and mediæval. He remarks that this people differed from the other Gauls, both in language and bodily constitution, and that they resembled the Spaniards, *ῥεοίκασι δὲ μᾶλλον Ἰβηρῶν*, lib. iv, c. 2, s. 1.

² The Spanish Calagurris may be compared for its termination with Graccurris, another town in the same neighbourhood mentioned above. Calagorris and Calagorra also occur, more nearly resembling the modern form Calahorra. This place

stands pre-eminent, even in Spain, for its ferocious heroism displayed during a siege, as the defenders not only killed and ate their wives and children, but *salted* the bodies not required for immediate consumption. Ford, Handbook of Spain, p. 528, professes to give an historical account of Calagurris, but omits this most remarkable and perhaps unparalleled feature. Valerius Maximus vii, 6, externa 3, *Quoque diutius armata juvenus viscera sua visceribus suis aleret; infelices cadaverum reliquias salire non dubitavit.* Compare Juvenal, Sat. xv, 94-109, where he speaks of these people as Vascones (Basques).

from Agen to S. Bertrand de Comminges. The stations were Lactora, Elimberrum and Belsinum. Lactora is now Lectoure, and we have here a variation of the Basque name Ligorra, meaning highland, which describes the situation of the town, on a lofty plateau above the valley of the river Gers. In this case the Itinerary has been confirmed by innumerable medals, vases and statuettes, brought to light when the railway was being constructed. Elimberrum is also a Basque word, probably signifying "new town," but its component parts are placed in the same order as in the French Villeneuve. This name is doubtless another form of Iri-Berri, and therefore analogous to Iri-Uru, mentioned above. It may be compared with Illiberis or Illiberris, the first place to which Hannibal came after crossing the Eastern Pyrenees. Under the Emperors Elimberrum was called Augusta Ausciorum, whence the modern name Auch is derived.¹ It was the seat of the primate of Aquitaine—a fact which may be regarded as a proof of its importance in Roman times: for the bishoprics were naturally founded in the great cities, as Christianity was first preached there, and did not spread into the rural districts till a much later period. The last station is Belsinum, now Bernet, in the department of Gers. It is worth while to observe that Belsinum also occurs in *Hispania Tarracensis*, and is represented by the modern name Vivel, or Viver, near Segarbe, the substitution of V for B being in accordance with the interchanges in the Spanish language as now pronounced.

VII. From Burdigala to Tolosa, through Elusa (Eauze). I have added this road on the authority of Mons^r. Saint Maur; it does not appear in the Itinerary, but there was probably some more direct communication between these two great cities than through Agen on the north, or Dax on the south side of the province. Such was the network

¹ Mr. Long, in the Dictionary of Classical Geography, s.v. Illiberis, quotes a statement that *Berri* in Basque means a town. It seems more probable that the former part of the words Illiberis and Elimberrum has this signification, as it appears so frequently in the names of places. The geographical section of the index to Hübner's *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae* supplies many instances of

the præfix *Il*, e.g. Ilerda (Lérida), Ilurcis, the earlier name of Gracurris, a Basque town, Ilipa, &c. See also *Remarques sur les noms de lieux du pays Basque*, par M. Luchaire, Congrès Scientifique à Pau, tome ii, pp. 383-411, especially 386, "Iriberri a fait place à Ulibarri, qui veut dire aussi Villeneuve," and p. 387, "iri ville et berri nouveau."

of roads which included Novempopulania, and which enabled the Romans to hold this corner of their empire for ages in undisturbed possession.¹

Long after the destruction of that empire, its memory was preserved by the route of the pilgrims from Auch to Santiago de Compostela, called the *Camí Roumiu*, which traversed Béarn, and at St. Jean Pied de Port joined the Roman road from Bordeaux to Astorga above mentioned.

Taking into consideration the statements of the classical writers, the etymology of the names of places, and the circulation of Iberian coins in Gaul, we must conclude that in ancient times the inhabitants on both sides of the Pyrenees were more homogeneous than they are at present.²

From the roads we naturally pass to the inscriptions : how closely these subjects are connected will be seen by two of the following examples :—

1.

I L V R O
M P

This inscription was found at the Auberge of Paillole or Paillette near Somport, the highest part of the pass over the Pyrenees.³ The letters are cut on a milestone, which has been brought to Pau by Mons^r P. Raymond, and is now deposited in the vestibule of the Préfecture. Mons^r Saint Maur truly remarks that the inscription is one of extreme simplicity ; one can hardly help adding an expression of regret that it is so simple, for even the numerals are gone, and nothing remains but a certain proof that the direction of the road was from Summus Pyrenæus to Iluro. The material is sandstone, and was probably obtained from Canfrancq in Spain, south of Somport.

¹ It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that the study of the Roman roads involves more than a knowledge of a dry list of names ; on the contrary it suggests to us many researches of great interest, historical, philological, and ethnographical.

² The map prefixed to this Paper is copied from the *Carte des voies Romaines de la Novempopulanie*, which illustrates M. St. Maur's memoirs on the Roman roads in the south-west of Gaul.

It is not quite accurate in all its details, but it may be of some use, by rendering my description more intelligible.

³ Summus Portus has been contracted into Somport, and *Portus* has the same root as *Porta*, so that its primary meaning is an entrance or pass. Similarly we have in French *porte* and *port* ; the latter form appears in Port de Venasque, the pass into Spain, near Luchon, and in St. Jean Pied de Port.

II. L VAL VERANVS GER
II VIR BIS HANC
VIAM RESTITVIT
CALL.....?
RAFRAICHI PAR
LAFONTA 1826.

Lucius Valerius Veranus Duumvir twice repaired this road.

This inscription at Pène d'Escot,¹ unlike most others, does not appear on a stone removed from a quarry and hewn, but on the natural rock by the way side. It is on the high road from Oloron to Jaca, and if the tourist's head quarters are at the former place, where there is good accommodation, it may be easily visited in a morning's or afternoon's excursion. For *Veranus*, some have read *Vernus*, but from personal inspection I feel confident that the former name is correct; A and N form a ligature in the original, **AV**, and the neglect of this peculiarity has caused the mistake. The feminine Valeria Verana has been found at Tarragona,² and it may be remarked that this branch of our subject, as well as others, receives its best illustration from the antiquities of northern Spain. The title of Duumvir probably refers to Oloron, which was the only important place (civitas) between Caesaraugusta and Beneharnum. This office in provincial towns seems derived from the consulate at Rome; it often occurs, both in the authors and the monuments, and was a dignity on which the possessor evidently prided himself.³

III. FANO
HERAVS
CORRITSE
HE SACRVM
G. VAL VALE
RIANVS

¹ Pène is only the French form of the Spanish word Peña, a rock; la Peña Colorado, la Peña de Orrel, and San Juan de la Peña occur in this district. Joanne, Guide to the Pyrenees, route 45.

² For the name Valeria Verana see Cénac Moncaut, Histoire des peuples et des États Pyrénéens depuis l'époque Celtibérienne jusqu'à nos jours, vol. iii, p. 559, and Hübner Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. ii, No. 4,278. Hübner gives the inscription at Tarragona more correctly. Cénac Moncaut is inaccurate and contradicts himself.

³ Cicero tells us that Piso held the

office of duumvir at Capua for the sake of placing this honorary title on the pedestal of his statue; Capua, in qua ipse tum imaginis ornandae causa duumviratum gerebat, Pro Sestio, c. viii, s. 19; here ornandae is preferable to formandae, the reading of the old editions. The duumvirate occurs very frequently in Spanish inscriptions. See Hübner's index, s. v. Res municipalis, sect. ii, Honores et munera municipalia. Hübner adopts the form duovir, for which there is good authority. I have not translated the abbreviation GGR, because the meaning is uncertain.

Gaius Valerius has dedicated (this altar) in the temple of Ritsehe, mistress of the Ausci.

This translation is given as highly probable, though not certain. The inscription is on the face of a votive altar, which has been built into the wall of a chapel called La Madeleine, near Tardets. In front of the chapel rises mount Erretçu, and there are also a wood and torrent of the same name. Monsieur P. Raymond has ingeniously identified this word with Ritsehe, whom he supposes to be a local divinity, as in the north of England we find Cocidius and Belatucader—gods unknown to the classical pantheon, but who seem to have had much in common with Mars and Silvanus.¹ According to this interpretation the inscription should be divided as follows:—

FANO HER AVSCOR RITSEHE.

The initial E in “Erretçu” does not cause any valid objection to this supposition, since the Basque language does not begin any word with R, and E might be prefixed for the sake of euphony, as in Greek the paragoric N is appended to prevent hiatus. We may also compare the French words écu, épée, écume, which correspond to scutatum, spada, and scum respectively. HER may stand for a case of herus or hera (master or mistress)

¹ Dr. Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 394, 4th edition. The *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 182, contains a notice of Cocidius; and under numbers 309 and 310 the name Belatucader is explained and identified with the Syrian Baal. In the Pyrenees the local divinity Leherenn is associated with Mars just as Belatucader and Cocidius are in the north of Britain; compare *Leherenni Marti* in the inscriptions at Toulouse with *Marti Belatucadro* and *Marti Cocidio*. Some of the names of Pyrenean gods correspond with those of modern places, e.g. Baeserte occurs on a marble cippus, and there is a locality near Huos called Basert.

Much information on these subjects will be found in the monographs of M. Barry, and in the very instructive catalogue of the museum at Toulouse, compiled by M. Ernest Roschach, see p. 44 and seqq. Of these local deities, Leherenn

seems to be most frequently mentioned, but we also meet with Edelat, Alardosto, Abellioni, &c.

It is much to be regretted that the votive altars and other monuments at Toulouse, containing inscriptions, remain in such confusion that it is impossible for the visitor to study them profitably. But this is not a solitary case; at Narbonne the inscribed stones are deposited in the boulangerie militaire, where many of them are concealed by piles of boxes. When I visited Bordeaux in the summer of 1877, with much difficulty I discovered the Collection Laponnière in the Rue des Facultés; it consisted of mosaics, figures in relief, capitals of columns, fragments of shafts, sepulchral monuments, &c., crowded under a shed (hangar) without any attempt at classification. Neither catalogue nor description of any kind had been published.

words that are applied to deities, as Catullus uses the expression *caelestes heri*, heavenly powers.¹

IV. Flamen item
dumvir quaestor
pagique magister
Verus ad augus-
tum legato mu-
nere functus
pro novam opti-
nuit populis se
jungere Gallos
urbe redux ge-
nio pagi hanc
dedicat aram.

Verus Flamen, also Duumvir, Quaestor and Governor of the district, having discharged the duties of his mission to Augustus, and obtained the separation of nine nations from the rest of Gaul, on his return from Rome, dedicates this altar to the genius of the district.

This inscription has been the subject of long and angry controversies, in which our excitable neighbours have sometimes lost their temper, and I might almost say their reason. It was discovered A.D. 1660 in the foundation of the high altar of the church at Hasparren,² but it is now outside the building, and placed so high that it cannot be read without ascending a ladder; moreover, the difficulty is increased by the direction of the lines being perpendicular, instead of horizontal. The words as they stand may be arranged in four hexameter verses:—

Flamen item Dumvir Quaestor Pagique Magister,
Verus, ad Augustum legato munere functus,
Pro novem optinuit populis sejungere Gallos;
Urbe redux, genio pagi hanc dedicat aram.

Some have supposed the inscription to be a forgery, drawing this inference from metrical faults and the impossibility of reconciling the facts here mentioned with the accounts of the historians concerning the two person-

¹ Catullus Carm. lxviii, v. 76—

Nondum cum sanguine sacro
Hostia caelestes pacificasset heros.
Nil mihi tam valde placeat, Rhamnusia
virgo,
Quod temere invitis suscipiatur heris.
The German *Herr* is evidently the same

word as the Latin *herus*, and is also applied to the Deity.

² Hasparren is in the western part of the Basses Pyrénées, on the road from Bayonne to St. Palais, and not far from Cambo, a frequented watering place in the valley of the river Nive.

ages who bore the name of Verus in the Antonine period.¹ On the other hand we may reply that no sufficient motive for the imposture has been assigned, that the defects in scansion can be accounted for as provincialisms, and that the archaic form *optinuit* or *obtinuit* does not look like a modern fabrication.

We may also remark in the first line *dumvir* for *duumvir*. If the latter word was pronounced as a dissyllable, *dwumvir*, which analogy renders probable, the variation cannot be considered important.² In the third line *pro novem* is a dactyl with *m* not elided, or a spondee with the first syllable of *novem* long; in either case prosody is violated. Lastly, the *i* of *pagi* does not suffer elision.

Some French archæologists, especially Mons^r. Poydenot of Bayonne, have maintained that these lines refer to Verus, who was adopted by Hadrian, and whose son, of the same name, became the colleague of M. Aurelius.³ Now Spartianus expressly informs us that the elder Verus was an accomplished scholar, an orator distinguished by the elevation of his style, and (which is more to our present purpose) a skilful versifier. According to Mons^r. Poydenot's theory, these lines recording an important event in the imperial administration, if not written by Verus, would in all probability have been submitted to him. We can hardly suppose they would have received his approbation.⁴ But a stronger argument against

¹ For example, Ælius Verus, whom the Emperor Hadrian adopted, was so far from being a native of Hasparren, as the inscription would seem to imply, that there is no trace of his having had any connection with the Pyrenean district. Spartianus in his life of Verus, chap. 2, s.f., tells us that his ancestors came chiefly from Etruria or Faventia (Faenza.)

² Bentley, in his treatise, *De metris Terentianis*, says. *Notum est eruditis consonantes i et u apud Latinos eodem fuisse sono et potestate quo hodie y et w.* So in Plautus *duellum* and *duellator* must be read *dwellum* and *dwellator*. This pronunciation assists us to explain the change from *du* to *b*, which is very common, e.g. *duellum* *bellum*, *duo* *his*. Similarly we have an archaic form *duonus* slightly contracted into *dwonus*, and afterwards changed into *bonus*. Key on the Alphabet, pp. 48, 159, 160.

³ *Essai sur l'Inscription Romaine de Hasparren* par M. Henry Poydenot; *Note sur l'authenticité de l'Inscr. Rom.* Réponse à M. François Saint Maur by the same author.

At p. 5 of the former pamphlet a copy of the inscription is given, engraved from a photograph.

⁴ Apart from the testimony of Spartianus concerning the attainments of Verus, these lines do not bear the impress of the earlier portion of the Silver Age, when scholastic training produced as its fruit a high degree of finish and accuracy; Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. vii, p. 282, 8vo. ed. The writers of this period are remarkably free from the grammatical irregularities which mark the earlier stages of a nation's literary progress, as will be seen by comparing Cicero's style with that of Tacitus. Some have contended

attributing the inscription to the Antonine period may be founded on the expression *pro novem populis*, for this separation of the south-western nations from the rest of Gaul cannot be plausibly referred to Hadrian, and it is even doubtful whether this emperor made any new division of the Roman provinces. On the other hand, it is far more likely that the department called Novempopulania was constituted by Diocletian, *i.e.*, between A.D. 284 and 305, though no ancient author has stated the fact expressly. We know that this emperor rearranged the provinces generally, and the term Novempopulania appears in the Notitia or army list, compiled about the beginning of the fifth century, and in the writings of Salvianus, who flourished a little later. For these reasons, and because the dedication of an altar to a Genius implies that Verus was a pagan, I am disposed to assign the inscription to the latter part of the third century, *i.e.*, just before the establishment of Christianity by Constantine.¹ It may be objected that the authors do not mention a Verus living at this time, but this need not cause any surprise, as the materials for the history of this epoch are very imperfect and fragmentary. Another objection to this date might be based on the word *Flamen*, which is seldom, if ever, met with late in the third century;

that this inscription is spurious because it is in verse. But this argument is by no means conclusive, as the metrical form, though rare, is occasionally employed. Two or three instances occur among the inscriptions at Toulouse, some at Lyons, and a very remarkable one at Alcántara relating to Trajan's bridge, which exhibits some points of resemblance to that now under consideration. For the last see Corp. Inscr. Lat. tom. ii, pp. 89-96, Tituli pontis Alcántarensis. The inscription, which is on the front of a chapel close to the bridge, consists of twelve elegaic verses.

¹ For the division of the Roman provinces Tillemont, Gibbon's "incomparable guide" should be consulted, *Histoire des Empereurs*, tome ii, p. 544, note xxii—"Si Adrien a fait une nouvelle division des provinces;" whence it appears that the arrangements made by Augustus remained with little alteration until Diocletian. Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* quoted by Tillemont, says, with reference to the latter Em-

peror and his colleagues, *Provinciae quoque in frusta concisae*. For Novempopulania compare Gibbon, chap. xxxi, notes 167 and 191; also Dr. William Smith's additional note, vol. iv, p. 128, where the analogous name Septimania is explained. We may also remark that in this district there were *nine* suffragan sees under the primacy of the archbishopric of Auch; the number obviously corresponds with *novem populi*, and the precedence of Auch agrees with Mela's statement that the Ausci were the most distinguished of the Aquitanians, and their city Eliumberrum the richest, *De Situ Orbis*, lib. iii, c. 2, p. 66 edit. Parthey. in Auscis Eliumberrum (*urbs opulentissima*); this reading seems preferable to Climberrum, which is found in a Vatican MS. From the Notitia, which Gibbon, chap. xvii, note 72, places between A.D. 395 and A.D. 407, we learn that the tribune commanding the Novempopulanian cohort was stationed at Lapurdum (probably near Bayonne). Grævius, *Thesaurus*, tome vii, p. 2005.

however, as fresh discoveries are constantly being made, it is quite possible that our opinions as regards the period during which this term was used may undergo some modification.

V.

C. ANTISTISE
VERI
FLA
MI
NIS.

(The statue) of Caius Antistius Severus, Flamen.

This inscribed marble was found recently at Auch, the capital of the Department Gers, in the grounds of the Ursuline convent, which were used as a cemetery from the first to the tenth century. Brief as the inscription is, it suggests to us some topics worthy of consideration. Our modern compilers of history say nothing about Antistius in connection with Roman conquests in Gaul and Spain, but the case is different if we turn to the Greek and Latin authorities. Caius Antistius played an important part in that war against the Cantabrians and Asturians, which taxed so severely the energies of Augustus and his legions. Dion Cassius informs us that when Augustus, overcome by fatigue and anxiety, had retired to Tarragona, where illness detained him for several months, his lieutenant Antistius carried on the war successfully.¹ This statement is confirmed by Velleius, Florus, and Orosius; the last, being a Spaniard, naturally gives a disproportionately copious account of the Roman campaigns in his native country.² As the letters in this inscription are well cut, and therefore indicate an early period of the Roman empire, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that they refer, if not to the Antistius above mentioned, at least to some member of his family.³ Hübner supplies many instances of the title

¹ History of Rome, book liii, vol. iii, p. 222, edit. Sturzius.

² Velleius Paterculus, ii, 90; Florus iv, 12, n. 51; Orosius vi, 21. These writers inform us that Spain, which had waged such long and terrible wars against the Romans, was free even from robbers under the government of Antistius, and that he extended his conquests as far as Gallicia.

³ Under the Republic two forms of this name occur, Antestius and Antistius; the former is supposed to be the

more ancient, as it appears on coins of an older type; Admiral Smyth, Descriptive Catalogue of the Northumberland Cabinet of Roman coins pp. 9-11. This author speaks of the gens Antistia as unimportant, but the passages cited above show that his remark is not quite correct. Cohen, Médailles Consulaires, s.v. Antestia, gives a coin which probably relates to the illness of Augustus mentioned above; obverse C. ANTISTI. VETVS III. VIR; reverse PRO VALETVDINE CAESARIS S.P.Q.R. (Senatus populusque

Flamen in the region north of the Ebro, from which it appears that this provincial dignity was highly valued, though of course inferior to the corresponding office in the priesthood at Rome.¹ We may draw the same inference from a passage in Pliny's Epistles; he is writing an introduction for his friend Voconius Romanus, and mentions it as a claim to favourable consideration that he has been Flamen in the Nearer Spain.² The importance of the Flamens is also proved by the fact that statues were frequently erected in their honour,³ and there are some marks of fastenings in the marble at Auch, which indicate that a statue was formerly placed upon it. We may also suppose this inscription to belong to the first or second century, on account of the simplicity of the style, which is contented with a single title of honour. Lastly, the word *Flaminis* is enclosed by a circular wreath, on which acorns and leaves are sculptured in rows, an acorn between two leaves alternating with a leaf between two acorns. There can be no doubt that a civic crown is here represented, but the leaves are not indented, as in the common oak. A friend has suggested that they are meant for the ilex, conventionally treated. Many contemporaneous examples of the corona civica may be seen in the busts and coins of the Roman emperors.⁴

Romanus). On the reverse a priest is represented veiled, sacrificing before an altar, and holding a patera. For the gens Antistia conf. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. tom. vi, pp. 135-138.

¹ Hübner has seventy examples of inscriptions in Hispania Citerior mentioning Flamens; Congrès Scientifique à Pau, tome ii, p. 176, Memoir by the Abbé Canéto on the Flaminal Inscription at Auch. Ample information on this subject will be obtained by consulting Hübner's Index, p. 761, Sacerdotes provinciales et municipales.

² Plinius Junior, Epp. ii, 13, 2, sqq. An inscription found at Saguntum gives us the same name and title, No. 386d, Inscr. Hisp., Lat. Pliny says of Voconius, Mater e primis citerioris Hispaniae, and thus explains the abbreviation P.H.C., which occurs frequently.

³ Corpus Inscript. Lat., tome ii, no. 4248, Statuam inter flaminales viros positam. Comp. Juvenal, Sat. i, 129. Atque triumphales (statuae), inter quas

ausus habere Nescio quis titulos Ægyptius atque Arabarches, where the inscriptions, as well as the statues, are mentioned.

⁴ There are two fine marble busts in the Louvre—one of Augustus, and the other of Tiberius, which exhibit the civic crown. C. O. Müller, Denkmäler der alten Kunst, pl. lxvi, nos. 348, 354; Visconti, Iconographie Romaine, pls. 18, 22, which are described in the continuation of Visconti's work by Mongez, tome ii, pp. 41, 42, and 110, 111. This subject receives abundant illustration from the coins; Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vi, 88, Spread eagle standing on an oak wreath; Cohen, Médailles Impériales, tome i, p. 49, no. 61; p. 244, nos. 233-242; p. 249, no. 272; pl. xiv. In the last case the wreath is incorrectly described as being of laurel. A large brass of Galba has on the reverse S.P.Q.R. OB. CIVIS SERVATOS. Compare also Montfaucon, Antiquité Expliquée, tome vii, p. 168, pl. cvii.

We come now to the mosaics of the district, a class of monuments which has strong claims on the attention of archaeologists on account of their permanence, beauty, and universality. No mosaics here can vie with the grand historical designs brought to light at Pompeii or Paestrina, but one at Jurançon, near Pau, deserves more than a passing notice.¹ It is easily accessible to visitors from this city, being at a distance of only two miles, and close to the high road leading to Eaux Bonnes and Eaux Chaudes. In the immediate neighbourhood of Jurançon, on a height at Guindalos, vestiges were found of a Roman camp, which was doubtless intended to guard the entrance of the valley; but when first discovered these mosaics were conjectured by Mons^r. Serviez to be Moorish. This supposition may be at once rejected, for two reasons; in this part of France the Arabs did not execute any works of art, they only destroyed those of other nations; secondly, we have here representations of human figures and animals, which are quite foreign to their style. These tessellated pavements are unquestionably Roman, and very superior to the mediæval imitations of the antique. The design is good, but the execution irregular, which we may account for by supposing that the plan was furnished by some artist in one of the great cities, and carried out by provincial workmen.² Many of the patterns—circles, squares, lozenges, quatrefoils, trefoils, and scrolls—are the same as occur in the Roman villas of Britain, but we remark others—vine leaves, bunches of grapes, and olives—derived from the more luxuriant flora of Southern Europe.³

It is not quite certain whether the building to which these remains belong was a villa or a bathing establishment, but the great number of flues and pipes and the general character of the ornamentation favour the latter opinion. So few objects were found on the site that they

¹ The excavation of this mosaic was commenced by the Rev. S. Baring Gould, who kindly lent me his description of it, illustrated by coloured drawings, which represent the original with spirit and accuracy.

² Similarly, the inferiority of the Phigaleian to the Parthenon bas-reliefs has been explained by supposing that the former were executed by the Arcadians,

from the designs of Ictinus. This theory seems probable, as he was the architect of both temples. Vaux, *Handbook for the Antiquities of the British Museum*, p. 32.

³ Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, pp. 49-59, pls. vii-xii. Buckman and Newmarch, *Remains of Roman Art at Corinium*, pp. 25-61, pla. ii, vi, vii.

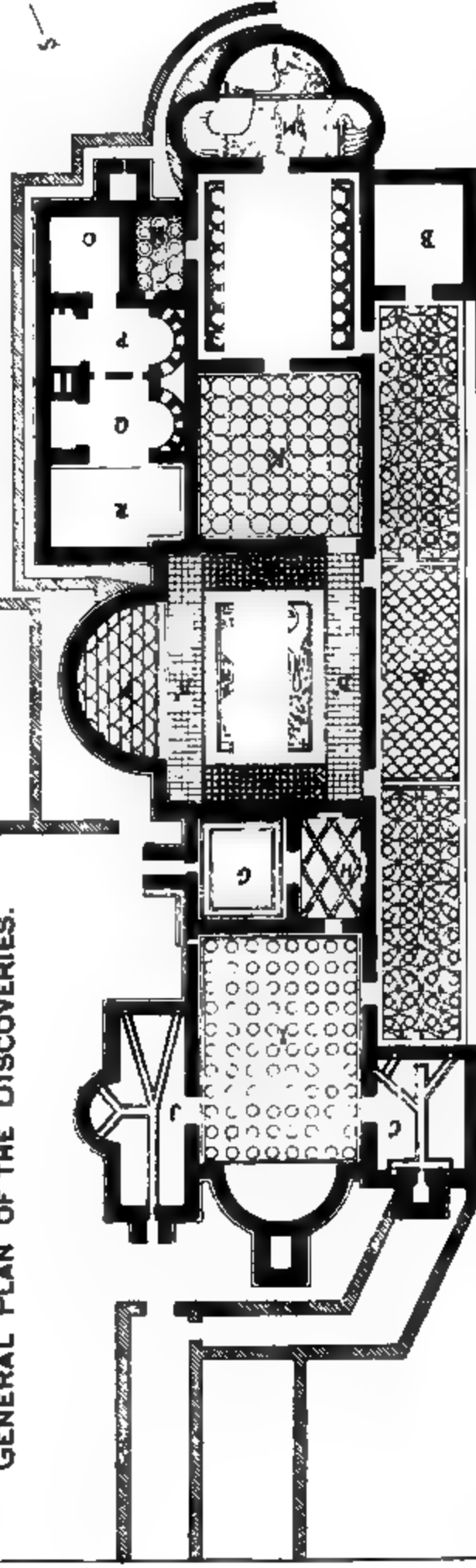
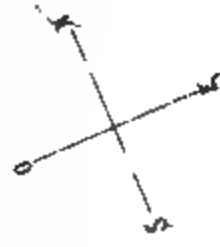
THE MOSAICS OF JURANÇON.

Corridor

Corridor

SECTION OF THE IMPLUVIUM.

GENERAL PLAN OF THE DISCOVERIES.



FROM LE COEUR MOSAIQUES DE JURANÇON ET DE BIELLE.
Scale of 0 to 0.25 P/m.

RIVER

WALL

cannot decide the question ; they included an abacus and a capital of a column, fragments of amphoræ, and a portion of a stone hand-mill. That the building was only provisional has been inferred from the rough materials employed, the thinness of the walls, and the small size of the marble slabs with which some surfaces are veneered.¹

There were in all sixteen rooms, and eight of these have their mosaics preserved more or less. The long portico or corridor A was probably used as a promenade, being open on the east side, and protected by the roof from sun and rain, so that as much shelter was provided as the climate would require. In the central compartment the mosaic consisted of semicircles overlapping like scales ; each semicircle contained three flowers, and the ground was yellow. On either side of this simple but elegant design was a more complicated one of stars separated by lozenges ; each star had four points and a circle in the middle. The stars and circles were red, with white leaves on them ; the lozenges were brown, and ornamented with quatrefoils, while the ground was yellow as before. The pavement of this gallery was surrounded by a white border, which gave a finish to the composition, as it was covered by a scroll pattern, with trefoils between the curves.

The Atrium E was enclosed by four porticoes, but there were only two patterns in the pavement, for they were repeated on the opposite sides. One was composed of interlacing circles, and the other of squares in which crescents and quatrefoils alternated. The impluvium, or basin in the centre, was appropriately embellished by a representation of dolphins, and smaller fish of various colours ; some of them being red seem intended for lobsters or écrevisses. Lastly, the design in the hemicycle adjoining resembles that of the gallery A, but

¹ Great injury had been done to this mosaic previously to the publication of Mons^r. Le Cœur's pamphlet in 1856, as visitors often detached the tessellæ with their feet or the point of their walking-sticks ; but after that date the pavement suffered still more severely from the inundation in 1875, so that some of the most interesting portions, *e.g.*, the heads

of Neptune, had quite disappeared, when I visited Jurançon in the autumn of 1877. The following account, therefore, describes the mosaic as it *was*, not as it is at present. Mons. Le Cœur's memoir, which has now become very scarce, is entitled "Mosaïques de Jurançon et de Bielle ;" it is accompanied by plans and coloured drawings.

there was *formerly* a colossal bust of Neptune, for even when Mons^r. Le Cœur wrote his memoir the mosaic was dilapidated, though enough was left to trace the design with certainty: the head was surrounded by a green nimbus, like the glory of Christian saints, probably symbolizing the sea; and across the breast were two anchors corresponding to the trident in room L. On either side was a nude female, with arms outstretched and flying drapery; in Mons^r. Le Cœur's drawing that on the left is nearly complete, while of the one on the right only the feet remain, still their position shows that there were two figures symmetrically arranged. Mons^r. Le Cœur thinks that Fame is represented, but this seems a mistake, for no characteristic attribute is added.¹ It is more likely that we have here Nereids, who would be appropriately introduced as attendants on Neptune; and this view is confirmed by the flying drapery, common in subjects of this class, as may be seen by comparing Galatea, Amphitrite and Tethys on the Florentine gems. There the goddess is portrayed riding over the waves, and holding a scarf above her head that serves for a shade and a sail.² The whole space of each of the smaller niches is filled by a yellow shell marked with black and red stripes, in which there are indentations intended to soften the transition of colours.

R shows a lower level than the adjoining rooms, and probably contained the furnace for heating them. A small room N adjoins the large apartment L, it seems to

¹ Fame blowing a trumpet, holding a lance, and standing on the prow of a galley, appears on a coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and indicates his naval victory over Ptolemy, C. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, sec. 406, Anmerk. 2. Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. i, p. 63, pl. xxxii, 6, calls this figure Victory; but we need not be surprised at the difference of attribution, as Fame and Victory are ideas so closely connected.

² King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii, description of woodcuts, pl. xiii, especially No. 4, Venus Marina. "Her veil, distended by the breeze, declares her character of Euploea, patroness of sailors," conf. No. 1, *ib.*, Neptune and

Amphitrite; pl. xiv, No. 8, Nereid guiding a pair of hippocampi across the seas. Gori, *Gemmae Antiquae*, *Musei Florentine*, vol. ii, pl. xlvii, No. 2, p. 97. Galatea, delphino vecta per mare, vestem ad zephyrum tollit supra caput, quae etiam et umbraculum sit, et currenti velum, uti a Philostrato describitur; conf. pl. xlviii, Nos. 3, 4. The Jurançon Mosaic may be regarded as illustrating Lucian's graphic dialogue, *Zephyrus et Notus*, where he says that Europa held together her robe blown out by the wind (*ἡνεμωμένον τὸν πέπλον*), and that the Nereids rode on dolphins beside her. For this reference I am indebted to Dr. Caulfield.

have been used for anointing (*Elaeotherium*);¹ in the pavement lozenges alternate with squares or circles, and these geometrical figures include quatrefoils, vine-leaves and mæanders; the whole is surrounded by a broad scroll of pale foliage, that contrasts well with the brighter hues inside. Rooms P and Q are supposed to have formed the sudatorium, as there were vertical flues on the outside walls, and low walls within the apartments, which may have supported the floor (*suspensura*).² In C and J the flues radiate from a central point, an arrangement similar to that at Carnac in Brittany, where Mr. Mylne has excavated a Gallo-Roman villa.³ The length of the gallery A is 30·04 mètres, and its width 3·74 mètres, from which other measurements may be approximately deduced. We regard these mosaics with pleasure because they are so varied and yet so harmonious; but they possess an additional interest as proofs of high civilization, if we bear in mind that they were executed in a remote corner of Gaul, and in a building that seems to have been erected only for temporary purposes.

Another mosaic, similar to that at Jurançon, may be seen at Bielle, a village in the picturesque vallée d'Ossau, between Laruns and Arudy. This place was once the capital of the district, and its former importance is still testified by the carved stone-work of many archways and windows in private houses. One apartment of a Roman villa here has preserved its mosaic almost entire; like that in the long portico at Jurançon, it consists of a centre piece and a compartment on each side. The pattern of the former is a red rosette in a laurel wreath, with a square border of ivy leaves, the space in the four corners being occupied by vases; the side compartments, exactly alike, are covered by a more simple design of semicircles and cusps, coloured green and yellow. An interlaced border encloses the three divisions. In con-

¹ Vitruvius, v. 11, 2, p. 120, edit. Rode, *ad sinistram ephebei elaeotherium*, tab. xv, forma xix, *Palaestra, h. elaeotherium*.

² Compare Buckman and Newmarch, *Corinium*, pp. 62-70. The method of constructing tessellated floors.—Detailed account of the structure of the hypocaust, *suspensurae* and *pilae*; pl. viii showing the *pilae* or supports of the floor; and

woodcuts pp. 64, 66, showing section and plan of the *pilae*.

³ Mr. Mylne has published a full description of his discoveries, entitled "*Fouilles faites à Carnac (Morbihan), Les Bossenno et le Mont Saint Michel*;" this work is accompanied by engravings, maps, a plan and chromo-lithographs.

nexion with this comparatively small vestige of antiquity, found in a building whose largest room was only 7·7 mètres long and 5 broad, it is worthy of remark that a capital and fragments of shafts of columns were brought to light by excavations in the neighbourhood, and that pillars engaged in the walls of the church were taken from some Roman edifice, so that the constructions here must have been much more extensive than the ground plan of the villa might lead us to suppose.¹

Taron, an obscure village north of Morlaas, possesses a mosaic inferior both in design and execution to those already described. The border is a scroll with purple grapes and vine leaves alternating; the central space is divided into two equal parts by a kind of ribbon, on either side of which are vine branches conventionally treated, and baskets apparently filled with grapes. This pavement, like many others on the same site, has been destroyed in cultivating the soil, but it had fortunately been copied by M. Raymond, and his drawing has been repeated in M. Le Cœur's work on Béarn, Plate 60. Taron seems to be only a modern form of the name Tarusates, mentioned by Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, III, 27, in the list of nations who submitted to Crassus, and bears a close resemblance to Tarbes (Tarbelli), the capital of the Hautes Pyrénées.

Hitherto we have considered those monuments which are exclusively Roman, we now proceed to one which shows the admixture of other influences. As some justification for calling attention to the sarcophagus at Lucq, I may state that Mons^r. Le Blant, a very competent judge, has pronounced it to be superior to all the relics of the same kind at Arles, where there is a

¹ The name Bielle appears to be the same as the Latin *Villa*, and we find that in the year 1154 this place was called *Vila*. A similar substitution of B for V occurs in the case of the patron saint Vivien; in Latin there are three forms of this word—Vivianus, Vibianus and Bibianus. The church of Bielle contains some curious inscriptions, which have been accurately described in a monograph by M. Paul Raymond. They are carved on four columns of grey marble, and, according to the learned epigraphists who have examined them, date from the ninth

to the eleventh century. They are evidently the work of Christian pilgrims, but the saint whom they came to invoke is unknown. The word *presbyter* and abbreviations of it frequently occur; we may also notice that the termination *os* is often used for *us* in the proper names. There are altogether 127 inscriptions, and in most cases they are very difficult to decipher. For this branch of palaeography Mons^r. Edmond Le Blant's *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule* may be consulted with advantage.

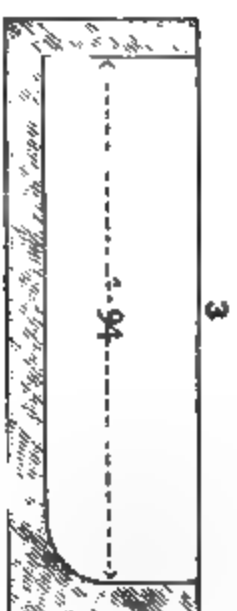
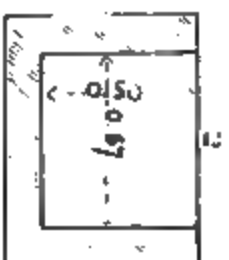
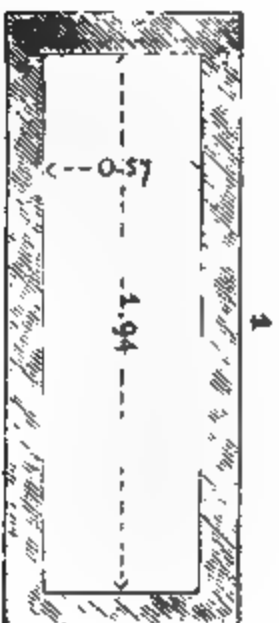
large collection of Gallo-Roman antiquities.¹ The neglect with which this sarcophagus has been treated is even more discreditable than the injury done to the Mosaics; it lies in a dark corner of the church buried under a heap of chairs, so that no traveller would discover it without previous information.² It is of white marble, 1·92 mètres long, 57 centimètres broad at its extremities, and half a mètre high. The front is covered by figures in relief, which might at first sight be mistaken for one composition, but on closer examination we find that different scenes of biblical history are represented. Our Lord stands in the centre, and appears to be giving something to the persons on his right and left, probably with reference to the miracle of the loaves and fishes. In the left corner our Saviour is seen again with a wand in his right hand as a sign of authority, and bidding Lazarus, who is swathed in a shroud, come forth from the tomb. The latter is not recumbent, as in the superimposed shelves of the catacombs, but erect in a vertical niche—a position that suits better with the words in the Gospel, “Loose him and let him go.” Martha stands by the side of the tomb, and Mary kneels at the feet of Christ.³ On the right of this group, and in the foreground, is a small figure staggering under a heavy burden, which probably represents the paralytic carrying his bed. Next to him is a little child, on whom Christ lays his hand, proposing him as a pattern of humility to the disciples. In the opposite corner the sacrifice of Isaac is treated so as to correspond with the raising of Lazarus. Abraham is on the point of slaying his son, and the ram substituted for the human victim, occupies a niche similar to that at the

¹ See Mons^r. Le Blant's *Études sur les sarcophages Chrétiens de la ville d'Arles*. To this work an introduction of thirty-nine pages is prefixed, containing much general information about the symbolism of early Christian art. At p. xiii, note ô, there is a special reference to the sarcophagus at Lucq, which Mons. Le Blant speaks of as almost unknown. It had been previously described only by two French writers, Cénac Moncaut and Le Cœur; he points out the mistakes made in their drawings. This sarcophagus is particularly interesting, because in some cases the sculptor has departed from the types usually received.

As an additional illustration of this subject, compare an article by the same author in the *Revue Archéologique*, Dec., 1877: *La Vierge au ciel représentée sur un sarcophage antique*.

² The friction of these chairs, which are used by the congregation, must contribute to the mutilation of the figures, whenever service is held in the church. In consequence of the unfavourable position of the sarcophagus, it is impossible to take a photograph.

³ St. John, xi, 32. When Mary was come where Jesus was and saw Him, she fell down at his feet.



SCALE OF 0 025

Lucy de Béarn Sarcophagus
Bas relief, Plan and Sections
from Le Cœur's Promenades Archéologiques en Béarn

other end, in which the mummy-like figure is placed. Between the central group and this scene are three personages, who have not been satisfactorily explained. Can they be intended for the angels who appeared to Abraham on the plain of Mamre when Isaac's birth was predicted? In the background we see two females; there can be little doubt that one of them is Sarah, who laments her son's impending fate;¹ the other may be a maid servant, announcing the divine deliverance. The two shorter sides of the tomb also contain bas-reliefs; one exhibits Adam and Eve at the tree of knowledge, and the other, Daniel between two lions, as usual, but with the unusual addition of King Nebuchadnezzar holding a sceptre and followed by an attendant. It is evident that the subjects in this sarcophagus are altogether Christian, for the sacrifice of Isaac finds place here only because it was habitually employed to symbolize the atonement, but it is equally evident that the treatment is, to a great extent, Roman. The symmetrical arrangement of figures on either side of a central group, with corresponding accessories at each extremity, is precisely what we see in the pediment of a heathen temple. Our Lord and his apostles are draped in the toga, without those attributes which later art assigned to them; the wand in the hand of Christ is probably derived from the augural staff (*lituus*), and, lastly, Sarah's handmaid has her hair collected in a knot at the back of her head, according to the fashion observable in imperial coins²

Descending to a still later period, we shall find the

¹ The introduction of Sarah here reminds us of her appearance in the grand mosaics of San Vitale at Ravenna, where she stands in the tent-door and laughs at the promise of an heir. Seroux d'Agincourt, *History of Art by its Monuments*, vol. iii, pl. xvi, No. 12, Mosaic of the year 547, with subjects from the Old Testament. Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta*, vol. ii, plate xx, p. 68.

² In the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines, we may trace three distinct fashions of arranging the hair amongst the Roman ladies. Plotina, Marciana, Matidia, and Sabina—the wife, sister, niece and grandniece of Trajan—wore a lofty head-dress consisting of many rows of curls; Faustina Senior, had

her hair collected in a knot on the top of the head, but Faustina Junior, wore it plaited at the back, in the same manner as the figure on the sarcophagus. The changes of style may be seen as clearly in medals as in busts and statues.—Juvenal, *Satires* vi, 502; Statius, *Silvae*, 1, 2. 114. Engravings from the ancient marbles in the British Museum, part x, pl. ix, p. 17, Head of Sabina; *ib.*, pl. x, p. 19, Head of Faustina Junior. Cohen *Médailles Impériales*, vol. ii, pls. iii, iv, vii, xiv, xviii, xix. Anachronism pervades the drapery of the figures in this sarcophagus, the sculptor having adopted the costume of his own day, just as in the Renaissance we see scriptural characters in the dress of the sixteenth century.

mediaeval imitations of the Roman style far more numerous and striking than the works executed by that people, or by provincials acting under their direction. The old churches in Béarn are, for the most part, Romanesque, and amongst them the Cathedral of Lescar is the best example for our purpose.¹ It was founded A.D. 980 by Sanche Guillaume, Duke of Gascony, in expiation of a murder which he had ordered a nobleman to commit.² It consists of a nave and two aisles terminating in semi-circular apses, and, with the transepts, forms a Latin cross. The round arch prevails throughout the vaultings, and the windows correspond with them. All the constructive parts are so solid that the building itself has resisted successfully the attacks of time and the ravages of fanaticism, while the sculptures have been in some cases totally destroyed, and in others grievously mutilated.³

On entering, the visitor's thoughts are carried back to the baths of Pompeii or the *Thermae* of Diocletian, and he is tempted to regard the style rather as Roman than Romanesque. But we may trace a resemblance to an edifice much nearer Lescar, the so-called Temple of Diana at Nîmes, probably erected early in the second century, which exhibits Greek taste adorning the "megalithic grandeur" of the Romans. There, as usual, the arches are semi-cylindrical, and the three aisled arrangement is adopted with two small apses at the end.⁴ This temple may have served as a model for many churches in the south of France, and Mr. Fergusson has compared with

¹ Lescar has been called the *ville septenaire*, because it had formerly seven churches, seven fountains, seven gates, and seven towers on its ramparts. During many years the cathedral was the St. Denis of Béarn, the sovereigns of the country being interred there. *Le Cœur, Promenades Archéologiques aux Environs de Pau*, pp. 17 and 21.

² In Béarn, at least, the middle ages were not the halcyon time which some fanciful writers are pleased to depict. On the contrary, they were a period of great violence and cruelty on the part of rulers, who seem to have been taught by the clergy that the erection of churches or foundation of hospitals would atone for their crimes, however atrocious.

³ There was no clerestory here, as in

our northern cathedrals. The difference of climate will account for the difference of construction; under a southern sun the entrance of too much light would prove very inconvenient.

⁴ The "Temple of Diana" seems to have been a *basilica* erected by Hadrian in honour of the Empress Plotina, who had promoted his succession to the throne. This view is stated by Hirt, who explains satisfactorily the details of the building, *Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten*, vol. ii, p. 384, section 78. Considered with reference to the deified Empress, whose statue probably stood in a conspicuous place, the building was a temple, but it was used as a *basilica* for the administration of justice.

it that of St. Nazaire at Carcassonne, where the arches of the aisles are round, but those of the nave and outer aisles are pointed, so that the analogy with the Roman architecture is by no means so complete as at Lescar.¹

Of this church the chancel is the finest part, and one feature of it, considered from our point of view, deserves special notice. The interior of the principal apse is decorated with arcades, supported by columns that rest on a base sufficiently projecting and elevated to remind us of the circular seats in the Latin Basilicas. This row of arches was broken in the centre by a vacant space that marked the position of the episcopal throne.² We have therefore here, in a Christian temple of the 10th century, an arrangement derived from the buildings in which the Romans administered justice. There the Prætor, as presiding judge, occupied the curule chair, in the centre of the hemicycle, while the jury were seated on both sides, and distinguished visitors were accommodated with places in the wings.³ But when Christianity inherited the buildings of paganism, the bishop and his presbyters were substituted for the Prætor and the judices. In the church of Torcello, near Venice, an interesting parallel may be seen, which Mr. Ruskin explains as resembling the amphitheatre; but inasmuch as the Christians derived the general plan of their churches from the Basilicas, the purposes of both being analogous, and as the apse was only a copy of the old hemicyclium, where the tribunal was situated, it seems far-fetched to account for any of the details by reference to structures of a totally different

¹ Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, pp. 403-405, pl. 285, section of church at Carcassonne, with the outer aisles added in the fourteenth century. Mr. Petit, *Architectural Studies in France*, gives two engravings of the Palais Gallien at Bordeaux, and correctly observes that we may recognize this type in some of the principal churches in the South of France. The phrase Palais Gallien is a double misnomer, for the existing ruin is the entrance of an *amphitheatre*, probably built by Tetricus, who for some time ruled Aquitaine, not by Gallienus, who, as far as we know, was unconnected with this province. If we compare this fragment of the third century with structures of the eleventh or twelfth, we shall see proof that the

Roman influence was continuous and lasting.

² The interval between the arcades has been recently filled up, so that the historical significance of this part of the building has been lost; and, as the see has been suppressed, there is of course no throne for the bishop.

³ Plinius Junior, *epist.* vi, 33, *Sedebant judices centum et octoginta : . . . ingens utrimque advocatio et numerosa subsellia.* Tacitus, *Annals* i, 75, *Judiciis adsidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne prætorem curuli depelleret (i.e. Tiberius).* Hirt, *Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten*, Band iii, Abschnitt v, secs. 4-8, *Basilikenbau bei den Griechen und Römern.*

character. The steps leading up to the throne, it must be admitted, are not unlike those which intersect the rows of seats in the theatre, but they may have been imitated from the ascent to the Prætor's chair, or introduced to express the dignity of the episcopal office.¹

Lastly, a Gallo-Roman mosaic at Lescar contains some curious peculiarities. An inscription upon it informs us that it was inserted in the pavement by Guido (Guy) who was Bishop in the 12th century; but as the subject is one that would scarcely have been selected by a prelate for his cathedral, it was probably not made by his direction, but only removed to the church from some earlier building.² The mosaic consists of two parts, which are placed on opposite sides of the choir, that on the south side has for its principal figure an archer with a wooden leg supporting the stump of the left thigh; an historical personage, therefore, now unknown, must be represented.³ He is closely followed by a mule, and some other animal partly effaced. The pavement on the north side contains two distinct scenes, a warrior piercing a wild boar with his lance, and a lion attacking a goat, over which a bird hovers as if ready to pounce on its prey. The latter group is executed in an inverted direction. Perhaps the artist had made a mistake in the former portion of his work, but corrected it only in the remainder, where the figures are so placed that they can be conveniently seen by the spectator standing in the axis of the apse. The men and animals are red on a white ground, and the style displays a barbarous energy. It is, however, only the effort of a degraded art, descended from classical antiquity, but with hardly a trace left of its "original brightness," for the ingenious design, beautiful form, and harmonious colouring which we admired at Jurançon, are all alike absent here.

These features have been noticed on account of their

¹ Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii, p. 25, chap. ii; Torcello, sec. 15, pl. i. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 379, pl. 266, Apse of Basilica at Torcello, showing the bishop's throne, surrounded by six ranges of seats for his presbytery.

² This inscription exists in a very mutilated form; it has been read Domi-

nus Guido episcopus Lascurrensis . . fecit pavementum, but as only the last two letters of *fecit* are visible, perhaps we ought to read *dedit*.

³ The only parallel I remember is the statue of Daumenil, the brave governor of Vincennes, at Périgueux; there the wooden leg is painfully obtruded on the spectator.

Roman origin, but there are others which should not be passed over altogether. In the wood-work of the stalls, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and confessors, impress the spectator in their solemn and dignified array, while the capitals of the columns offer to his contemplation the greatest variety of subjects—foliage, grotesque animals, and biblical scenes.

The west front of Lescar Cathedral is quite plain, its sculptures having probably been destroyed by Montgomery's soldiers in the wars of religion; on the other hand, at Morlaas, in the church of Ste. Foi, the grand portal is comparably the most interesting part.¹ This church was built A.D. 1079 by Centulle IV, and resembles that at Lescar in its origin, as it was intended to atone for the marriage of this prince with Gisla, who was related to him in a degree forbidden by the canon law. The portal consists of a grand arch supported by columns, and containing many concentric rows of sculpture. In the upper part we have figures seated on a projecting torus, in an attitude of supplication—the right arm raised to heaven, and the left placed across the breast; perhaps the spirits of the just are thus represented. Below is a series of rosettes, and another of broad leaves with pearls upon them.² Then follow the four and twenty elders of the Apocalyptic vision, seated, with crowns on their heads and instruments of music in their hands; they adore the Paschal Lamb, who occupies the most prominent place, viz., the key-stone of the arch.³ Underneath is

¹ The name Morlaas (*mort tu l'as*) is explained as referring to the murder committed by Fortun Loup, to expiate which the cathedral at Lescar was founded. In the ninth century Morlaas was almost the only town spared by the Normans, and became the royal residence after the destruction of Beneharnun. Cénac Moncaut, *Voyage Archéologique et Historique dans l'ancienne Vicomté de Béarn*, p. 41; Le Coeur, *Promenades Archéol.*, p. 4.

² This detail resembles the ball-flower, which is characteristic of the Decorated style of the fourteenth century; J. H. Parker, *Glossary of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 53, pl. 21.

³ The twenty-four elders appear as a sculptural decoration at St. Denis, Chartres and Reims, as well as in the church

founded by Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle; but the subject probably came from Rome, as it formed a part of the Mosaics at S. Paolo fuori delle Mura, executed A.D. 441 by order of Galla Placidia; it there occupied a most prominent place on the triumphal arch, upon which the name of the Empress was inscribed. Another example occurs in Rome at the church of Sta. Cecilia, rebuilt A.D. 817. Seroux d'Agincourt, vol. iii, pl. xvi, No. 6; pl. xvii, No. 14. In both these cases the elders are holding their crowns in their hands, but at Morlaas and Oloron they wear them on their heads. Compare Revelations iv, 4 and 10. Though individuals expressed doubts concerning the authorship and canonicity of this book, the early Christians generally received it, and dwelt upon

a row of web-footed birds, some devouring a serpent, others a fish, but the two at the top are pecking each other. Though the birds are alike in shape, this uniformity may be conventional, and they may possibly have reference to allegorical types, such as the pelican in piety, the phoenix an emblem of the resurrection, and the doves symbolizing Christian love. In the great tympanum the central figure is Christ enthroned, raising the right hand to bless, and surrounded by an elliptical glory on which are inscribed the words:—

Rex sum coelorum merces condigna meorum.
Me quicumque colit pro vita perdere nolit.

St. John appears on the right hand of the Saviour as an eagle, and St. Matthew, on the left, as an angel; both have the nimbus. There are smaller tympana of a semi-circular form above the two entrances, separated by a column; the sculptures of one are altogether effaced, and of the other nothing is left but a man holding up a child; these figures indicate the massacre of the Innocents, as is proved by verses, of which also only a part remains:—

Herodes (Dominum) dum quærit perdere Christum
Extinxit pueros fidei.....natos.

There is little to attract the antiquary in the interior; but it may be worth while to mention that the fine mosaic with which the sanctuary is paved has been partly copied from that at Jurançon, described above.¹

Oloron contains two remarkable churches, St. Croix and St. Marie. The former differs from Lescar and Morlaas in having a cupola at the intersection of the nave and transepts; the ground plan however is similar. Many of the capitals are ornamented with scriptural subjects, and in one case the design is very singular, perhaps unique; three faces are combined in such a way

its sublime imagery with singular delight. Alford's Greek Testament, vol. iv, pp. 198-230, Prolegomena; Kugler's Handbook of Painting, edited by Eastlake, vol. i, p. 24.

¹ I fear that this description of the portal at Morlaas does not correspond well with its present condition, for many details have probably disappeared in the process of reconstruction, which has been

unfortunately adopted; on the other hand, at Ste. Marie d'Oloron, the old sculptures have been preserved as much as possible, and supplemented by judicious restoration, where it was absolutely required. Le Cœur, Béarn, pp. 296-299. De Bordenave—d'Abère, Morlaas et sa Basilique; the pamphlet of the latter author has a photograph of the portal for its frontispiece.

that the central one is partly formed by the two on the sides. They compose the capital, and on the base of the column two cows' heads are sculptured, evidently taken from the armorial bearings of the province; by this strange device the artist intended to show that the Trinity protected Béarn.¹ As the visitor approaches the church he cannot fail to notice a large square tower, which certainly adds nothing to its beauty. Architecture has been called "an exponent of ideas," it is also an exponent of historical facts. This dismal, ill-shaped tower, that seems to frown on the cupola and apses, tells a tale of troublous times. It is, properly speaking, no part of the ecclesiastical edifice, but was erected in the 13th century as a fortification. The excitement caused by the wars of the Albigenses had spread as far as Béarn, and the buttresses rising to the highest story still attest the precautions which it was necessary to take against violent attacks. A typical example of this combination of a stronghold with a place of worship may be seen at Luz, on the way to Gavarnie, where the Templars built a church, probably in the 13th century;² but a still better instance may be found nearer home; the lofty towers that rise above Cormac's chapel on the Rock of Cashel seem intended, like that at Oloron, for defence, and from their elevated position would enable the garrison to watch a distant enemy.³

St. Marie presents new features in the ground plan, in the general appearance of the exterior, and especially in the portal. This structure is far more complicated than we usually find in this district, as there are double aisles on each side of the nave, and five chapels radiating round the sanctuary; the latter arrangement, though common in the great cathedrals of France, has no parallel among the churches of Béarn. As St. Marie is outside the old city, it was much more exposed than Ste. Croix to the injuries of civil wars and foreign invasions, which necessitated

¹ *Le Cœur, ib.*, Planche 38.

² Mons^r. Jules Marion wrote a monograph on the church at Luz, which has been republished separately, but is now very scarce. A good photograph may be obtained on the spot.

³ The most copious account of Cormac's Chapel is that by Petrie, *Round*

Towers and Ancient Architecture of Ireland, pp. 288-305, with engravings showing a general view of the building and many of the details; but the best illustrations will be found in Mr. Arthur Hill's monograph, which contains photographs, plans, and sections of an atlas size.

repairs at different periods, so that the great variety of styles is easily accounted for. The portal and porch are Romanesque, the naves and aisles of the 12th and 13th centuries, the chapels in the apse of the 14th, and the lateral chapels of the 15th. No part of the church can be compared with the western entrance, which is both the oldest and the richest in decoration; it resembles that at Morlaas, but has the advantage of being protected by a vestibule that admits the light abundantly. Above the tympanum, on which is sculptured a descent from the Cross in low relief, extend two over-arching voussoirs adorned with rows of figures; the upper represents the twenty four elders holding musical instruments and vials for perfumes,¹ the lower consists of twelve pairs of labourers, one for each month. Many of them are engaged in culinary operations, and may amuse the spectator by their homely realism. Though they have been very much mutilated, we can still distinguish men carrying bread, raising fowl from a dish, holding a basket of eggs, boiling water and bending before a cask. This voussoir rests on a monster at each end that serves as a gargoyle.²

The small church at Sauvelade was mentioned to me by Mons^r. Raymond as worthy of a visit, and I accordingly made an excursion thither from Orthez. At first I was somewhat disappointed, as the building is devoid of ornament both internally and externally; there are not even any columns, but only pilasters. The plan however is remarkable, for the Greek cross with arms of equal length has been substituted for the Latin, which is the usual form in this part of France. Here again Architecture

¹ The crowns of the Elders are like those worn by Carlovingian kings on playing cards. Similarly in the frescoes of Villeneuve de Marsau (Landes), representing the history of St. Catherine, a Roman Emperor has the Merovingian crown; Memoir by Dr. Sorbets in the *Congrès Scientifique à Pau*, tome ii, p. 214, pl. iii. The description in the Revelation is reproduced at Oloron with great fidelity, chap. v, v. 8—Four and twenty Elders . . . having everyone of them harps and golden vials full of odours.

² Between the two doors of this portal is a column supported by four figures with bended knees, which are probably meant for Arabs taken prisoners

by Gaston IV in his Spanish wars. They may therefore be compared with the Saracen's heads, which frequently occur in the cathedral at Barcelona, as bosses and corbels. Their position at the base of the column may remind us of the seated female—a Jewess or Judæa personified—at the foot of a palm tree in the well known coins of Vespasian and Titus, bearing the legend *IVDÆA CAPTA*.

Cénac Moncaut is very inaccurate in his account of the reliefs round the tympanum; I discovered his mistakes on the spot, with the assistance of the intelligent artist engaged in restoring the sculptures. This portal has been photographed for me in a superior style by Mons^r. Calmel, of Pau.

illustrates history. This church was part of a Benedictine Abbey founded by Gaston IV in fulfilment of a vow made when he narrowly escaped drowning in the torrent Laa.

Gaston took a prominent part in the first Crusade ; he was associated with Tancred and Count Raymond of Toulouse ; he was present at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem, and contributed to the victory at Ascalon. He had therefore seen many Greek churches almost square in those Oriental lands, and on returning to his own dominions naturally imitated a model with which he was familiar.¹

Philology and Archæology should advance *pari passu* and hand in hand, because they always assist each other. So, in the present case, if we turn from things to words, we shall find the relations between Rome and Béarn still more apparent than before.² The patois spoken in this province is one of the purest among the Romance languages. It resembles Latin far more than modern French does, as will be seen at once by comparing a few words in common use :

<i>Béarnais.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>French.</i>
Audir	Audire	Entendre.
Carce	Carcer	Prison.
Custodir	Custodire	Garder.
Elegir	Eligere	Choisir.
Copia de Gentz	Copia	Foule de gens.
Epistole	Epistola	Lettre. ³

The Béarnais, as might be expected, has a very close affinity with the Spanish, but it is not derived from it, these languages being related to each other as sisters, and not as mother and daughter, for they are equally the offspring of the Latin. It would be easy to shew that they both make the same or similar changes from the original. The inflexions of verbs, and the interchanges

¹ Fergusson. History of Architecture. vol. ii, pp. 325, 327, 328, woodcuts 864, 867. The church of St. Clement at Ancyra is 64 feet long by 58 wide. The church of the Theotokos at Constantinople is 57 feet by 45, and the church of the Apostles at Salonica is 63 feet by 59.

² The law, as well as the language, of Rome remained for a long time in Béarn. It prevailed even during the rule of the Visigoths, and its spirit survived in the Foras. This word is the same as the Spanish Fueros, for which see Ford,

Handbook of Spain, Basque Provinces, pp. 171, 179 ; Aragon, 496, 497 ; Navarre, 499.

³ Lespy, *Grammaire Béarnaise*, Introduction, p. x. Mountainous and barren countries present few temptations to invaders (cf. *Thucydides*, Lib. i, cap. 2, διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεον) ; hence their population and language are comparatively free from foreign admixture, and we may thus account for the continuous predominance of the Latin element in the Béarnais dialect.

of consonants will supply many instances; *e.g.*, the Béarnais and the Spanish have dropped the final E of the Latin infinitive, and have substituted H for the initial F, but with this difference that H is pronounced in Béarn, though mute in Spain.¹

Many of our countrymen spend a portion of the year in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, seeking to recruit their health, or attending on invalid friends. I shall only be too happy, if any suggestions of mine should induce residents in this favoured region to beguile some weary hours, and employ them profitably in the study of its monuments, which, if not as important as some others, are still interesting enough to excite a liberal curiosity, and present a field of enquiry hitherto but imperfectly explored.

NOTE.

I have freely used the Transactions of the Scientific Congress at Pau and the works of recent French writers, especially Le Cœur and Cénac Moncaut, but I have compared them with earlier authorities, as far as possible. I am also much indebted to my brother Mr. William Lewis, whose residence at Pau has enabled him to afford me very useful assistance from time to time.

Archæological researches are pursued in the south of France under considerable difficulties, arising partly from the rashness and inaccuracy of some local antiquaries, and partly from the ignorance of the population, which is really amazing. One instance will prove that this statement is no exaggeration. From the census of 1873 we learn that in the Department of Ariège, on the frontier of Spain, the proportion of uneducated persons, *i.e.*, of those who can neither read nor write, is 53 per cent.—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. cxi, p. 389.

¹ This patois contracts the Latin words much less than the French does, *e.g.*, matura, mature, mûre—secura, se-gure, sûre. It substitutes D for T, *e.g.*, audidou, auditeur, just as the Spanish has mudar for the Latin mutare. Again, like the Spanish, it has a predilection for B instead of V, *e.g.* balou, valeur; bi, vis; merbelhe, merveille; abantz, avant. Compare Scaliger's epigram quoted by Key on the Alphabet, p. 47, Article on the letter B;

Haud temere antiquas mutat Vasconia
voces,

Cui nihil est aliud vivere quam bibare.
But the strongest proof of the close affinity between the Béarnais and Spanish is the fact that a person speaking the former language can make himself understood in parts of Spain where French is unknown. Lastly, the Béarnais exhibits many analogies with Greek; in both the same word is used for the definite article

and the pronoun of the third person; the article precedes a possessive adjective followed by a substantive, *e.g.* Lou me pay, $\delta \epsilon \mu \delta \varsigma \pi \alpha \tau \acute{\eta} \rho$; and the article followed by an infinite or participle is equivalent to a noun. Lespy, pp. 121, 122, *seca*. 149-153. Similarly, if we cross the Pyrenees, we shall find many Greek words in the Catalonian dialect, which is easily accounted for, as Rhoda and Emporeium (Rosas and Ampurias) were colonies planted in this region by the Massaliots; Grote, *History of Greece*, chap. xcvi, vol. xii. p. 616. The evidence of the spread of Greek influence in this direction, which we derive from history and language, is confirmed by the coins; see De Saulcy, *Lettres à M. A. de Longpérier, sur la Numismatique Gauloise*, p. 276, seqq. Pl. I, last in the volume. Rhoda et imitations Gauloises; Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, European Greece, p. 50, and Supplement, p. 144.

ON A SIGNACULUM OF ST. JAMES OF COMPOSTELLA,

By C. D. E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.

At page 179 of the twenty-sixth volume of the *Archæological Journal*, in an account of objects exhibited at the meeting held on the 4th December, 1868, two casts in plaster of Paris, taken from jet images supposed to be of St. James, were shown by Dr. Ferdinald Keller, the learned antiquary of Zurich, and are described—one of them being figured on the succeeding page. These images had been sent to him by Father Gall Morel, of Einsiedeln, about the month of June preceding. One was found in peaty soil, at the depth of several feet, near the chapel of the leprous pilgrims at Einsiedeln: it is 5 inches in length, 2 inches broad, and 1 inch thick, and is that figured at p. 180. The other is smaller, measuring only 1 inch and 3-8ths in length, and was also found in Switzerland.

Subsequently, in 1869, Dr. Keller wrote a more detailed description of these jet objects in the *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, published at Zurich. That notice, in which Dr. Keller expresses the doubtless correct opinion that the figure represented is that of St. James the Greater, and is a *signaculum*, or pilgrim's sign, confirmed the previous suspicion of Mr. Joseph Anderson, that a similar figure, presented to the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by James Gibson Craig, Esq., a fellow of that society, was of that material and character.

In the eleventh volume of the Proceedings of that learned society at page 62, Mr. Anderson has figured and described the example under his care, and has accompanied his description by much valuable reference and observations on the subject of the representation of

the patron saint of lepers in pilgrim's garb, and the importance attached to pilgrimage made to the shrine of Saint Iago at Compostella in Galicia of Spain. He confirms the known fact that, having accomplished the object of their weary journey, the pilgrims received the blessing and obtained a *signum* or emblem of that Saint, which had also been duly blessed by the priests, and was a badge or sign of their having performed the pilgrimage. These badges or signs were formed of various materials of greater or less value, doubtless in accordance with the liberality of donation to the shrine. We are well acquainted with the numerous "pilgrim's signs" made of lead and pewter, which have been disinterred at various localities in this country and elsewhere, as also with their more numerous modern imitations; but *signacula* in other material are less common, and it is to be presumed that among the "*varias effigies Jacobi*," those so skilfully carved in jet, and which seem to have been almost special to the Compostella shrine, were only bestowed upon persons of the higher ranks.

On this part of the subject, Mr. Anderson has also gathered much information, and he notices and figures moulds for casting the more ordinary class of "signs."

My object in referring to those valuable papers, is to introduce another and perhaps more interesting example of these jet figures of St. James, which was procured by me in Italy many years since, and, if I rightly recollect, at Florence.

It represents the Saint in pilgrim's dress, the loose long garment known as the "*esclavina*" or "*pera*," reaching nearly to the ankles, and seemingly fastened at the throat with a circular *fibula*. He is bearded, and wears a large broad hat with recurved brim, the front of which is adorned with the scallop shell, the special emblem of pilgrimage to the Compostella shrine. In the left hand he holds the open book of the Gospel, to which he points with the extended index finger of the right hand; beneath the volume is seen the gourd, but its mode of suspension is not apparent; with the right arm he supports the "*bourdon*" or pilgrim's staff, the upper end of which is unfortunately wanting; to this is suspended the wallet or *gibecière*. The height of this figure, including

—
Signet ring of St. James of Compostella

the shallow grounding or base on which it stands, is 3 inches and 7-10ths; width 1 inch 8-10ths, thickness 8-10ths of an inch; with the trifling exceptions of the hand pointing to the open book instead of grasping the staff, and the addition of the gourd, there would seem to be but small difference between my St. Iago and that published by Mr. Anderson; his, however, is laterally pierced, which mine has not been. But the remarkable feature in that I now describe, is the fact that it forms the centre of a group of three, St. James between two kneeling figures of much smaller size, one on either side. That on his left has been unfortunately chipped away, only its outline in front and the feet and a fold of drapery behind bearing witness to its similarity in posture to its fellow. That on the Saint's right is of a man, bearded and with head uncovered, clad in a long loose garment, girded at the waist; he kneels, his hands palm to palm are raised in the attitude of prayer, while hanging from his wrists is a chaplet of ten beads. There is considerable probability that this kneeling figure is intended as an *icon* of the pilgrim to whom the *signaculum* of the Saint originally belonged, and there is nearly equal probability that the figure on the other side, now unfortunately lost, may have represented the pilgrim's wife, who also, probably, had earned the badge of Compostella, if, as is not unlikely, these jet images of St. James were really to be obtained only by pilgrimage to that celebrated shrine. That the kneeling figure on the Saint's left was that of a woman, is confirmed by a similar group in the same material, and doubtless, emanating from the same sanctuary, which is preserved in the British Museum. In that a string of beads is also held pendant from the right hand of St. Iago; the kneeling male figure on his right holds a similar chaplet, while with one hand he clings to the Saint's staff. On his left a female kneels habited in long garb and with raised clasped hands, from which depends a rosary.

Comparing it with the engravings above referred to, and with the British Museum example, which, however, has the advantage of more perfect preservation, my own is, perhaps, of somewhat finer and more careful execution; certain details moreover would appear to have been gilt, as the hair and beard of the saint and of the male pilgrim,

the leaves of the Gospel, the scallop shell, &c. One may, I think, infer from these facts that the badge in my possession, as also that in the British Museum, were specially made for pilgrims who, together with their wives, desired to be represented in adoration on either side of St. James ; pilgrims, probably of the higher class, who together had offered their prayers and their gifts before the Galician shrine.

On the other hand, that the single figures of the saint, such as those described by Dr. Keller, the one figured in our *Journal* at page 180 of vol. xxvi, and that in the Scotch Antiquaries' Museum, figured in vol. xi at page 62 of their Proceedings, were made for solitary pilgrims, perhaps less generous or less influential ; and that for the greater number, the pilgrims of a more ordinary class, some smaller "sign" of less costly material and workmanship were made, and were to be obtained at Compostella.

I should be inclined to ascribe the middle of the sixteenth century as the probable period at which these groups were executed.

I have yet to direct attention to another object of equally fine and lustrous jet, the workmanship of which would seem to have been of the same period and of the same locality as that I have just described, and may perhaps have been obtained by pilgrimage to the same sanctuary, although it might possibly also record pilgrimages made to other holy places.

It is a quadrilateral and somewhat rhomboidal block of jet, with channelled sides diverging towards the rounded top, on which is a four pointed star-like ornament, pierced with a hole in the centre. The height of the block is $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch, its longest diameter $2\frac{3}{4}$, the shortest $2\frac{1}{2}$. Inserted in that hole is the stem of a brass holder, apparently of more recent workmanship, the upper part formed as a support, with diverging flat and recurved sides, for holding some object of elongated form.

At each angle the figure of a saint is cut in full relief, against what may be intended for a sort of pointed arch or tabernacle. The carving has been executed with great precision and care. First we notice St. James in pilgrim's dress, as before described, except that we miss the gourd, but have the upper end of the staff terminating

in a round knob, the hook on its side to which the wallet is attached being also visible. The next figure to the right of St. James is St. Peter, the head uncovered, the ample robe, falling nearly to the feet, is girdled at the waist and fastened by a circular fibula at the neck; in his right hand he holds the keys, in his left a book. At the angle next beyond is the figure of a saint, bare-headed, bearded, draped in a long and loose vestment, holding a sword with blade downwards in his right hand, and a book in his left. This can be no other than St. Paul. A circular spot or wound, raised *en cabuchon*, is seen on his left breast, a distinction which I do not recollect to have noticed on other figures of that saint.

The last of the series, a somewhat feminine figure to the left of St. James, is doubtless that of St. John: his head uncovered, but with hair falling on either side; he is draped in a long and loose garment, fastened by a brooch or fibula at the neck, and falling in heavy folds over an inner skirt. In his left hand he holds a chalice, from which a serpent is issuing, its head approaching the finger of St. John's right hand.

The question naturally arises, for what purpose was this carefully executed carving made? To this I can offer no certain answer, but that it may have been the foot of a reliquary or *ostensorium* is not improbable, or possibly the base for a crucifix. The brass fork is probably a more recent addition, making it serve the purpose of a support for a staff, crozier, baton, or other such object—or, as some one has irreverently suggested, for a cigar!

I would not have ventured to direct the attention of the Institute to these comparatively unimportant objects, but from the circumstance of their rarity, a fact confirmed by Mr. Anderson, who, in his paper above referred to, states his belief that the jet figure in the Scotch Antiquarian Museum is the only one in the United Kingdom; and also that mine, as well as that in the British Museum, differs from the others hitherto made known, in having iconic representations of the pilgrims for whom they were made, and of their wives, kneeling in adoration at the sides of the great Saint Iago of Compostella.

CANNIBALISM IN ENGLAND.

BY C. S. GREAVES, Q.C.

At our May Meeting in 1865 a paper was read by the Revd. William Greenwell,¹ which led to a discussion as to the existence of Cannibalism in England, and on that occasion I ventured to contend that that paper contained no evidence whatever of any such practice having ever existed in England. The simple facts, from which such a conclusion was drawn, were that in a very large tumulus a great number of human bones had been found in such positions as clearly indicated that they were devoid of flesh at the time when they were placed in the tomb. Assuming that to have been the case, I maintained that that afforded no evidence whatever that the flesh had been eaten; as there were many other modes by which the positions, in which the bones were found, might be accounted for, and much more reasonably. One instance would occur at once almost to every one. A tribe had been vanquished in a battle, and left its dead on the field, at a subsequent period it returned to the battle field, and collected the bones of the dead, some doubtless broken in the battle, others possibly broken and gnawed by wild beasts, and buried them in one common tomb. It would be impossible to give a better example than the burial in one tomb of the bones of the soldiers of Varus, in the forest of Teuteberg, six years after they had been slain. Tacitus² thus describes the state in which their remains were found: "*Medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disjecta vel aggerata; adjacebant fragmina telorum, equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora.*" Such indeed was the state that Tacitus adds that the army *trium legionum ossa, nullo noscento alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret.* Florus³ speaking of

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxii, p. 106.

² *Annal*, Lib. i, 61.

³ *Lib.* iv, 12 s. 34.

the same battle says, *aliis oculos, aliis manus amputabant &c.* Bearing in mind that the bodies had been exposed for six years to all the beasts and birds of the forest, and that the number of the slain amounted to several thousands, let any one endeavour to conceive what a congeries of bones in every possible state must have existed in this barrow, and his lowest estimate will very far exceed any congeries of bones ever found in England. And here I may well introduce a passage from Wilson's *Pre-historic Man*.¹ "Among the Hurons, the Mandans, the Sioux and other tribes, the body was, and with the survivors still is, most frequently laid out at full length on an elevated bier or scaffold, or otherwise disposed of above ground, where it was left to decay, and then after a time the bones of the dead, with all the offerings deposited beside them, were consigned to one common grave. Ossuaries of great extent, forming the general receptacle of large communities, have been repeatedly brought to light both in Canada and the Northern States. Creuxius quotes from Le Jeune an account of one of the great burials of the Hurons he witnessed. A grand celebration was solemnly convoked. Not only the remains of those whose bodies had been scaffolded, but of all who had died on a journey or *on the war path*, and had been temporarily buried, were now gathered together in one common sepulchre with special marks of regard. The pit was lined with furs, all the relics and offerings were deposited beside the bones, and the whole were covered with furs before the earth was thrown on them."

The burial of the soldiers of Varus, and the practice of the Hurons and other tribes, were not present to my mind at the time; but they so well support my suggestion that I have introduced them in this place.

But in answer to me four authorities were cited in the paper as proving that cannibalism had existed in England. I have since examined all these authorities, and it is very clear that they in no way support the position for which they were cited, and I have met with no trustworthy authority whatever, which even shows that any such practice ever existed in Europe.

As a mere assertion of mine, however, would be little

¹ Vol. ii, p. 291.

satisfactory, I will deal with each of these authorities in a manner which, I hope, may enable everyone to judge for himself.

Strabo,¹ at some length, treats of England, and there is not a word in his description tending to show that he had ever heard of a rumour of such a practice in it. Then in sec. 4 he speaks of Ireland, and he writes thus: "But there are both other small islands round Britain, and a large one, Ierne (Ireland), opposite to it, on the north (a pretty plain proof how little he knew of the island), which is long rather than broad; concerning which we have nothing certain to narrate² but that they who inhabit it are more uncivilized³ than the Britons, being both man-eaters⁴ and gluttons, and holding it laudable to eat their dead fathers;" and after mentioning their conduct towards women, which we may well omit, Strabo adds, "and yet we thus narrate these things, as not having trustworthy witnesses (of them)."⁵ Here then we have an author narrating these stories, and at the same time telling us, both at the beginning and at the end, that he had no certain or trustworthy proof of them; and I venture to think that to take such a narrative as any proof against Ireland, to which it applies, would be very unreasonable. But as to England, the fact that Strabo narrates such untrustworthy stories as to Ireland, and wholly omits any similar story as to England, is conclusive that no such rumour or tale had ever reached him as to England. In fact, Strabo is a very strong witness in favour of England.

Strabo, however, adds, "Nevertheless the practice of man-eating is *said* to be Scythian, and the Celts and Iberians and many others are said to have done it in the straitness of sieges;"⁶ and we might add that mothers are said to have eaten their children in the first siege of Rome by Alaric.⁷ But when we remember that to turn

¹ Lib. 4, c. 5, s. 1, 2, and 3 (228).

² Περὶ ἧς οὐδὲν ἔχομεν λέγειν
σαφές.

³ ἀγριώτεροι.

⁴ ἀνθρωποφάγοι.

⁵ Καὶ ταῦτα δ' οὕτωλ ἔγομεν,
ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀξιοπίστους

μάρτυρας.

⁶ ἐν ἀνάγκαις πολιορκητικαῖς.

⁷ Jerome ad Principiam, vol. 1, p. 121, cited 5 Gibb. D. and F., 292. Ad nefandos cibos erupit esurientium rabies, et sua invicem membra laniarunt; dum mater non parcit lactanti infantiae, et recipit utero quam paulo ante effuderat.

a smiling land into a howling wilderness¹ was to make peace; which is so graphically described by Jerome, who tells us that the cities were laid waste, the inhabitants slain, that beasts, birds, and fishes were destroyed, and that everything had perished, except the heaven and the earth and the increasing briars and the thickening woods in Illyrium, Thrace, and Pannonia;² and when we also remember that the inhabitants of Masada, sooner than fall into the hands of the Romans, destroyed themselves, their wives and their children;³ and that the days had long passed when a Scipio restored a Spanish Princess to her lover;⁴ and that times came when German women, having vainly begged to become the slaves of the Vestal virgins, destroyed themselves and their children, rather than be subjected to the insults of the Romans,⁵ of the nature of which some idea may be formed from the shameless boast of Proculus as to his treatment of one hundred Sarmatian virgins, which was so gross that even Gibbon could not defile his pages with a translation of it;⁶ we shall not be disposed to look with too severe an eye upon acts which, if, in fact, they ever were perpetrated, were done for the sole purpose of preserving that which was dearer than life itself.

Nor can I fail to remark that, if in the pressure of a siege, such a thing ever did take place, how very probable it is that a report would be spread that the people were man-eaters, especially when we remember that the Greek word, *ἀνθρωποφάγος*, applies to eating human flesh under any circumstances. Indeed Strabo, as we have seen, applies it to the eating of human flesh in the straitness of sieges, which proves that the word was sometimes

¹ Quando solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.

² Jerome, Lib. vii, p. 250, cited 4 Gibb. D. and F., 416. Et vastatis urbibus hominibusque interfectis, solitudinem et raritatem bestiarum fieri et volatiliū pisciumque testis Illyrium est; testis Thracia; testis, in quo ortus sum, solum; ubi, præter cælum et terram et crescentes vepres et condensa sylvarum, cuncta perierunt. And see Gibb. iv, D. and F., 416, as to iii Cæs. Com., 16, vi, 31, and vii, 27.

³ Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib vii, c. 8, s. 6, 7, 9.

⁴ Liv., lib. xxvi, c. 50, Captiva adeo

eximiâ formâ, ut, quâcunque incedebet, converteret omnium oculos.

⁵ Gibbon, D. and F. i, 370, citing Tacit. Germ. vii, Plutarch in Mario.

⁶ Gibbon, D. and F. ii 77. Ex his decem unâ nocte inivi; omnes tamen quod in me erat mulieres intra quindecim dies reddidi. Vopiscus in Hist., Aug., 246.

Well might Virgil say of Polyxena—
O felix una antè alias Priameia virgo,
Hostile ad tumulum Trojæ sub manibus
altis

Jussa mori, quæ sortitus on pertulit ullos,
Nec victoris heri tetigit captiva cubile.—

Æn., iii, 321.

used in a very different sense from the word Cannibalism, which means the voluntary and habitual use of human flesh for human food.

Next I take Diodorus Siculus.¹

Whilst writing about the Celts, he says: "But they who dwell in the north,² and border on Scythia, being the most barbarous, *it is said*, (*φασι*) that some of them eat men, as also those of the Britons who inhabit the island called Irin."³ Now Diodorus came to Rome 30 years B.C. and he published his works there six years B.C. But Strabo did not come to Rome until near 14 A.D., and wrote after Diodorus, and the probability is that he had read his works, and as he and Diodorus both speak of Ireland and Scythia, it seems very probable that this report, vague and mere hearsay as it is, and resting on no named authority, is one of the stories which Strabo distinctly states rested on no trustworthy testimony. Even if Strabo had not seen the passage, he had investigated the matter after Diodorus, and pronounced it to be based on nothing worthy of belief. The statement, therefore, fails as to Ireland, and it in no way applies to England.

Thirdly, Pliny,⁴ states that there were some races of Scythians, and indeed others who ate human flesh. That perhaps would be incredible, unless we considered that in the middle of the world, in Sicily, there were the Cyclopes and Læstrygones of this monstrous class, and very recently on the other side of the Alps it was the custom of those nations that a man should be sacrificed (in a manner) which falls little short of eating him."⁵ Now here we have a plain allusion to the sacrifices of the Druids, and a clear assertion that what was done did not amount to cannibalism. A fair estimate may be formed of the weight, which ought to be attached to Pliny as to cannibalism anywhere, from the rest of the chapter, where, with equal gravity and assurance, he narrates a number of fabulous stories, such as probably have never been collected in the same chapter either

¹ Lib. v, sec. 32.

² ὑπὸ τοὺς Ἀρκτοὺς.

³ Ireland.

⁴ Lib. vii, c. 2.

⁵ Hominem immolari gentium eorum more solitum, quod paulo a mandendo abest.

before or since ; of which, I will mention a few. First come the Arimaspi, a people with only one eye in the middle of the forehead. Then come certain men of the woods, whose feet were turned backwards, but who were exceedingly swift runners : unfortunately, however, they could not breathe in any air but their own. Next we have a race from Albania, with bright, fiery red eyes, who could see better by night than by day, but only took food every third day. Lastly comes a race, in whose bodies a poison fatal to serpents was bred by nature, and who to test the virtue of their wives exposed the children they bore to the fiercest of these serpents. To such an author the remarks of Strabo upon certain historians may, perhaps, well be applied. Strabo says¹ that certain historians, perceiving that those who undoubtedly wrote fables were in great esteem, conceived that they themselves would render their writings pleasing, if they narrated in the form of history things, which they had never seen or heard, or at least never heard from those that knew them, aiming alone at making their writings pleasing to their readers. And this passage is well worthy of note here, as it is introduced with reference to the Massagetæ, of whom, he says, the historians had nothing they could accurately write, and concerning whom nothing had been ascertained to be true,² but who as he afterwards tells us,³ were said to consider that death the best when their old men were chopped up into small pieces together with the flesh of cattle, and eaten whilst mixed up together. Here we have another instance of the extreme distrust Strabo entertained as to these stories, and yet he has been but too frequently cited as an authority for their truth, whilst no notice has been taken of the discredit which he attached to them. And one remark of his will approve itself to every one as specially applicable to these stories ; namely, that things that are said to have occurred very far off are very difficult of disproof,⁴ and, therefore, I may add, very

¹ Lib. xi, c. 6, s. 3, p. 21.

² οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀκριβῶς λέγειν
περὶ αὐτῶν οὐδέν . . . περὶ τούτων
οὐδέν ἠκρίβωτο πρὸς ἀλήθειαν.

Strabo, Lib. xi, c. 6, s. 2, p. 21.

³ Lib. xi, c. 8, s. 6.

⁴ τὸ δὲ πόρρω δυσέλεγκτον.
Lib. xi, c. 6, s. 4, p. 21.

likely to afford materials for the concoction of stories to amuse the reader.

But another passage was cited from Pliny.¹ He had just mentioned a decree of the senate that no man should be sacrificed; and that human sacrifices had existed in Gaul, but that Tiberius Cæsar had destroyed the Druids there; yet that that art was celebrated with such ceremonies in Britain that it might seem that it had imparted it to the Persians, so thoroughly had all the world agreed in it. And then he breaks forth: "Nor is it possible to estimate how much is due to the Romans, who abolished horrible rites (*monstra*), in which it was most religious to kill a man, and most wholesome that he should be eaten." Now this statement cannot apply to the Druids, as Pliny had distinctly told us that their sacrifices did not amount to cannibalism; and at most it is one of those general flourishes of fine writing, which applies to no people in particular, and in such a credulous writer is entitled to no credit as to any.

I now come to Hieronymus or Jerome, who is regularly cited as proving that he had himself seen the Scots practice cannibalism. The passage occurs in his book against Jovinian,² who held that it was lawful to eat all sorts of food, provided it were accompanied by religious actions.³ Now the chapter, in which the passage occurs, is devoted to the consideration of the food used by different *nations*. It begins, "Who is ignorant that *every nation* is accustomed to eat, not according to the common law of nature, but those things whereof there is great abundance with them?"⁴ The chapter, therefore, applies to the usages of *nations*, and not of individuals; and to their feeding upon things which abounded in their own countries. Jerome then proceeds to prove his proposition by many examples, a few of which it will be well to mention. First, he says that the Arabs and Saracens, and all the barbarians of the desert, live on the milk and flesh of camels, because this animal is easily bred and fed in these hot and sterile regions; but that they hold it unlawful to eat swine's flesh, because swine either are not

¹ xxx, sec. 4.

² Lib. ii, c. 6.

³ Dict. Hist. Jerome and Jovinian.

⁴ Unamquamque gentem non communi lege naturæ, sed iis, quorum apud se copia est, vesci solitum.

CANNIBALISM IN ENGLAND.

found there or cannot have their proper food. That the people of the East and the Libyans are wont to eat locusts, because clouds of them are found in their hot and vast deserts. That the Ickthyophagi, a tribe living by the Red Sea, live on fish alone. These examples sufficiently show that they were well chosen to prove the proposition at the head of the chapter; and the last example he gives is the passage in question, which is clearly introduced as the most conclusive proof of all of that proposition, and as a climax to the whole. "But," says he, "why should I speak of other nations, when I, a youth, in Gaul beheld the Scots, a British tribe, eat human flesh, and when they find herds of swine, cattle, and sheep in the woods, they are accustomed to cut off the buttocks of the shepherds, and the paps of the shepherdesses, and to consider these as the only delicacies of food." I have rendered the passage as it is usually rendered, but in order that my remarks may be better understood I give the original: *Cum ipse adescens in Galliâ viderim Attacottos, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus, et cum per silvas porcorum greges, et armentorum, pecudumque reperiant, pastorum nates et foeminarum papillas solere abscindere; et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari.*

Now I will point out some striking absurdities, which at once arise from this version. First, instead of conclusively proving the proposition for which it is produced, it directly contradicts it; for it makes this tribe, with abundance of cattle actually present, take the solitary shepherd or shepherdess, who was tending them; a bountiful meal for a hungry tribe! Next it makes this tribe living in Gaul which it never did; when throughout the chapter Jerome is speaking of the habits of tribes at their homes. It is true that Gibbon supposes that the passage may refer to some soldiers of a Scottish tribe serving in the Roman Army in Gaul:¹ but thus they would be made the habitual murderers of the Gaulish shepherds. Now Jerome was born A.D. 340, and he would be a youth, say from 356 to 366, and it so happens that the Emperor Julian made his first campaign in Gaul, A.D., 356 against the Germans; the next year he fought the

¹ Gibb. D. & F. iv, 298.

celebrated battle of Strasbourg, and in the following year the Germans were expelled from France. He sedulously applied himself to restore Gaul; and Gibbon¹ shall tell us what he effected. "His salutary influence restored the cities of Gaul, which had been so long exposed to the evils of civil discord, barbarian and domestic tyranny; and the spirit of industry was restored with the hopes of enjoyment. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce again flourished under the protection of the laws; and the curiæ or civic corporations were again filled with useful and respectable members; the youth were no longer apprehensive of marriage, and married persons were no longer apprehensive of posterity; the public and private festivals were celebrated with customary pomp; and the frequent and secure intercourse of the provinces displayed the image of national prosperity." Any one must at once perceive how utterly incredible it is that any troops serving under such a commander should have been permitted, not once on a time, but habitually whenever they met with herds in the woods to murder the helpless shepherds in charge of them; and equally incredible is it that such barbarities should have been commonly practised in such a state of national well-being as is here described; and as the passage in question must apply either to the time whilst Julian was in Gaul, or to the time just after he had left it, the reasonable conclusion is that the statement as it stands cannot be correct.

Again, what possible reason can there be to suppose that these people selected the flesh of shepherds in preference to all other human flesh, or that they selected the flesh of shepherds only who tended their flocks in the woods?

We think we have said enough to show that there is ample ground for supposing that the passage must be corrupt, and an attentive examination of it will turn that doubt into a perfect certainty. First it seems next to impossible to decide what was the name of the people as written by Jerome. To prove this I need only cite the high authority of Camden,² who says, "here we are to read Attacotti, upon the authority of MSS., and not Scoti with Erasmus, who at the same time owns *the place*

¹ D. & F. iii, 235.

² Brit. Intr. p 122, Edit. 1695, Gibson.

to be faulty; though I must confess in one MSS. it is Attigotti, in another Catacotti, and in a third Cattiti. But of the Scots it cannot, as 'tis commonly, be understood." Now these different readings are material in two ways. There is no doubt that the Attacotti were a tribe of Scotland, but at a time even later than this the Scoti were in Ireland.

Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades ; incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule ;
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Ierne.¹

The country, therefore, as well as the name of the people, seems uncertain.

Secondly, the difference between a word of two, and one of four syllables is very material, as it shows that the MSS. was very difficult to read, either because it was written with abbreviations, or otherwise.

The next remark is that the context clearly shows that the word "viderim," "I saw," is corrupt. To use Mr. Greswell's words, "no one can read this passage and not see that, though with the reading of 'viderim,' it appears to affirm something which Jerome had seen, it does in reality only mean something that Jerome had heard, and therefore that the reading of "viderim" must be a mistake for "audierim;" and all that Jerome can be understood to affirm of a certain people is what he had heard say, not what he had seen himself."² Now the context shows this must be so. Jerome never could have seen the *tribe* in Gaul; as they never were there, whether they were Scoti or Attacotti. Again Jerome never could have seen what the tribe were *accustomed to do whenever* they met with cattle in the woods. This statement consequently must have rested on mere hearsay.

Next let us consider the statement as to what these people find. They "find herds of swine, cattle and sheep in the woods." Taking this description by itself, any one might conceive that it meant wild swine, cattle, and sheep? "The boar out of the wood doth root it up, and the wild beasts of the field devour it."³ Then come the critical

¹ Claud. de quarto consulatu Honorii, 31. Honorius was born A.D. 384, died 432.

² The Revd. Edward Greswell was as learned a scholar as any of his day, as

his voluminous works testify, and I as his pupil know full well, and he considered this passage thoroughly at my request.

³ Psalm lxxx, v. 13.

words *pastorum nates et foeminarum papillas*. Now "pastorum" is the genitive plural of two words, the one being "pastor," a shepherd, the other "pastus," a participle, signifying "fatted" or "well fed;" and consequently the passage may be rendered they cut off the buttocks of the well fed males and the paps of the females. If so rendered, it is obvious that it would prove the very proposition for which Jerome introduced it; for it would show that, where wild cattle abounded in the woods, these people cut off those parts only which they considered as the greatest delicacies: a practice precisely similar to that which Bruce describes as prevailing in Abyssinia. Taking the words therefore as they stand, this rendering makes the passage consistent with the object for which it was introduced; and when a passage can be rendered in two ways, one consistent, and the other inconsistent, with the object for which it was written, it is obvious that the former ought to be adopted. However, I am not sure that the word *pastorum* was written by Jerome. It is manifest that the word here, whatever it was, stood in antithesis to *foeminarum*. Now *foemina* precisely corresponds to our word "female," and as the antithesis to that word is male, so the antithesis to *foemina* is *mas*; and as we apply the terms male and female to all animals, so did the Latins, for Pliny says *Bestiæ aliæ mares, aliæ foeminæ*. This leads me to think that the correct reading may be *marium*. However, I am rather disposed to prefer *masculorum*, of the males, for this reason. If this word were written contractedly, it probably would be written *maslorum*, and a line intended to show the contraction might run across the *l*, and cause it to be mistaken for *t*, and a copyist, knowing no such word as *mastorum*, which could apply to this passage, and having seen herds of cattle mentioned just before, might very likely conclude that the correct word was *pastorum*, and so write it. If this be considered a good conjecture, *foeminarum* must be changed to *foeminearum* by the insertion of the letter *e*, which would render the passage perfectly consistent, as both words would be adjectives, agreeing with male and female cattle.

There is another small fact which tends the same way: the word *papilla* is much more appropriately applied to the dugs or teats of animals than to the nipples of the human breast.

For these reasons it seems to be quite clear that this passage only relates to cattle and sheep ; if that be so, then the word "humanis" in the previous passage must be corrupt. What the true reading was may be doubtful ; it might, perhaps, have been "inhumanis ;" and the mistake we have suggested as having led to the error in the other passage may have led to the alteration of "inhumanis" to "humanis" to make the passages consistent. Or it may be possible that, as Jerome had just before said of the Scythians and Huns "semicrudis vescuntur carnibus," he here used some adjective, denoting the state in which the flesh was eaten, crudis or cruentis.

The conclusion then of the whole is that these people, whoever they were, had been in the habit of treating cattle in the mode described, and that the statement altogether rests upon what Jerome had heard. And testimony is not wanting to fortify this view, and to show how such a report might be very likely to arise. It appears that from the year 343 down to 366,¹ Britain had been repeatedly invaded from Scotland. Ammianus Marcellinus in one passage tells us that the Picts, Saxons Scotti and Attacotti had vexed the Britons with continual grievances ;² and in another passage that, amongst others who invaded England, the Attacotti, a warlike nation, and the Scotti, wandering in different directions, spread devastation far and wide,³ and had even reached London itself. That the tidings of such events should spread through the Roman Empire, no one could doubt, even if we had no statement that they did. But Ammianus Marcellinus⁴ furnishes us with the strongest testimony of the melancholy and alarming tidings, which came from Britain. He tells us that Valentinian received in Belgium the astounding intelligence that Britain was reduced to the last extremity by a conspiracy of the Barbarians ; and that the Count of the sea shore, and the Roman General had been cut off. Struck with horror, Valentinian first sent Severus, the Count of the domestics,

¹ Gibb, D. & F, iv, 295.

² Hoc tempore Picti Saxonesque et Scotti et Attacotti Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis, 26, 5.

³ 27, 8. Illud sufficit quod eo tempore Picti, in duas gentes divisi, Bicaledones

et Vecturiones, itidemque Attacotti bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti, per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur, A.D. 347

⁴ Lib. 27, c. 8.

to repair the mischief that had been done, but soon recalled him. Then Jovinius was sent; and lastly, in consequence of the many terrible reports which continually arrived, Theodosius was directed to hasten thither. Such reports would spread through Gaul, and reach the ears of Jerome, if he were there at the time, and probably with such exaggeration, and perversion as would render them unworthy of belief.

It is no small confirmation of this view that both the Attacotti and Scotti are named by Ammianus in all the inroads; as Jerome may have mentioned both, and the different readings may have originated from some copyist having omitted one of them. These passages very strongly tend to negative Gibbons' conjecture, for it is very improbable that either Attacotti or Scotti should be serving in the Roman army at a time when the tribe were invading the Roman provinces; and it is obvious, too, that Jerome is speaking of the doings of a tribe, not of particular soldiers of a tribe.

When Cæsar invaded Britain the Britons seem to have been in the habit of driving their cattle into the woods for safety;¹ and the practice may have been followed when these Northerners overran the country, and the joint mention by Jerome of "herds of swine *and* cattle *and* sheep" rather looks as if he was speaking of an assemblage of all, than of each of them separately. Such an assemblage would afford a super-abundance from which to select.

We have now dealt with every authority cited in support of cannibalism in England, and it is perfectly clear that they altogether fail to prove anything of the kind. Nor have we met with any other authority that has any tendency of the kind. On the contrary, much exists which seems to be quite conclusive against it. We have hitherto dealt with authors, who never were in Britain at all; but there were others who were here, and legion after legion of Roman soldiers served here year after year, and age after age; and they must have had the best possible means of knowing the truth; and it is to the last degree incredible that these Romans should have been

¹ Cæs. Bell. G. Lib., 5 c. 19, 21.

ignorant of its existence, if it had existed, and no possible reason can be assigned why the historians who were in England did not mention it, if they had ever heard of it. Cannibalism, wherever it has been shown by trustworthy testimony to exist, has commonly been practised upon slain or captive enemies. If a single Roman had ever been so dealt with, can it be doubted that poets and historians would have chimed in together to accuse of cannibalism "*Britannos hospitibus feros.*"¹ The total silence then of the writers affords the strongest possible evidence against its existence.

Nor can it be said that their attention was not directly called to the point. Tacitus tells us that when Mona was taken, the groves sacred to savage superstitions were cut down; for the Druids held it to be lawful to burn the blood of captives upon the altars, and to consult the gods by means of the entrails of men.² This may be what we have seen alluded to by Pliny, as only falling a little short of cannibalism. But it makes it quite clear that Tacitus had never heard a word of cannibalism, or he would have mentioned it. From other sources, however, we obtain a clear light as to what the Druidical sacrifices really were. Cæsar³ tells us that the Druids believed that the deities could not be appeased for the killing of one man, unless the life of another man were rendered for it⁴ and that they had sacrifices of that kind publicly instituted. He adds, that they considered that the penal sacrifices (*supplicia*) of those, who had been guilty of any crime, were the most pleasing to the gods⁵ and that innocent persons were never sacrificed, unless the number of criminals was deficient,⁶ which plainly means, when the number of criminals fell short of the number of deaths which needed atonement. And Diodorus tells us that the Druids imprisoned malefactors five years before they sacrificed

¹ Hor. Carm. iii, 4, 34.

² Ann. Lib. xiv, 30, *Excisique luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri, nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere Deos, fas habebant.*

³ Lib, vi, c. xv, p. 124.

⁴ Pro vitâ hominis nisi vita hominis reddatur, non posse aliter Deorum immortalium numen placari, arbitrabantur.

publiceque ejusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia.

⁵ *Supplicia eorum, qui in furto aut latrocinio aut aliquâ noxâ sunt comprehensi, gratiora Diis immortalibus arbitrantur.—Ibid. p 125.*

⁶ Sed quum ejus generis copia deficit, etiam ad supplicia innocentium descendunt. *Ibid, p. 126.*

them.¹ Now when we remember that the ground, on which these sacrifices rested was the same as that which is found in the Mosaic law, and even earlier,² and which is still acted upon by ourselves, and that the victims, as far as possible, were murderers and other malefactors, who at one and the same time suffered the punishment for their offences, and formed propitiatory sacrifices; that by our own common law, every felony was punishable with death, and that till A.D. 1790,³ female traitors were always sentenced to be burnt; we shall view these penal sacrifices of the Druids, in which they burnt the living victims in wicker-work statues, in a very different light from that of hostile Romans, and we shall not fail to admire the patient forbearance of the Druids, who allowed five years to pass before the criminal was punished, and who seem to have practised to an extent unknown elsewhere the merciful maxim that no delay is too long in determining whether a man is to be put to death or not.⁴

Nor can I fail to remark that writers, like Pliny, are entitled to little credit in anything they have said against the Druids, when we find that human sacrifices took place in Rome itself, and that on Cæsar's triumph two victims were sacrificed on the Campus Martius, though Dio⁵ says he could not discover any reason for this; as neither the Sibyll nor any oracle had commanded it.

And let me add that in considering any question touching the state or conduct of the ancient inhabitants of this country, we ought ever to bear in mind that the only Historians we have were their mortal enemies, and therefore we may fairly accept as true statements in their favour, whilst we treat statements to their discredit with extreme caution and distrust. Any one who has read the statements and allusions of Roman writers as to the Jews, and has compared them with the authentic accounts from other sources, will know how little reliance is to be placed on Roman writers.

Next let us see whether the state of civilization of the Britons does not totally negative the supposition of

¹ Cæs. Lib. 5, note 2, p. 125.

² Gen. ix, 5, 6.

³ 30 George III, c. 18.

⁴ De morte hominis nulla cunctatio est longa. Co. Litt.

⁵ Lib. xliii, cited note 3, p. 124.

cannibalism having existed amongst them. Cæsar¹ tells us that many youths resorted to the Druids in Gaul to be instructed, and that some remained learning with them for twenty years; that they learned a great number of verses; that it was considered unlawful to commit what they learned to writing; but that in other public and private matters they used (Greek) letters. Here then we have very strong evidence of a complete education, and in what did their learning consist? Cæsar tells us that they were taught many things concerning the stars and their motions; the size of the universe and of the earth; the nature of things, and the power of the immortal gods; and the editors infer from Cæsar's statement that the Druids taught geography, geometry, physiology, arithmetic, theology, and astrology. I wonder whether if Oxford and Cambridge had existed in the same state in which they now are, when Cæsar came, he would have given a more favourable account of their studies? Cæsar adds that the very first thing the Druids taught their pupils was the immortality of the soul, by which they thought that they might best be incited towards virtue, and couple with this their memorable precept, which Diogenes Laertius has preserved, "worship the Gods, do no ill, and practice manly virtue;"² and then let any candid and impartial person consider whether such a state of things be not wholly inconsistent with the existence of cannibalism. Such was the state of Druidism in Gaul; but Cæsar further tells us³ that this system of instruction by the Druids was supposed to have been discovered in Britain, and thence transferred to Gaul, and he proves that in his time the state of learning was more advanced in Britain than in Gaul; for he tells us that they in Gaul, who wished to be better acquainted with it, generally went into Britain for the purpose of learning it. If it be suggested that this learning might perhaps be confined to the higher orders, it must be remembered that the Druids were the judges of all public and private matters, and of all criminal offences, and that their sentences were carried into effect with the greatest certainty,⁴ and it is impossible

¹ Lib. vi, c. 14, p. 120, 122.

² Σέβειν θεοὺς καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν
δρᾶν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν :

cited Cæsar, Lib. vii, c. 13, p. 123.

³ Lib. vii, c. 12, ad finem, p. 121.

⁴ Cæsar, Lib. vi, c. 12, p. 120.

to conceive that such men as the Druids would treat cannibalism otherwise than as crime.

Nor is Cæsar alone in his character of the Druids. Strabo tells us that the Druids exercised themselves in physiology and moral philosophy, and that they were considered the most just, and on this account both private and public disputes were entrusted to them, so that they even regulated wars and stayed those that were about to engage, and trials for murder were especially confided to them.¹

We will only add the testimony of Lucan,² on account of the singular beauty of the passage—

Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.
Et vos Barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum Druidæ positis repetistis ab armis.
Solis nōsse Deos, et cœli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum : nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis auctoribus, umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt ; regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio ; longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est : Certé populi, quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget, lethi metus. Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis : et ignavum redituræ parcera vitæ.³

The preceding pages were composed some years ago, and not a little pains were taken to prove that there was no pretence for accusing the ancient inhabitants of these islands of cannibalism ; and it is not a little gratifying to find that our conclusions are now very strongly confirmed. Canon Greenwell, whose views led us to investigate the subject, has now adopted different explanations of the remarkable appearances and condition of the bones in the barrows,⁴ and his change of opinion is as creditable to himself, as it is suggestive to others of due caution before drawing conclusions in such matters. Nor can there now exist any doubt that Dr. Thurnam was in error in supposing that “there were in those broken and scattered

¹ Strabo, Lib. iv, c. 4, 224.

² Ph., Lib. 1, 447.

³ Strabo supra tells us that the Bardi were poets and minstrels, and the Vates

sacrificers and physiologists, and we have seen what the Druids were.

⁴ The British Barrows, by Greenwell and Rolleston, p. 544.

fragments of skulls and disconnected bones, the relics of barbarous feasts, held at the time of the interment, when slaves, captives, or even wives were slain or eaten."¹ For Dr. Rolleston² has most conclusively shown that the fractures of bones, on which Dr. Thurnam's opinion rested, are not only "very different as a whole from those of skulls, which we positively know to have been cut through during life or immediately after death," but that they may have been accidentally caused by falls, impact, or pressure subsequently to their burial.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that there is no evidence whatever of cannibalism in Britain; and it is to be hoped that it will never again be suggested that such an atrocious practice ever existed there.

We offer no apology for the length of this article. No time or labour could be better spent than in establishing the truth upon such an important subject, and in rescuing the ancient Britons from such a totally groundless calumny.

¹ Ibid. p. 687.

² Ibid. p. 647.

THE ROTHWELL CRYPT AND BONES.¹

By S. SHARP, F.S.A., F.G.S.

The Crypt and Bones at Rothwell, (or Rowell, as it is popularly called), because of the extravagant notions entertained and the exaggerated statements made with regard to them, have for many generations been classed among the marvels of Northamptonshire.

It is now many years since I first heard of the "Rowell Bones"; and the statements which had at one time or another reached me (and doubtless many other persons) amounted to this—That, in a crypt, much more ancient than the existing church, and co-extensive with a considerable proportion of its area, (which crypt had been discovered, a little subsequently to 1700 by the breaking in of a vault in digging a grave), there were human skulls and thigh bones, all of adult males, and some of a size unknown in this latter day, in such number as to indicate that they were remains of no less than 40,000 individuals: that these skulls and bones were symmetrically stacked, in ghastly order, in the murky recesses of that extended vault; which, for unknown ages, had been sealed to the prying eyes of human curiosity, and from which, during all that time, had been excluded the purifying light and air of our upper world: that these bones had been assigned to various races of men, and reasons as various offered why they had been thus deposited in this vault; and that it had been suggested severally that they were the remains of Saxons, of Danes, of the slain in battles during the wars of the Roses or the Cromwellian civil wars, and lastly of the victims of a plague which had decimated the population of the locality in the seventeenth century.

¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Northampton Meeting, August 2nd, 1878.

Never having seen the crypt and bones, like many others, probably, I accepted the general fact of the occurrence of the latter in the crypt as described ; but, recognising the incongruity of the various suggestions as to the number of bodies represented, the races of men to whom they had belonged, and the cause of their being thus deposited, I suspended my judgment upon these points, leaving the solution of the questions involved to some future time.

My information and my impressions as to the crypt and its bones remained at this point until the publication, in the local papers, some years ago, of a then recently-delivered lecture upon the subject by a brilliant living writer then resident in this county.¹ This lecture, the substance of which had previously appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*, possessed great literary merit, was surprisingly imaginative, and contained many most extraordinary statements and suggestions:—The size of the crypt was about 12 yards by 10 yards ; the number of skeletons it contained was “some 30,000” ; all were of male adults of the most stalwart size (some gigantic), including even one at least of the negro, and many, as demonstrated by “ghastly shattering wounds,” which had been “hacked and hewed and stabbed” by “sword and spear” : the vault was Saxon ; and the bones, it was surmised, were those of Danes slain in battle, which the Saxon conquerors had deposited here, “in order to visit at intervals and in triumph these trophies of their prowess”—and so on.

The popular rumours had been sufficiently remarkable, but this lecture was so startling that I determined to endeavour to obtain correct information upon a subject which had been so fertile of the marvellous, and upon which, as I believed, I had entertained very erroneous impressions. Accordingly, I twice visited Rowell, each time accompanied by gentlemen of the medical profession, and on the latter occasion by Mr. Irvine (at that time the superintendent, for the late Sir Gilbert Scott, of the restoration of St. Sepulchre's round church, in Northampton).

At each visit, considerable time was bestowed upon a

¹ Major Whyte-Melville, who, since the Northampton Meeting, has unhappily lost his life in the hunting-field.

close examination of the church, the crypt, and the bones. The church is very extensive, very interesting, and very beautiful. We found no Saxon work : the earliest work we detected was in the south wall of the spacious chancel, the clerestory windows of which are Norman. The remainder of the chancel, the nave, and the lower stages of the tower are Transitional or Semi-Norman, as are also (if not Early English) the north and south aisles. The tower arch and the Lady Chapel are Early Decorated, as was the south transept (said to have been taken down in 1673). The clerestory of the nave, the inserted east window, and the Saunders chantry (now the vestry) are Perpendicular.

But for the crypt itself. This underlies the south aisle. Mr. Irvine considered it to be either of the Semi-Norman or Early English periods, and of the same date as the aisle above ; but Mr. Bloxam has pronounced it to be Early Decorated : at any rate, it is not older than the 13th century, and probably dates from the early part of the 14th century.

During my first visit, I took measurements of the crypt and of the stacks of bones ; and these measurements were verified and corrected by fresh measurements, carefully taken during my second visit, with the aid of Mr. Irvine, who took also a ground plan of the crypt.

The crypt is not 36 feet by 30 feet, as had been stated. Its extreme length is 30 feet 3 inches, and its width is 15 feet. It is divided by vaulting into two portions or bays, each about 15 feet square. The vaulting is supported by four piers at the angles, and two intermediate piers ; from which it springs at the height of only two feet from the floor.

The greatest height of the crypt (at the crown of the vaulting) is, as near as may be, 8 feet 6 inches. In the eastern division, on the south side, are two windows (walled up) corresponding with a string course remaining on the exterior wall ; which string course acted as a hood moulding or dripstone. On the eastern wall, in a recess 6 inches deep, are traces of fresco painting (indicative of an altar having formerly been here placed) ; which fresco Mr. Irvine assigned to the close of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century. It is said to represent the resurrection.

The bones are stacked along the north and south sides and at the eastern end of the crypt, to an average height of not more than 5 feet—not of 9 feet as alleged. The bones are thrown up to the greatest height at the back of the stack abutting upon the south wall ; their height here may reach, but does not exceed 5 feet 6 inches. The bones are stacked with the most level front at the east end ; and here the width of the stack is four feet 6 inches from back to front. The stack on the south side is very irregular, ranging in width from 5 feet to 6 feet 6 inches : an average of 6 feet will be amply sufficient to represent the width of the stack on this side. The width of the stack in the eastern division of the north side is 2 feet 6 inches, and that of the stack in the western division of the same side is 2 feet only. It will thus be seen that the width of these stacks is *not* from 3 feet to 5 yards, as has been asserted. And I may here state, that Mr. Irvine and I, in taking our measurements, were careful not to be within the mark, but to give every advantage in favour of dimensions ; our object having been to arrive, not at the smallest, but at the greatest possible number of bodies represented by these bones—at their maximum and not at their minimum number.

Being influenced by the same desire in making my calculations upon the basis of these measurements, I believe that these calculations, if exposed to any rigid and practical test, would be found to err rather on the side of excess than in the opposite direction.

To arrive at the cubical contents of the whole mass of bones, the superficies of the area which they cover must be ascertained, and this multiplied by the average height. As for the superficies—to begin at the eastern end, the stack here extends the whole width of the crypt, and is, therefore, 15 feet in length : this must be multiplied by 4 feet 6 inches, the width of the stack at this end. From the front line of this stack on the south side to the western wall is 25 feet 9 inches, and this must be multiplied by its average width of 6 feet. From the same front line on the north side to the middle pier is 10 feet, to be multiplied by 2 feet 6 inches ; and from this middle pier to the pier of the north-west angle is 12 feet, to be multiplied by 2 feet. The sum of all these

dimensions (after deducting 16 feet for the area of four of the piers included in the stacks) gives the total superficies of the area of the bone-stacks as 255 square feet. Multiply 255 by 5 feet (the average height of the stacks), and the product gives the contents of the whole mass of bones as 1,275 cubic feet. Thus:—

	FT.	IN.	FT.	IN.	FEET.
Eastern end	15	0	4	6	67½
Southern side	25	9	6	0	154½
Northern side, east division-	10	0	2	6	25
Northern side, west division	12	0	2	0	24
					271
Deduct for area of 4 piers	-	-	-	-	16
					255
Superficies in square feet	-	-	-	-	5
Multiply by 5, for average height in feet	-	-	-	-	1275

The bones on the south side range into the window openings, but the window sills probably would be found a little way beneath the surface of the bones; and if not, this additional space would be more than compensated by the spread of the vaulting, for which no deduction has been made.

The maximum cubical contents of the bone stacks having been thus ascertained, the next thing is to calculate how many skeletons (or skulls or bones representing skeletons) are contained in the space thus defined. I have adopted two methods in endeavouring to arrive at a satisfactory result as to this question.

The first is as follows: I assume the average dimensions of a skull (without the lower jaw attached) to be 6 inches high, 6 inches wide, and eight inches deep (from front to back): this is very near the truth for adult male skulls. Taking then as granted these dimensions, a cubic foot would hold six skulls. A mere cursory glance at these bone stacks, however, would convince any one that much more than half the contents of the stacks consist of other bones than skulls: I therefore assume that each skull represents at least its own bulk of other bones; so that

each cubic foot would contain skulls and bones which on an average could not possibly represent more than three human skeletons.

Multiplying 1275 (the number of cubic feet contained in the whole mass of bones) by 3 (the number of skeletons thus assigned to each cubic foot), the product is 3825—the maximum number of skeletons which, according to this calculation, are represented by the bones at Rowell.

The second method :—I measured on the vertical face of the eastern stack (where the skulls are most closely packed) a square yard superficial and counted the skulls which it exposed—all arranged, be it remembered, with the faces outward, the smallest surface of the skulls, the lower jaw being absent. In this square yard, I found 31 skulls. In some parts of the other stacks, where other bones bear a larger proportion, not more than half this number of skulls were to be found in the same space. If, therefore, an average of 25 skulls to the vertical square yard superficial be assumed, a very liberal proportion is adopted. The skulls thus arranged have all their longer dimension directed inwards, and there is a large admixture of other bones : we cannot, therefore, assume that there are more than three skulls in the horizontal yard lineal of the width of the stacks—that is, from the front to the back. Multiplying 25 by 3, we arrive at 75 as the maximum average number of skulls contained in the cubic yard. Each skull represents a skeleton ; and upon this calculation 75 skeletons are represented in every cubic yard of space. The stacks of bones contain 1275 cubic feet in the whole, as already shown, or 47 cubic yards and 6 cubic feet. Multiplying 47 (the number of cubic yards) by 75 (the average number of skulls in a cubic yard), and adding 18 skulls for the odd 6 cubic feet, the result gives 3543 as the maximum number of skeletons represented by these fragmentary remains, as arrived at by this method of calculation.

Comparing this number of 3543 with 3825, the number arrived at by the former process, a sufficient coincidence is exhibited to indicate, I think, that the actual number of skeletons at Rowell does not exceed the larger of these amounts ; but my belief is, after considering the marginal allowances that I have made, both in measurements and

calculations, and the manner in which the bones are disposed in the crypt, that, if some positive way of ascertaining the truth (such as counting, for instance), could be adopted, the number of skulls actually found would more likely be under 2,000 than near to 4,000.

To show the impossibility of the supposition that 30,000 skeletons were ever deposited in this crypt, as has been alleged, I have only to state its cubical contents, and to compare this with the cubical contents severally of the space which would be occupied by 30,000 skeletons, upon the datum of three to the cubic foot, and of the space which would be occupied by the same number of skeletons upon the datum of 75 to the cubic yard. By multiplying the length ($30\frac{1}{4}$ feet) by the breadth (15 feet), and by the height ($8\frac{1}{2}$ feet), deducting one-third of their sum for the piers and vaulting, I find that the crypt contains space equal to 2,573 cubic feet, or 95 cubic yards 8 cubic feet.

30,000 skeletons divided by 3, (the almost absurd number of skeletons I have hypothetically assigned to each cubic foot), would give 10,000 cubic feet, or a little less than *four times the whole space in the present crypt*.

30,000 skeletons divided by 75, (the like hypothetical number of skeletons which I have assumed as being contained in each cubic yard), would give 400 cubic yards, or a little *more* than four times the whole space in the crypt.

Thirty-thousand male adults! Why this number exceeds twice that of the entire male adult population of Northampton! Imagine the skeletons of such a host, (merely disjointed, be it remembered, and not crushed into dust like agricultural bones in a mill), contained in 47 cubic yards, the space occupied by the stacks of bones in this crypt.

The medical gentlemen who accompanied me to Rowell considered that these skulls presented no peculiarities having any ethnological significance: in fact, they are ordinary skulls, such as might be obtained from any churchyard—looking very much alike when viewed collectively, but separately examined exhibiting considerable individual character and distinctive expression. My medical friends found no reason for concluding that the skulls were all of individuals of the male sex—a question,

in fact, very difficult if not impossible to determine. Neither is the assertion justifiable that these are all skulls of adults. Indeed, the fact that there is very great variation in their size, (some being decidedly small) would seem to lead to the contrary inference; and it must be remembered that the difference in the size of the skull is in no way commensurate with the difference of stature between the adult and the juvenile human creature. The skulls and bones of very young children, from their being more cartilaginous, are much more perishable than those of maturer individuals; and, besides, any that might have been turned up would be hidden, on account of their smallness, among the miscellaneous bones in the insides of the stacks.

We found some skulls much distorted and misshapen, and I have heard of others with the sutures unclosed. These effects might have been produced in either case by simple crushing in the earth; it is, however, probable that, in any large number of unselected skulls, a certain small percentage will be found having the sutures open.

The "ghastly shattering wounds" were not inflicted by "sword or spear" upon living bodies, nor even upon dead bodies: they are injuries sustained by the *dry bones* from mattock and spade, in their exhumation previous to their final deposition in this crypt. In two instances only, could we find that the skull had been damaged during life: in one probably, in the other certainly, the injuries had been the result of disease. In the latter case, a large perforation was evidently the effect of ulceration; the walls of the opening being bevelled, and, as it were, cicatrised over, while other traces of the same eroding disease were observable around the main injury.

Head diseases of this kind were rife in the olden time. We have all heard of that scourge the "King's Evil," so called from the universal belief (from the time of Edward the Confessor to that of Queen Anne) in the efficacy for cure of the king's touch upon such as were thus afflicted. So prevalent was this terrible disorder, and so frequent the use of the royal remedy, that, in the seventeenth century, coins or medalets were purposely struck for suspension from the necks of the patients, to act as a kind of charm for the confirmation or completion of the cures

to be thus effected. During the reign of Charles II., the enormous number of 92,107 persons were thus "touched" by the king. These so-called "Touch-pieces" bear upon the obverse a ship in full sail and the king's name and titles, and upon the reverse the Archangel Michael transfixing the Great Dragon and the legend "*Soli Deo Gloria.*" I have one of these "Touch-pieces" of the elder Pretender, with the usual inscription on the obverse, "Jac. III," &c., &c., the ship in full sail; but the sails are significantly reversed. The old gold coin, the "Angel," on the reverse of which is the same device of the Archangel and Dragon, was also frequently used as a "Touch-piece." This coin in the reigns of Mary, Elizabeth, and James I., bore in abbreviated Latin the legend (so appropriate for such a purpose), "*A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris.*" "It is the work of the Lord, and wonderful in our eyes."

The London bills of mortality, as published in the "*Stamford Mercury*"¹ some 180 years ago, give, as sources of fatality, among many other quaintly styled and to us unknown diseases, the extraordinary names of "Head-mouldshot" and "Horseshoe Head."

We found no evidences of gigantic or unusual stature in the Rowell bones, excepting that our attention was directed to one large thigh bone, which may have belonged to a man of the height of 6 feet 3 or 4 inches, or even of 6 feet 6 inches; but, among so many, this would not be considered very extraordinary, even in the present day. A thigh bone was shown to us as having been fractured: it did seem so, indeed; but, in such case, it exhibited a skill in surgery, in the reduction of the fracture and the perfection of the cure, which we should hardly attribute to a very remote age.

The fresco at the east end and the windows in the south wall indicate that at some time the crypt was used as a chapel and for the holding of services. Crypts, in the old times, were often used as chapels (sometimes mortuary), and occasionally as places of sepulture; and in them, various rites were performed and masses said for the repose of the souls of the founders and of those whose

¹ The *Stamford Mercury* is the oldest newspaper in England.

remains were deposited therein. It is not likely, I think, that this crypt, having been so used, would be appropriated to the general purposes of a charnel-house, until the original uses had died out, possibly not before (or much before) the time of the Reformation.

It is evident from the fresco, the windows, and the difficult interior means of access for such a purpose, that the crypt was not originally constructed as a charnel-house; nor do I think, though it has frequently been suggested, that it was ever used as an ordinary charnel-house, in which bones had gradually accumulated: had this been so, as plenty of space is left unoccupied, it would probably have been continued in that use until now. Nevertheless, I do not think that there were any very remarkable circumstances connected with the deposit of these bones: had there been, surely some record or tradition would remain to us. The number of individuals they represent is probably less than the existing population of Rowell, and not greater than those which would be represented by bones which might be exhumed from any well filled churchyard, the soil of which is adapted for osseous preservation.

At this point, I will direct attention to the aspect of these piles of bones at the time of my former visits, and endeavour to infer therefrom the probable order and *modus operandi* adopted in stacking them. It is at the eastern end of the crypt, especially near the north wall, that the bones appeared to have been most carefully packed; a better front line having been preserved here than in any other place, and the proportion of skulls to other bones being greater than anywhere else. Along the south wall, the front line of the stack was very irregular; this stack, at its junction with the eastern stack, commencing with a width of five feet six inches, bowing out westward of the medial pier to six feet six inches, and contracting towards the door at the west end to little more than five feet. The stacks on the north side were also irregular; and in some places thick layers of other bones separated the layers of skulls, the proportionate quantity of the latter being much smaller than in the other stacks.

The bones on the tops of the stacks were everywhere irregularly heaped; and there was nowhere anything to

show that the bones had been regularly packed throughout the whole mass, or that the packing as seen on the vertical front surfaces was carried back to the wall on every side. On the contrary, indications supported the supposition that the front walls had been built up of selected skulls and thigh bones, and the back filled in, as the work proceeded, with the other bones thrown in indiscriminately. If we think of the diverse forms of skulls and thigh bones, we shall understand at once how that, by being placed alternately—the faces of the skulls directed outwards and the length of the thigh bones inwards, the swelling joints of the latter overlapping the rounded angles of the former—the two would dovetail, and make a firm front wall; which, being backed up with loose bones, would form a compact stack, without the necessity of carefully packing through to the back. We may frequently see a similar plan adopted in stone quarries, in piles of excavated stone stacked in squares, the outsides roughly walled, and the insides filled with rough stones indiscriminately thrown in, as I have described.

After considering the several stacks of bones and the variation in care and neatness exhibited, I have provisionally adopted the following theory; which I offer simply for what it is worth. That, before the deposit of any bones in this vault, some quantity (from whatever source derived) had been accumulated; that the man or men who were employed to deposit and stack them commenced at the north-east corner, with a determination to make a very good job of it; and hence the close and careful packing at that part. The stacking was continued in a very workmanlike manner along the east end; and the stacking along the south side was then proceeded with, commencing with a width of 5 feet 6 inches. At this point, the supply of bones was perhaps more rapid than the progress of the stackers; and the latter, being urged, gradually increased the width of the stack to 6 feet 6 inches, and abandoned the carefulness they had hitherto bestowed on their work. As the stacking on this side approached the western end, the supply of bones would seem to have diminished, as the width here again contracts; and, when the stacking was

continued along the north side, we find in the eastern bay the width reduced to 2 feet 6 inches, and in the western bay to 2 feet only— that being sufficient to dispose of all the bones which remained to be deposited. The crypt was then sealed up, and there an end.

I think I am warranted in the conclusion that the bones were all deposited at once, and the place then walled up; and I would suggest, as the most rational way to account for all the facts, that perhaps some old and unused burial ground, or some portion of the existing burial ground being required for other purposes, or possibly an ancient charnel-house in consequence of dilapidation, having been cleared of human remains, these, with reverential regard, were carefully bestowed in this consecrated receptacle, which was ready at hand, and which had outlasted its ancient uses.

In the Saunders chantry, now used as the vestry room, is the tomb of the munificent and pious Owen Ragsdale, who died, as his monument states, December the 1st, 1591, having founded the hospital of Jesus. This is an almshouse (still existing) for 26 aged widowers, who are clothed and allowed each a weekly stipend. The buildings are extensive, and cover a large piece of ground: they are situated to the south-east of the church-yard. An important monastic establishment was formerly attached to this church. It is not unlikely that the old limits of the churchyard were not coincident with its present limits—that, when the old monastic buildings were pulled down, or when Owen Ragsdale's hospital was built, some exchange was effected, by which a part of the churchyard, or perhaps the old monastic burial-ground, was taken for the purposes of the new buildings. If this were so, what more likely than that the pious Ragsdale should deposit reverentially in this consecrated crypt the human remains from the site he had appropriated, having purposely exhumed them to avoid desecration.

But since my former visits to the Rowell crypt, a circumstance has occurred which seems remarkably to support my view as to the probable time of the deposit of these bones. Previously to the former occasions, a portion of the stack on the south side, which I have already described as having been less carefully piled, had

fallen down, and the bones had been put back by the sexton, and secured with planks. A few years afterwards, another portion of the stack fell forward on to the floor, and among these bones thus displaced was found a fragment of a vessel of glazed black ware. This fragment Mr. Franks, of the British Museum, Director of the Society of Antiquaries, has kindly examined, and he has confirmed my previous conclusion that such ware was not manufactured earlier than the sixteenth century. It is, in fact, such ware as was in common use at about the time at which the Ragsdale hospital was founded, and it would seem to indicate that it was at about that time that the bones were deposited: indeed, it is possible that it is part of a beer jug used by the very men who stacked the bones. This fragment is in my possession, having been presented to me by the late Rev. Christopher Cookson, vicar of Dallington, who obtained it from the sexton in the vault itself.

It may be asked how the exaggerated statements which have had currency could have originated and obtained credence. I do not think this is very remarkable when are taken into consideration the popular love of the marvellous, and the tendency on the part of the many, unconsciously perhaps, to exaggerate and to believe exaggeration. The crypt having been walled up (no record having been kept of this fact), and requiring no repairs, it speedily passed from memory; so that, in the interval between its being so closed and its discovery (less than 200 years), its existence became altogether unknown.

It is said that, about 170 years ago, the sexton in attempting to dig a grave in the south aisle of the church broke through the vaulting and thus discovered the crypt. Fancy the sexton of 170 years ago—something of the type perhaps of the old Hamlet grave-diggers: fancy him digging the grave in the solitary church; his surprise when his pick strikes all unexpectedly upon the hollow-sounding vault; and his superstitious feelings, partly of terror, perhaps more of cupidity in anticipating hidden treasure to be secured all for himself. Alone and in silence, he works at the old hard stone: at last, under stealthy and repeated blows, the vaulting is penetrated, and

fragments fall to an unknown depth, (exaggerated by his fancy and his fears) with a reverberating rattle upon the slabbed floor beneath. Then, perhaps, a gust of the long imprisoned air, loaded with the corruption of decayed mortality, chokes in his throat, and half obscures his little sense. He rests and thinks ; and then, with string and candle-end let down, he peers with frightened wonderment into the abyss he has opened. The candle, all burning blue, glimmers upon skulls and bones, and bones and skulls, to his frightened eyes innumerable.

No treasure here ! So away he hies, with whitened face and open mouth, to spread the news. Soon the church is filled with wonder-gaping neighbours. The hole is enlarged, a ladder brought, and some of the boldest try to descend with cautious fear, but not at first successfully—foul air beats them back ; at length, this is dispelled, and down they go—to find in their imagination thus excited, and in the darkness made visible by the dim glimmer of their one dip-candle, a vault four times its real size, and skulls, with their accompanying bones, in thousands upon thousands. The number of skulls multiplies as time progresses, until it reaches 40,000. That number becomes conventional, and has been, and I believe is even now, complacently affirmed to every casual visitor. But, perchance, the use of tape and rod, and the discovery of this humble potsherd, may serve to clear away accumulated romance, and unveil the simple truth.

ROMAN BILLERICAY.

By J. A. SPARVEL BAYLY, F.S.A.

In the *Book of Chantries*, it is stated of the above town, that it "ys a great towne and populous, and also a haven towne; there ys in it by estimacon about the numb. of 600 houseling people or more. Yt is no parish." Forming part of Great Burghsted, or as commonly spelt, Burstled, Billericay is situate about midway between Chelmsford and Tilbury, a straight line drawn from one to the other would pass as nearly as possible through it. It stands upon a long spur of hill running southwards towards the Thames; and consists mainly of one long street built upon the ridge of the hill. At the north end where the spur of hill joins the main body, stands the Union House; a little beyond this building is a large wood called "Norsey;" at the south end, on the brow of the hill, are two windmills, one of which stands upon what is apparently an artificial mound of early construction. The name of this place has given rise to much speculation. According to Morant, who states that in 1343 it was called Beleuca, the name "was probably derived from the old word *baleuga* or *banleuga*, a territory or precinct round a borough or manor; in French Banlieu." Littré renders the word Banlieue, thus, "Territoire dans le voisinage et sous la dépendance d'une ville, de *ban* et *lieue*, lieue du ban, c'est-à-dire, distance à laquelle s'étendait le ban seigneurial." It has also been suggested that the name may be derived from the two words Bellericastra, the camp of Bellerus. Other persons contend that its etymon can be found in certain Welsh words signifying the Fort on the Hill. Be the interpretation what it may, it is quite certain that the little town has borne its name for many centuries with but slight variation in

the mode of spelling, for in the year 1395, allusion is made in the Pipe Roll to one "Thomas Ledere, traitor to the king, beheaded at Billerica." The name similarly spelt frequently occurs among the documents stored in the Public Record Office, entitled "Presentationes de malifactoribus qui surrexerunt contra Dominum Regem, 4 et 5 Ric. II." In 1563, we find among the accounts of the Churchwardens of Chelmsford, two entries of sums received from "Belyreca men for the hire of our garments," that is, costumes for a miracle play. Among some seventeenth century tradesmen's tokens in my possession, I have one inscribed "Abraham Thresher in Billericay, Essex, his half-penny, 1666."

The county of Essex, from its maritime situation on the shores of the German Ocean and the estuary of the Thames, possesses too many natural advantages to have been neglected by invaders so keen and enterprising as the Romans were; we are, therefore, not surprised to find that almost the first colony founded by them in Britain was that at Colchester. While from the great number of interments, and frequent discovery of tiles, etc., in Billericay, I am induced to think that it was not only a very early settlement, but that it was also a numerously populated one. Morant, in his *History of Essex*, says, "Hereabouts unquestionably was some Roman villa, or little station. For at Blunts-Walls (in Great Burstead) are earth-works, the remains of a ditch and rampart containing about four acres, one part of which hath been inclosed round; and within the inclosure have been some mounts artificially raised, now chiefly levelled." Of the remains thus described not a trace now remains, but the incorporation of the name of a former proprietor, with the word Walls (Blunt's Walls) proves that the remains must have been remarkable at the period when the name was conferred upon the manor. Robert de Blunt, who joined Simon de Montford, was the first of the name who held the manor.

Camden, in his *Britannia*, says "Burghsted by contraction Bursted, *i e.*, the place of a Burgh. . . . Here I once thought was the Cæsaromagus." The exact site of this station, uncertain in Camden's time, is equally so now, and I shall not attempt to re-open "*vexatæ questiones*,"

such as whether Cæsaromagus, of the Iter of Antoninus, was at Chelmsford, Writtle, Buttsbury or Billericay, and Durolitum at Romford, Barking or Leytonstone. Instead of vainly endeavouring to reconcile Roman and modern measurements of distance in order to fix the exact name of this station; I shall content myself with recording some of the numerous finds which have occurred in or near Billericay.

Morant in his *History of Essex* tells us, "In November, 1724, a person digging for gravel in a field near Billerica, on a high hill, after he had sunk about three feet, came to a large bed of black earth, or ashes, which endeavouring to clear away, he found mixt with a great quantity of pieces of earthen vessels of different kinds and colours; some white, some red, and some of a dark brown. Neither he, nor any who have since searched, have been able to meet with anything entire; but the pieces appeared plainly to be fragments of urns, pateras, etc. In one part of the earth, there was a place made like an oven, of the hard dark clay; and the man believed it was large enough to have held six half peck loaves. There is no clay within three miles of the place. There have been several Roman coins found here; and two of silver, one of Trajan, the other Hadrian." The high hill alluded to in this account is, probably, that south of the town, upon which the windmills stand. Morant is decidedly wrong in his statement of there being no clay within three miles of the town. There is very stiff clay within a radius of half a mile from the mill hill.

The next discovery occurred about eighty years since, when a large number of urns were dug up in Norsey Wood. These were preserved by the owner, the then Lord Petre, at Thorndon Hall, and probably were destroyed in the disastrous fire which consumed that mansion on the 22nd of March last. The next find took place some twenty years later, when about 1,100 copper or bronze Roman coins were found on the edge of a ditch, by a labourer, on a farm called Tyled Hall, now known as Ramsden Hall, about a mile and a half from Billericay. I am told that these coins, with one exception, were all sold in London by the discoverer within twenty-four hours of the find.

The immediate neighbourhood of this post has proved

rather rich in urns, pateræ, and amphoræ, which have been found in more or less perfect condition; one vessel is described to me as having the impress of a human face or mask. Some of the urns contained burnt human bones, and were discovered in groups of three or four. A large number of urns similarly filled and arranged were found some years since by Mr. Wood, from time to time, in the mill fields, and from the quantity of fragments spread over a considerable extent of ground, as well as from traces of burnt earth and charcoal, this locality appears to have been the site of a burial place, attached to a Romano-British village or town occupying the position of the present town of Billericay.

Mr. Shaw, a former resident in Billericay, records the discovery among other relics, on the site of the same burial place, of a small gold British coin, and coins of Trajan and Antoninus Pius, and that he excavated a pit twenty-five feet deep, from which he procured a large quantity of fragments of pottery. He also states that in widening the road near the Union House (the Chelmsford road) a number of urns were found. Major Spitty, of Billericay, has in his possession a large number of articles found in the field near the Union House. His collection consists of ossuary and other urns of various colours and forms, including one or two of Samian ware, two bronze specula, (broken) an earthen lamp, and a number of black beads. The whole of these articles were found between the years 1863 and 1866.

In 1865, a number of Roman urns were found in Norsey wood, at the end nearest Billericay. They were discovered as usual, whilst digging for gravel; they were fifteen in number, all of a brown colour, and lathe turned, and were found mostly in groups of two or three; only one in each group contained bones, and these but little burnt. The groups of urns were placed without any order of arrangement. All but one were broken, for on account of their nearness to the surface, the roots of the underwood had grown into, and through them. One urn contained bones, ashes, and a bronze fibula; another contained some pieces of metal, very much corroded, probably the remains of two fibulæ. At a spot near these urns was a deposit of bones not contained in any vessel. Some corroded articles

of iron were found near this deposit, one being very much like our modern bill hook in form. One of the men employed in digging gravel told me that he had, about twelve years ago, near this spot, "come upon" a ditch about three hundred yards long, eight feet deep, and wide enough to walk in comfortably. At the end there was a circular place about fifteen feet in diameter, and a little deeper than the ditch. Of this excavation no trace now remains. It will be remembered that Stow tells us that the insurgents of Essex, in the 5th year of Richard the 2nd, gathering a new multitude together at Byllerica, "had fortified themselves with ditches and carriages; nevertheless, although there was a great multitude of them, with small business, they were scattered in the woods, where the lords inclosed them, lest any of them might escape." It is therefore possible that the ditch above-mentioned may have been of that period.

In 1865 further discoveries were made in Norsey Wood by the Rev. E. L. Cutts, in opening tumuli. The first tumulus opened was on the south-east side of the wood overlooking the valley of the Thames. It was circular in form, about twelve feet across, and six feet high. In the centre of it was found a British urn of rude workmanship and coarse brown material. It was about eighteen inches high, and contained burnt bones and ashes. A few inches from this was found another of about the same size, filled in the same way; both were placed upside down. At a distance of three feet were the remains of a third, placed on rather a lower level, and of a redder colour. Near these urns a bronze coin was found, but so corroded as to be undecipherable. The second tumulus opened was on the west side of the wood, close to the Ramsden road. Nothing was found till nearly the centre was reached, when within a circle of about two yards diameter were found no less than seven urns, and numerous fragments. Other tumuli remain unopened, and only the other day a beautiful little lathe turned urn of light colour was dug out from the gravel in a perfect condition, but being clumsily handled, was dropped and broken into fragments, some of which were lost while en route to me.

Another spot abounding with Roman interments is a

field between the Mill hill and the Union House, and adjoining the old burial ground belonging to the Non-Conformists. Among the vases here found was one of very large size, and although lathe turned, composed of an extremely coarse material, and utterly devoid of ornament; it is stated to have contained a large quantity of half burnt bones. Another is described as being smaller in size, but very elegant in shape, and to have been ornamented with circular bands of a light yellow colour. A third was very shallow, with a deep overhanging lip serrated upon its lower edge.

In the adjoining burial ground is a vault, built many years since by a farmer named Mabbs, who at the time of its construction placed therein three large stone coffins; where these coffins came from, my informants are utterly ignorant; but one of them, Mr. Curtis the obliging postmaster of Billericay, a builder and undertaker by trade, tells me he has several times been in the vault, and has seen these coffins, that "they are very large, and now contain the wooden coffins of three members of the Mabbs family." Not having seen them myself, I can of course offer no opinion as to their age; and the vault being full, there is but little probability of its being re-opened. Although I have made the most diligent enquiry, I have failed to find any record, or tradition of the discovery of stone coffins in Billericay or its immediate neighbourhood, but the well known fact, that interment of the entire body was contemporaneous with cremation among the Romans, renders it not altogether unreasonable to suppose them to belong to that period. About ten years since, a man engaged in draining a field about half a mile from the town, found, at a depth of about two feet, a most beautiful flint celt; it is six and a half inches long, and the cutting edge two and a quarter inches wide. It is now in the possession of Mr. Coleman, who, like many other persons resident in Billericay, possesses a rich store of relics of "Long Ago." Within a quarter of a mile from the spot where the flint celt was found, a labourer in January last, ploughed up in a field, known as the Pond Field, belonging to Edgar Jones, Esq., a bronze celt of the loop class; with it were fragments of its ashen

handle. By the courtesy of Mr. Jones I was enabled to exhibit this relic at the meeting of the Institute in April 1878.

Among the numerous Roman coins found in or near Billericay, which have come under my observation, I have noticed those of the Emperors Hadrian, Germanicus, Constantine, Licinius, Nero, and Trajan, and of the Empresses Faustina and Helena. The last find I have to record took place in July of last year, under the following circumstances. Some men were employed by Mr Salter, the ironfounder, in digging a hole for the reception of a gasometer on his premises, situated on the left side of the road leading from Tilbury to Chelmsford; when they reached a depth of about three feet from the surface, they came upon a mass of broken pottery. On receiving information of this, I of course hastened to the spot, and found a platform or pavement of Roman construction, about six feet square, and three inches thick, made of mortar principally consisting of powdered brick. Upon this had been placed a number of cinerary and other urns; unfortunately all were broken, but I have secured a large quantity of fragments. Among the pieces are some of Samian ware, one of which bears the name DACMUS, which name also appears upon a patera found at West Tilbury some years since.

Although the evidences of Roman occupation, hitherto found in Billericay, consist, with the exception of a few beads, fibulæ and specula, of coins and interments, there are, I think, sufficient of the latter to justify my opinion that it must have been a place of some little importance. What became of the dwellings of those whose ashes lay all round the town I know not. No foundations have been discovered, no fragments of tessellated pavements to mark the abodes of the great ones of a station, which very probably rose upon a spot near to, but not actually upon, the site of a British town. It was a spot well suited for a military post, standing upon a height, which in the county of Essex is not to be despised; its very position may have induced a feeling of security similar to that which led to the overthrow of Camulodunum. It may be that after the destruction of that unfortunate colony, the victorious army of Boadicea, in its triumphant

march, attacked the station here, and destroyed town and stronghold, their blackened ruins serving to teach the Roman, that it was necessary to fence his cities against even those whom he regarded as his slaves. The Roman returned, but not exactly to the old spot, for a sort of superstitious dread attached itself to the scene of so much slaughter and misery. Therefore, possibly on the spot known as Blunt's Walls, he threw up a stronger and more important fortress.

THE TOMB AND HELM OF THOMAS LA WARRE,
IN THE CHURCH AT BROADWATER, SUSSEX.

By W. BURGESS.

The helm represented in the accompanying woodcuts is now preserved in the chancel of the parish church of Broadwater, about a mile from Worthing. Recent restorations have so altered the interior of the chancel that it is perfectly impossible to point out the ancient position of this piece of armour; but we shall be, probably, not far wrong in supposing it to have been placed on a bracket, on one side of the tomb of Thomas West Lord La Warre, who flourished in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

It has now been restored to the position in question; but a few months ago it was lying on the top of the altar-tomb, within everybody's reach, the visor loose and the lower part of the back piece broken off and detached.

By the kind offices of a friend at Worthing, I was permitted by the churchwarden to take this helm to London, where it was exhibited at a Meeting of the Archæological Institute and afterwards carefully photographed.

Subsequently the hinges of the visor were made right, the detached part of the back rivetted on to the main piece, and the whole carefully cleaned and repainted. It is now placed on an iron bracket on the west side of the tomb, at a sufficient height to be out of reach except by means of a ladder.

But before proceeding to a description of the helm it may perhaps be as well to say a few words about its ancient possessor.

The first mention of the Wests dates as far back as Edw. II., when a Sir Thomas West married the daughter and heiress of Sir John Cantelupe. Both he and his

successors aggrandised the family by a series of fortunate marriages with the heiresses of the Cantelupes, Fitzherbert, La Warres, and St. Armands. At last in Henry VI.'s time the holder of the title was Richard La Warre, who, being a zealous Lancastrian, obtained from the king an annual pension of £40 to be levied out of the possessions of the Duke of York then attainted. But the wheel of fortune turned round. Edward IV. became king, and in the third year of his reign we find Richard getting license to go beyond the seas, and to take twelve servants and as many horses not exceeding the value of forty shillings a piece, and there to continue. He died in 16th of Edw. IV., and Thomas, his son and heir, nineteen years old, obtained a special livery of his lands, although under age.

After the battle of Bosworth, 1485, it was the turn of the Lancastrians to be rewarded for their former sufferings, and we consequently find Thomas La Warre receiving certain possessions in Sussex which had been the property of the first Duke of Norfolk, slain in that battle.

In Dugdale's *Baronage*,¹ from which the foregoing details have been derived, will be found an epitome of the various public actions of this Thomas La Warre, who appears to have fulfilled all the duties of a great Baron of the period.

In 7th Henry VII. he was one of the commanders sent into Flanders in aid of Maximilian, against the French.

In 12th Henry VII. he was in Cornwall with the forces raised to suppress the Cornish Insurrection.

2nd Henry VIII. he was made Knight of the Garter.

5th Henry VIII. he was in the army when Henry besieged Therouanne and Tournay.

6th Henry VIII. he attended Lady Mary to France, on her marriage with Louis XII.; he was in attendance, with other nobles, on the Emperor Charles V. from Gravelines to Calais and thence to Dover, when he paid his second visit to England.

17th Henry VIII. he made his will and died shortly after, in 1526.

¹ Vol. ii, see La Warre and West.

By the will he bequeathed his body to be buried in a freestone tomb within the chancel of the parish church of Broadwater, appointing that his executors should bury him, according to his honor, and give twopence a piece to every poor man and woman who would come and receive it at the said church. Towards the charges thereof, he willed that his collar of gold of garters and chain that he usually wore should be sold. He likewise bequeathed to the said church of Broadwater, his mantle of blue velvet of the garter, and his gown of crimson velvet belonging thereto, to make two altar cloths.

He was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Hugh Mortimer, and secondly, to Eleanor, daughter of Sir Roger Copley.

He died at Offington, close to Broadwater, 1526, aged 68.

Eleanor, his second wife, survived him some time, for, by her will, in 1536, she desired to be buried in the same tomb as her husband.

He was succeeded by Thomas, his son by his first wife, who was also a Knight of the Garter. He married Elizabeth, heiress of Sir John Bonville, of Halnaker; and died in 1554. He was buried at Broadwater, and the tomb, now at the east end of the south transept, doubtless belongs to him.

He was also the builder, probably at the death of his wife, of the charming renaissance chapel in the south side of the choir of Boxgrove Church. The inscription runs as follows:—"Of your charity pray for the souls of Thomas La Warre and Elizabeth his wife. Thomas La War anno dni 1532. Elizabeth la War."

Now these three monuments, viz. the two tombs in Broadwater Church and the Boxgrove chantry, are very curious as exhibiting the progress of the renaissance element and the extinction of the Gothic. Thus the chancel tomb at Broadwater is really a Gothic tomb with renaissance details; in the chantry at Boxgrove there is more of the renaissance style and less of the Gothic; while in the Broadwater transept tomb, the whole is renaissance. Still from the details of the architecture and the ornaments—to say nothing of the costume of the figure of St. George yet remaining—it would certainly

not be safe to attribute its erection to the time of his death in 1554.

It is more probable that this identical tomb was executed in his lifetime shortly after the erection in Boxgrove chantry. In fact all three monuments are possibly due to the same sculptor, and executed within ten years of each other. Prints of the chancel tombs and of the chantry are to be found in Dallaway's *Sussex* under the heads of Broadwater and Boxgrove.

The chancel tomb to the memory of the Thomas La Warre who died in 1525 follows a very common type of the period, an example of which, known to everybody, is afforded by the so called Chaucer tomb in Westminster Abbey.

The Broadwater monument occupies one of the northern bays of the vaulted channel. It may briefly be described as an elaborate canopy of three compartments, covering an altar tomb recessed in the wall.

Like many other monuments of this period, there was no effigy; the altar tomb having a flat top, doubtless, for the purpose of being used as the Easter sepulchre. The sloping sides and back of the recesses in the wall are now plain, but from the description given in Dallaway's *Sussex* it is evident that they were occupied by paintings; and from plates of other tombs in his work, we can form a very fair idea of what these paintings represented.

In the centre of the back there still remains a sculptured coat of arms, quarterly West and La Warre enclosed in a garter, over it was, doubtless, a painted representation of the most Holy Trinity. On the dexter side was Lord La Warre kneeling; and on the sinister, his wife or wives. The patron saints (most probably St. George for the Lord) would occupy the sloping sides of the recess. The following is the account of the tomb by Cartwright, who published the completion of Dallaway's *Sussex* in 1830. "The whole was originally painted and gilt. The back of the tomb, with the sides which slant towards it, were painted with some legendary subjects, as was evident from the parts of figures which were discovered when the tomb was under repairs. The whole of the monument was obscured by a thick crust of whitewash when the late Hon. Mrs. Damer, whose skill in statuary is well

known, and who was connected with the Delaware family, partially restored it. It has since been repaired and cleaned by the direction of the present Earl Delaware."

The two tombs at the present day bear out the truth of the above account. In fact they have been very much restored, otherwise it would be difficult to explain the sharpness of the details three centuries after their execution in so friable a material as freestone.

The transept tomb has evidently been moved from its original position, as it now lies north and south, like an altar, whereas the customary position for tombs was east and west. It is remarkable as containing figures of Our Lady and St. George, on either side of a centre group, representing the most Holy Trinity. This latter is much defaced, but the two others are in very good preservation.

As regards the heraldry of the chancel tomb, which more immediately concerns us:—

In the centre of the back, and occupying the most prominent position, is a shield charged with another shield surrounded by the garter. This last shield bears quarterly La Warre (gules, a lion rampant, argent, armed and langued, az. between eight cross crosslets, fitché in orle of the second), and Cantelupe (azure, three leopards' heads jessant de lys, or.)

On the upper part of the octagonal buttresses are four shields in the following order, beginning from the west:—

1. Cantelupe, as above. 2. A shield, charged with T. & E. (Thomas and Eleanor), connected by a knot. 3. T. & L. (Thomas La Warre), similarly joined together. 4. a lion rampant, probably la Warre, with the cross crosslets omitted, probably in the restoration.

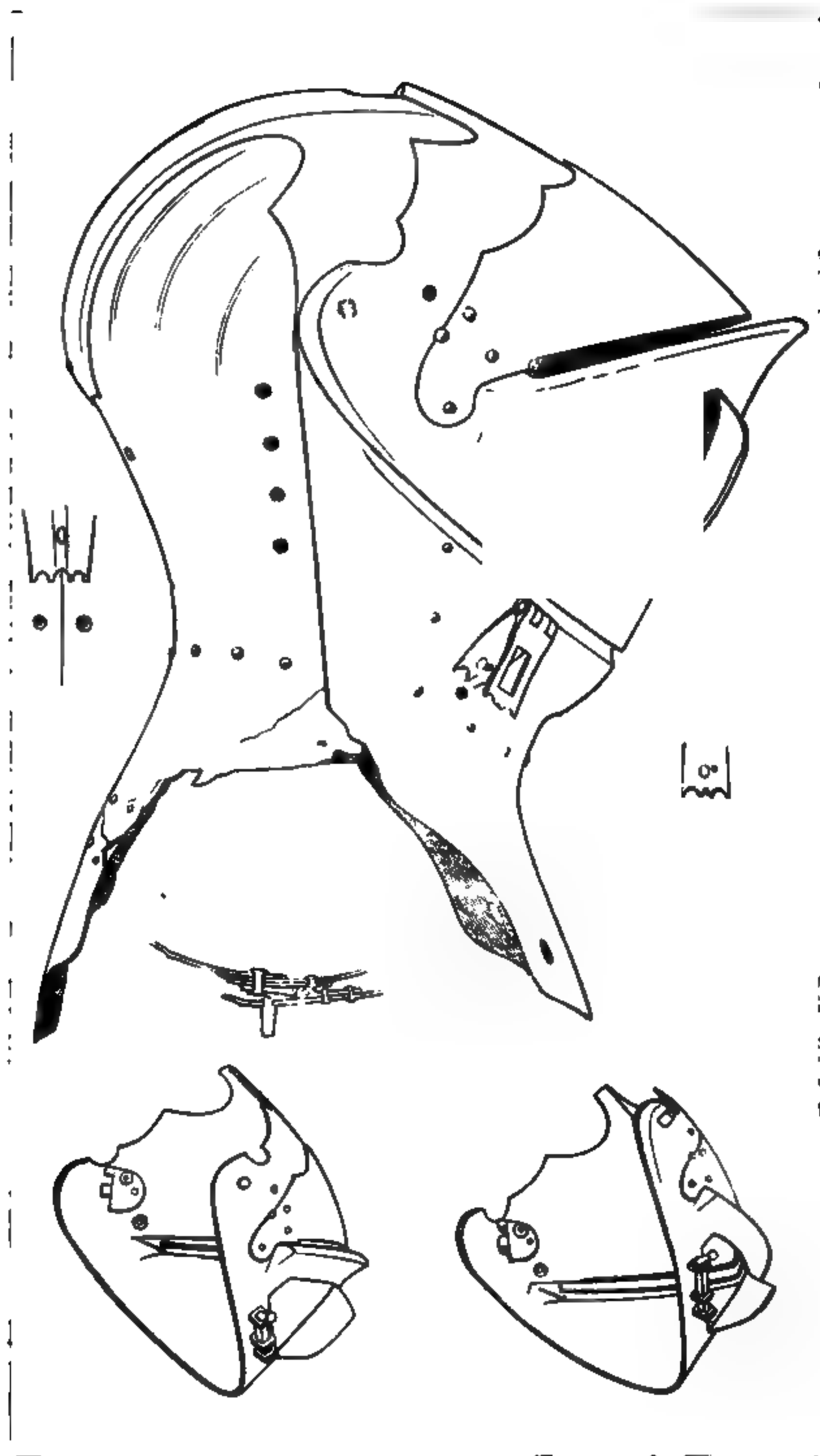
Lower down the side buttresses are two other shields—

1. A lion rampant, no cross crosslets. 2. Cantelupe.

The altar tomb contains four small shields charged with—1. A lion rampant. 2. A leopard's head, jessant de lys. 3. As 1. 4. As 2.

The buttresses are powdered with T's (Thomas), E's (Eleanor), the sword-shape badge of the La Warre's gained at Poitiers, and the leopard's head jessant de lys of the Cantelupes.

It will be seen that the family arms of neither of the wives appear.



1-15 Browning Helmet.

On the other hand, among the quarterings in the transept tomb, we find the arms of the mother Mortimer; viz :—barry of six or and azure, on a chief of the first, two pallets between two gyronnies of the second.

Before proceeding to consider the helm it may be as well to draw attention to a couple of heraldic anomalies in the chancel tomb. The first is the shield in the middle of the back of the recess, which is charged with another shield surrounded by the garter. The badges on shields in the side of the altar tomb form the second. The same arrangement occurs in the chantry at Boxgrove.

In the middle ages it was a very common custom to suspend portions of armour in the vicinity of tombs. In the case of the Black Prince we had two sets of arms, one for war and one for peace; of these there remain the helm, the gambeson, the gauntlets, the shield, a small sword sheath, and a belt. Over Henry V.'s tomb there is the tilting helmet, bought after his death (and consequently not used at Agincourt, as many writers are fond of asserting), the shield, and the saddle.¹ There was the shield of John of Gaunt, figured by Dugdale in his old St. Paul's, but more frequently we find these arms represented by a helm or helmet only. These helmets or helms have now become very scarce, and it is much to be regretted that the Archæological Institute, or some other society, has not published a correct list of those now remaining in ecclesiastical custody.

Broadwater has, however, been fortunate in possessing a helm of a very uncommon type, and which there is every reason to believe belonged to the chancel tomb: its probable date, viz., the end of the reign of Henry VII., or the beginning of his successor, supports the popular tradition, and I think it may be assumed without much questioning, that it was an old helmet of Thomas Lord La Warre that

¹ That the tilting helm over the chantry of Henry V at Westminster, could not have been worn at Agincourt is very evident from the facts—

1. That tilting helms would not be worn in actual warfare.

2. That S. Remi, in his *Memoirs*, tells us that the King "après les messes dictes, fit apporter son harnois de teste, qui estoit un tres bel bachinet a barriere."

3. The following extracts from Rymer, vol. 10, p. 257, give us, in all probability, the history of the present tilting helm. 1422, 1st Henry VI. Among the *Particulæ provisæ pro internamento Regis Henrici superdicti item eidem Thomæ (Daunt) pro factura unius crestæ et unius helmæ pro Rege xxxiii. ivd.*

was perhaps offered at his funeral or put up to adorn the tomb.

The helm consists of four principal and distinct parts : 1, the back ; 2, the crown ; 3, the beaver ; 4, the visor, the latter having a re-inforcing piece over the occularium.

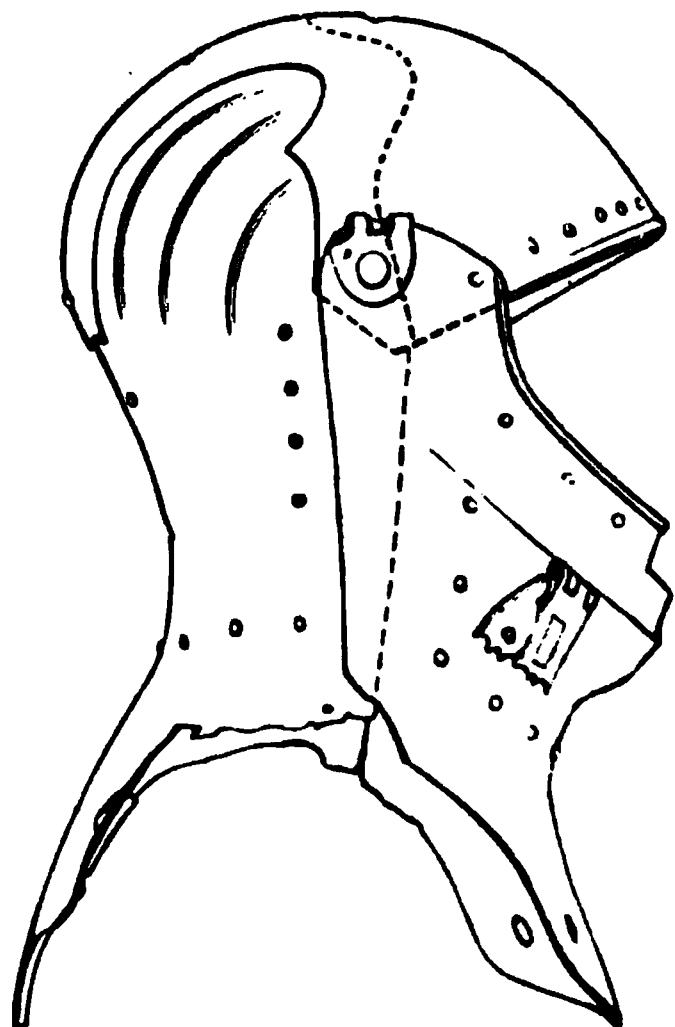
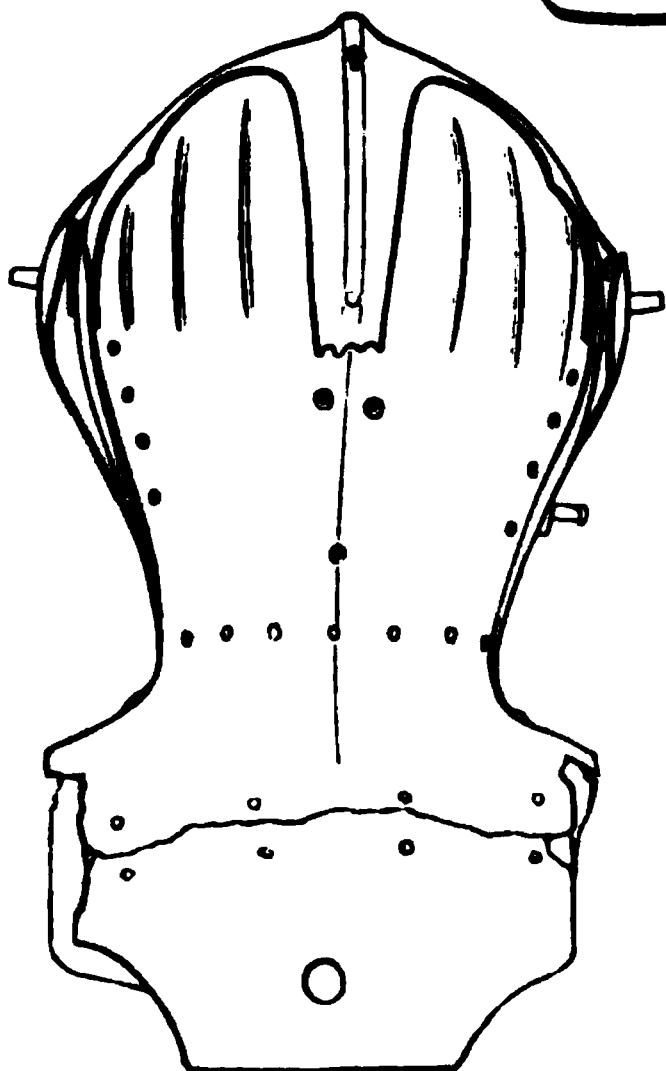
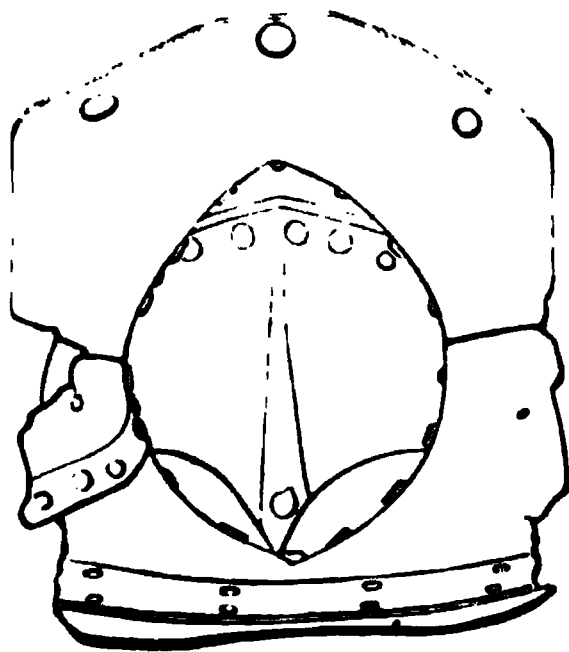
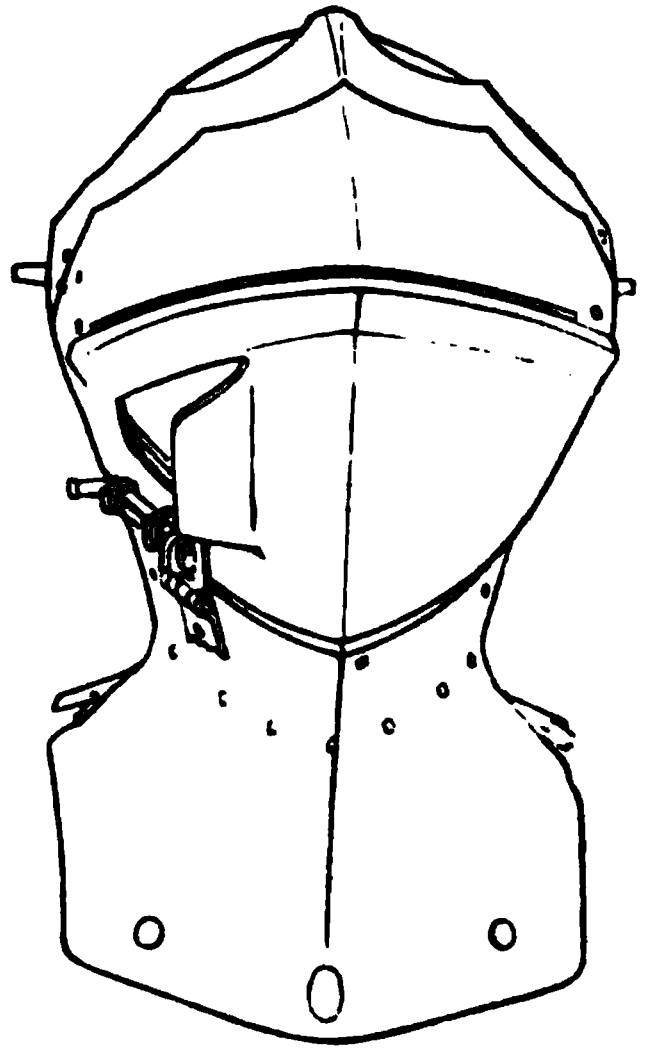
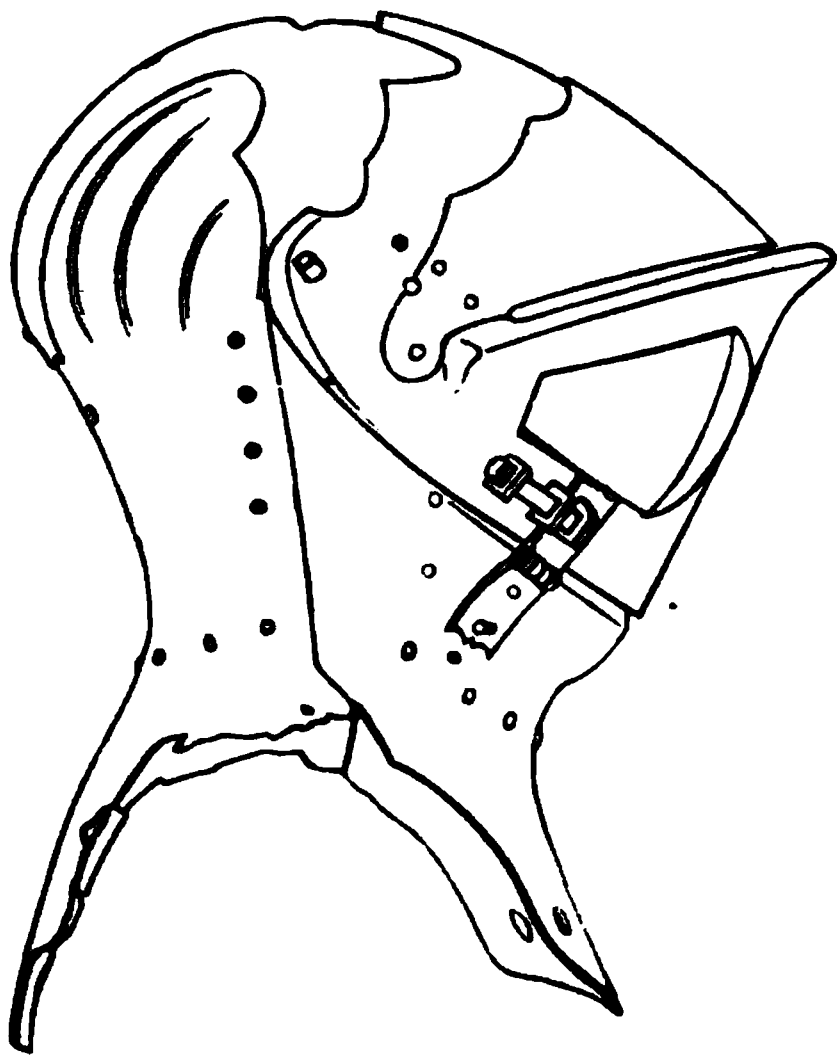
1. The back-piece is formed distinct from the crown-piece in order to avoid the difficulty of forging so large a piece as the two would have made if not divided ; as it is, the crown-piece overlaps the back-piece by about an inch. On either side of the latter are three rudimentary ridges or flutings. A ridge goes down the back, but towards the bottom it is lost so as to allow the lower part to fit on easily to the back plate, to which it was attached by a staple which went through a hole five-eighths of an inch in diameter. At the lower part of the ridge are three holes, 2 and 1, most probably made for the purpose of affixing a plume holder or holders.

In the Tournament Roll, 1st Henry VII., now preserved in the Herald's College, the helms have no crests, but their place is supplied by feathers and scarves. The former appear to have been affixed to the top of the helmet, while the scarves were attached to the same place by means of a gilded ball.

The back-piece presents us with a row of rivets along the sides, doubtless, the attachments for the lining. They extend along the front edge of the crown-piece, whereas in the bottom of the back-piece the line they take runs along the middle of the neck ; but there are no rivets for lining between this line and the bottom of the back-piece, although a small rivetted piece of iron on one side and traces of a similar one on the other, would seem to indicate that the lining was continued.

These little strips of iron are frequently found in the interior of helmets, and may have been the means of fastening down pieces of leather or canvass, to which the lining proper could have been sewn, for it must have been a very difficult affair to have lined such varying surfaces as one presented by the interior of a helm or helmet. On each side of the back piece are four small holes, placed one above the other, immediately over the position of the ears.

2. The crown-piece offers nothing very remarkable,



The Broadwater Helm.

beyond its contrivance, in the form of a narrow strip to the back of the helm, where it ends abruptly with some slight ornamental chamfers.

On the extreme top is a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, and about 3 ins. farther on towards the back a smaller one, of a key shape. These were, doubtless, for the crest (a griffin's head), which, it is quite possible, may not have existed originally, but may have been afterwards added, when the helm was used for funereal purposes. Certain it is, that when the visor is fully raised it covers both holes.

It should be observed that the crown-piece is only attached to the back-piece by a single rivet, about one inch from the termination of the narrow strip, and at the sides, by the rivetted pivots upon which the beaver and hinges of the visor turn.

3. The beaver has the usual rivets for the attachment of the lining along its upper edge, down the sides, and across the middle of the neck. It overlaps the back piece by about one inch, and on the left shoulder there is a hole which may possibly indicate the means of fastening the pieces together by means of hooks. In the front are three holes, half-inch in diameter, the centre one elongated as if by use. These were of course to receive the staples on the breast plate. Just above the chin is a depression to receive the visor. The piece cut out near the mouth has been an afterthought or a mutilation.

4. The visor has had its prolongation terminated like that of the crown piece, only it has been broken off. This visor is remarkable as possessing besides the usual horizontal slit or ocularium for sight, an opening on the dexter side, defended from the opposing lance by the metal being turned forward. The roll of the tournament in the Herald's College shows apertures exactly similar.

The Broadwater helm affords an actual example of a fashion which subsequently became of frequent occurrence, but in these later cases there is generally a little door perforated with holes or ornament, which shuts up and gives greater security in the time of action. Plate 45 of the *Triumph of Maximillian* shows these openings as closed with unperforated doors.

Another peculiarity in the present visor is the means by which it is hinged. As a general rule the visor works

on a pivot attached to the body of the helmet; here on the contrary it works on hinges, one of the ends of which is attached to the visor with two rivets, the other end working on the pivot which connects the beaver to the crown and back.

The apparent reason for this arrangement was to prevent the adverse lance striking the projecting point of the pivot, and thus deranging the visor, but in the present instance there are false pivots inserted on the surface of the visor, in the position where the real pivot would appear had the usual arrangement been followed.

I have examined these false pivots most carefully, and am unable to discover their use. They are not threaded for screws, and there are no signs of their having ever been rivetted down. The top of the dexter one, which is five-eighths of an inch in projection, has been split down by two cross cuts to the depth of three-eighths. The sinister, which only projects three-eighths, has no signs of having been split.

The only other remarks about the visor are, that there is a reinforcing piece attached by rivets, and that there are no signs of lining.

Such are the particulars of this very curious helm, which may possibly have been made as an experiment, just as that which was worn by Henry VIII, when he had so narrow an escape in the tournament described by Hall.

It is to be hoped that the helm, being now placed out of reach, will be preserved for many generations. It is difficult to imagine what must have been lost by the practice of despoiling churches for the collections of Antiquaries. Perhaps if a correct list were made and published by the Archæological Institute, or some other body, of the helmets still existing in churches, a little might be done to prevent their removal, as no one would care to show an acquisition derived from a church.

Referring to the aperture for air on the dexter side of the beaver, which we have seen beginning as a mere hole with the iron turned up in front, in the Broadwater helm, and in the Tournement Roll of Henry VIII.; then becoming a hinged door, in the Triumph of Maximillian; and finally having this door pierced in an ornamental pattern, as shown in Plates **ix** and **x** of Skelton's *Meyrick Collection*, it may, perhaps, be as well to correct the common mistake, that a similar aperture was the cause of the death of Henry II. of France.

In the description of Plate x in the above work, we are told, concerning the helmet here represented: "This, as in the last instance, was protected by a mentonniere, with a small door in it, perforated to give a little air, and made to open when more was required; this, when shut, was kept in its place by means of a catch. It was the sudden opening of it that, according to Davilla, occasioned the death of Henry II. of France, when jousting in 1559 with Gabriel Count de Montgomeri, captain of his guard. The lances had short iron heads, and that of his antagonist struck him in the right eye and pierced his brain. His was, probably, like what is represented in Plate xxxi, fig. i, as the perforations in this ventilator are an improvement."

The next thing is to turn the original book entitled—*Dell'istoria delle guerre civili di Francia di Arrigo Caterino*; Davilla, Milan, 1807. In lib. 1, p. 39, we find the following account of the transaction: "On the last day of June, in the public celebration of a superb tourneyment, whilst jousting with iron pointed lances with Gabriel, Count of Montgomeri, captain of his guard, the visor of his helmet having got open by chance (*apertas'egli per accidente*), he was gravely wounded by the truncheon of the lance of his adversary in the right eye, and forthwith carried for dead into the palace of the Tournelles."

It will be observed that nothing is said of the ventilator.

The next authority is Vincent Carlois, author of the *Memoirs sur le Maréchal de Vieilville*, whom he served for thirty-six years as secretary. The memoirs extend from 1528 to 1573.

"For both (the King and Montgomery) very valorously running the course, and with great dexterity and address having broken their lances, this unskilful (*malhabile*) Lorges (Montgomery) did not throw away, as is the ordinary custom, the truncheon which remained in his hand after the lance had been broken but carried it lowered, and in finishing the course it met with the head of the king, whom he struck on the visor, which the blow caused to fly up and put out his eye. His Majesty was obliged to hold on by the neck of his horse, which, having the reins loose, finished his course."

Le Vicomte Jean de Saulx in his *Memoirs sur Gaspard de Saulx Turannes*, his father, which memoirs extend from 1515 to 1573, gives the following amount of the transaction. "These combats (the jousts) lasted two days. On the third, Montgomery, after making several refusals of jousting against the king, breaks his lance against the breast-plate, one of the splinters raises the visor, another pierces the eye of his majesty, goes out by the ear, and frightens M. le Connestable who sees his favor gone. Some persons accuse the armourers, others the impatience of the king who would not wait to have the hook of the visor fastened."

Hall relates how Henry VIII. very nearly met with the same sort of accident as that which befel Henry II. of France.

In this case the king had neglected to put down his visor, and the Duke of Suffolk's spear hit him on the forehead of the crown piece, pushing the visor further back, and filling the King's helmet with splinters. Had the Duke's spear been a little more lowered than it happened to be, of course Henry would have been killed. As it happened, his escape was a pure matter of chance, as the Duke confessed he could not see as his helmet was so close,

EASTON MAUDIT.¹

By the REV. A. J. FOSTER, M.A.

Close to the stately Castle, and bordered by the lofty trees of Ashby Park, lies the little village of Easton Maudit, straggling along a winding lane south of the beautiful Decorated parish Church. Shut in and retired above all other Northamptonshire villages is this small collection of houses. To the west and south it is bounded by the park, deer chase, and woods which form the immense enclosure of Castle Ashby. Situated on no great high road, and approached only by lanes running for the most part through pastures and parks, and barred by field gates in true Northamptonshire fashion, it might well escape the notice of the passing traveller, were it not for its slender spire rising above the cedars of its ancient park.

It is the East town, afterwards shortened to Easton or Eston, which takes its distinguishing name from the lord of the manor in the time of Henry I, one William Malduith, the king's chamberlain, who married Maud, the heiress of the last owner of the Fee, Michael de Hanslape, and ward of the king. The name soon became corrupted from Malduith to Maudit. The present form Maudit appears to be quite modern.

The property changed hands several times in the next following centuries, and in the reign of Elizabeth another heiress (of the family of Trussel) married the Earl of Oxford, who sold the manor to Sir Christopher Yelverton, the founder of the great family, originally from Rougham in the county of Norfolk, but so long connected with this place.

At Easton Maudit, as is often the case where the whole parish is in the hands of one family, and where consequently no one has an interest in making a profit out of each individual cottage, the Comptons allow the old people to remain on when past work. We find therefore many old Northamptonshire sayings and phrases in the mouths of Easton folk who have lived in the same restricted area all their lives, in a spot as yet unreached by the changing tide of shoemakers.

Names of families remain too in the registers for generations, besides the names of those who are commemorated on the monuments. The Coopers (of whom the present representative is the old parish clerk who remembers the funeral of the last Earl of Sussex, May Day, 1799); the Labretts (formerly Lebean); and the Faireys (sometimes oddly spelt Pharaoh) have been christened, married, and buried here for many generations, and their descendants still keep up the names.

There are other things worth notice in the Registers which go back to

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Northampton Meeting, August 5th, 1878.

1539, and own their preservation to the illustrious vicar Thomas Percy. The actual records of this early date do not however exist, for, as Percy points out in a note in his own hand-writing: "A public scrivener in 1599 transcribed in one fair hand the earlier entries into the present volume." Percy caused the registers which he found, to be bound in one volume, with blank leaves of parchment added, which are still used for the record of events in the parish, other than christenings, burials, and marriages, which are entered in the usual books.

An entry in 1701 records how one of the Coopers, Thomas, a dissenter, died of small-pox, and was put into the ground in the churchyard, but "his widow and friends gave no notice to the vicar, because they would not have the office of the Church used at his interment." There are also such facts recorded as the death of an old lady of over 90 still keeping all her teeth in her head. A certificate attached to one of the pages of the register, tells us that one of the vicars, Francis Tolson, was buried in lambs'-wool, in 1745, in accordance with the Act of Parliament.

This Francis Tolson was for four years curate of the parish, but in 1736 Barbara, Dowager Viscountess Longueville, used her interest with the patrons (Ch. Ch., Oxford), and procured him the Vicarage. As a thank-offering and first fruits he gave 20s. to be put out to interest to provide six white loaves for the widows and orphans every third Sunday in Lent, probably the day when he read himself in. The old Lady Longueville also gave him a scarf, and made him chaplain to her grandson, the young Earl of Sussex. "Mr. Tolson was bred to the law," says Percy, "which accounts for the accuracy of his statements," and the future Bishop also gives us in the Register a list of the works published by his predecessor while he still followed the law.

In this volume also we find numerous references to the magnificent set of Altar plate at Easton Maudit so remarkable for its antiquity and history. Bishop Thomas Morton, the ejected prelate who found a refuge at Easton during the Commonwealth, gave a silver gilt chalice and cover with the initials T. M. engraved on them. Sir Henry Yelverton, his host, "that true son and great ornament of the Church of England," gave a silver gilt flagon and two patens about the same time. This information is given by Percy, and we find that when he was Incumbent, he was in the habit of receiving this plate from the custody of the Earl of Sussex and using it occasionally on Easter Day, as his predecessor Francis Tolson had done. The plate, he tells us, was given into the care of the Earl "in the time of the rebellion 1745," and "deposited for the greater security in a private place in Lord Sussex's library" (to such an extent had the dread of the wild highland followers of Charles Edward penetrated, that it alarmed the inhabitants of this retired village); and the fact of its removal from its hiding place and its use at the Easter celebration, is an event recorded three times with great solemnity, and attested by many witnesses.

Amidst the glories of the county the parish Church of St. Peter and St. Paul holds no mean place. It is an edifice of the later part of the Decorated period, and has the advantage of having been completed at once, without subsequent alterations or additions, except the Chapel of the Yelvertons with its strained arch, which is later, and may have been the Lady Chapel, and was at one time shut off from the Church, and entered by a private door at the north side. The Church consists of a

nave and two side aisles, with a chancel, north of which is the interesting chapel already referred to, containing very remarkable monuments erected over the vault below. From the tower at the west end rises a capital example of the later Northamptonshire steeples, pierced with three tiers of lights, and finished at the angles with pinnacles and flying buttresses. The spire was carefully repaired, and partly rebuilt in 1832. The advowson in the time of Edward III was given to the convent of Lavenden, Buckinghamshire, in an adjoining parish, and the church may have been built when they were patrons.

In the tower hang five bells, four of them bearing the date 1663, and three of them the maker's name, John Hudson. One bears the inscription, "God save our King," for these were the days when loyalty ran high after the restoration. One bell bears the initials, and another the full name of Sir Henry Yelverton, Bart., the friend of Bishop Morton, and donor of a portion of the famous altar service of plate, who doubtless gave this second present to the Church, when the King had got his own again. He died soon after in 1670.

The remaining bell has on it the motto : "*Dulcis sisto melis campana, vocor Gabrielis.*" It is of course the Angelus bell as is shown by its bearing the name of the angel of the Annunciation, though it is now rung at one o'clock instead of at noon-day, and at six in the morning, and six in the evening. It goes by the name of the French bell, as it is said to have been brought from Normandy.

The church was restored seventeen years ago, chiefly by the liberality of the late Marquis of Northampton, the then patrons (Christ Church, Oxford) contributing £25 out of a total of £2,527. They ceased to be patrons however in 1873.

The monuments are chiefly collected in the chapel to the north of the chancel, some being moved there from their original positions at the time of the restoration of the church. In the middle of the nave, however, the five children of Bishop Percy, who died while he was vicar of Easton, have been commemorated by modern tiles ; and in the same way some other old slabs have been "restored" so to speak. One of these is the modern memorial of the old vicar Tolson, whose christian name is however strangely spelt Frances, an error reproduced, but not undesignedly, from the ancient inscription. Whether on account of his being unable to rest in his lambswool shroud, or whether because he is disturbed about this mistake, which probably originated with some ignorant stone-cutter, this lady-vicar is said by the village people to be often seen wandering disconsolately by the margin of the moat at the bottom of the vicarage grounds.

At the entrance to the chapel of the Yelvertons lies the slab of Bishop Morton, which formerly covered his grave near the altar, but was moved here unfortunately at the time of the church restoration. A Latin inscription records the eventful life of this confessor of the seventeenth century, who, after having been successively dean of Gloucester and Winchester, and bishop of Chester, Lichfield and Coventry, and Durham, was driven by the Puritans from his see, "*diuturnâ (heu nimium) ecclesiæ procellâ.*" At Easton House, after having been for some time the guest of his friend, Sir Christopher Yelverton, and tutor to his son Henry, he underwent, September 22nd, 1659, at the great age of ninety-five, "*senex et cœlebs,*" says the inscrip-

tion, "his last and happiest translation," says his chaplain and biographer, Dr. John Barwick, "from the vale of misery to a throne of glory." He was buried at Easton Maudit Church on the festival of St. Michael in the same year, and thus just missed the king's restoration, and his own probably to his see.

The Yelvertons themselves, knights, baronets, viscounts, and earls, together with some of their ancestors on the female side, are commemorated by two magnificent Jacobean tombs, besides some slabs and mural tablets. In the centre of the chapel a grand canopy supported by four pillars (commonly called in the place the bedstead), covers the tomb of the founder of the family at Easton, Sir Christopher Yelverton, serjeant-at-law, speaker of the House of Commons, and a justice of the Court of Queen's and King's Bench, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. The knight reclines in his robes and ruff beneath the canopy. By his side lies his wife, Dame Mary, of the family of Catesby, from the neighbouring parish of Whiston. Both effigies are of life size and of coloured alabaster; they exhibit all the most minute detail of dress and ornament, executed in that delicate manner which is one of the chief delights of the sculpture work of the period. On the north and south faces of the tomb on which the parents lie, kneel the children, four boys on one side, and eight girls on the other. One of these boys, by name Henry, also rose to the bench. He was attorney-general to James I, and knew the ups and downs of royal favour, for he was sent to the Tower in 1620 on account of some practices contrary to the wishes of the king, before he reached the Court of Common Pleas in the reign of Charles I. His monument is against the north wall of the chapel, and though as interesting, is perhaps hardly as well executed as that of his father. He died in 1629, and his effigy, in black gown and ruff, looks down from what is apparently one of the shelves of a bookcase, and is surrounded by the volumes of his library. On a lower shelf lies his wife Margaret, the daughter of Robert Beale, who was Queen Elizabeth's envoy in the Low Countries and elsewhere. Beneath kneel the four sons and five daughters.

The canopy above is supported by hooded mutes, upon whose cushioned heads rests the ponderous pediment of the monument. Between are emblems of death and burial, spade, bier, skulls, &c., worked into a tangled ribbon. The colouring of the whole is very perfect, and notwithstanding the quaint conceit of the bookshelves with their clasped volumes turned edge outwards, the monument is a remarkable specimen of the time when the Renaissance had taken the place of Gothic, and the Italian style was pervading this island.

The famous Yelverton Library "enriched with immense store of books, both printed and manuscript," was begun by this Sir Henry Yelverton with the diplomatic papers received through his wife of Robert Beale. Another Sir Henry added the manuscripts of his old tutor Morton, and his wife the Lady Longueville, Tolson's patroness, was at the same time engaged in collecting a series of portraits. The books were dispersed by public auction in 1784, and a list of the Beale papers is given in an Oxford catalogue of the Manuscripti Yelvertoniani 1672.

Old Sir Christopher's grandson, the third of that name, was both knight and baronet, but with his great great grandson, Henry Yelverton, begin the higher honours of the family. This Henry, first Viscount Longueville, was the son of the Sir Henry Yelverton who was the friend

and pupil of the aged Morton, and presented the plate and bells to the church, and placed the Bishop's manuscripts in the library. From his mother, Susanna Longueville Baroness Grey of Ruthyn, he received the name of his title. He died in 1703, and his son became Earl of Sussex, but the family shortly afterwards became extinct.

Some mural tablets and hatchments along the wall of the north aisle show us the arms of the family with various quarterings. Above hang the helmet, processional sword, tattered banner, and knightly gilt spurs of some ancestor.

The old mansion of the Yelvertons was pulled down quite at the close of the last century. It stood to the north-east of the church, and the fish ponds or moats which bounded its grounds to the west and north-east still exist, while the cedars which lined its gardens are still flourishing—a strange and unusual feature in an English hedgerow. The old park stretched away to the east, and is still an enclosure finely timbered, through which runs the public road shut off at each end by gates.

A sketch of Easton Maudit would not be complete without a reference to the vicariate of Thomas Percy. His care for the registers and church plate has already been mentioned, and in the former he has inscribed many facts concerning himself. He was presented to the living by his college, Christ Church, Oxford, and was instituted November 17th, 1753. He makes two notes of the event, and in one of them strangely enough gives the year as '63. Two vicars came between Francis Tolson and himself, one of them the vicar of Castle Ashby, a Pembroke man, the other a Christ Church man. The Pembroke man, observes Percy, was presented because he was a remote relation of Dr. South.

He mentions his own marriage with Anne Gutteridge of Desborough in this county, April 24th, 1759, at Desborough, and the entries of the births and deaths of their children follow. He resigned April 20th, 1782, when appointed to the bishopric of Dromore, but he had held the deanery of Carlisle along with the vicarage since 1778. Many of his literary works were completed in the old vicarage house, a portion of the present dwelling. His "Reliques of Ancient English poetry" were published in 1765 while he was still vicar of Easton.

Here he gathered round him "a brilliant literary society"—Dr. Johnson, Shenstone, Goldsmith, and Garrick were entertained by him at the vicarage. There is in Boswell's Life a letter by Johnson to Sir Joshua Reynolds, dated August 15th 1764; "at the Rev. Mr. Percy's at Easton Maudit, Northamptonshire, by Castle Ashby," in which the Doctor happily congratulates Sir Joshua on his recovery from sickness, saying that not having heard of his illness until he heard of his recovery, he had been spared much pain. The name of the great thinker is still associated with the vicarage by a raised terrace, which goes by the name of Johnson's Walk. Hence, doubtless, he often gazed on the slender spire rising above the then low-roofed vicarage. And here will we take leave of the home of Bishop Percy, and the sheepfold which he once shepherded.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.¹

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

Singularly few, considering the number of stations and villas, are the Roman inscriptions of Northamptonshire. With the two great roads, Ermin street and Watling street, traversing the county, with stations at Castor, Daventry, Towcester, Irchester, Mill Cotton, Thenford, Thorpe (near Great Shawney), Black Lands (at Chipping Warden), and Black Land Furlong near King's Sutton, it might have been supposed that a number of inscriptions would have been found, but the contrary is the case. In connection with the station at Castor two (or possibly three) are recorded as having been found. The first is named in Gough's *Camden* (edit. 1806), vol. ii, p. 257, and was said to occur on some scraps of white wood (? bone), found in a stone sarcophagus in 1754, with coins of Faustina, Gordian, &c., and other remains. It was in mixed Greek and Latin characters, thus—

ΑΛΟΙΓΥ VTERE ΤΑ Δ FELIX.

It will be difficult to extract any meaning from this. The first word seems to be ΑΛΟΙΓΥ. The phrase VTERE FELIX frequently occurs in Roman-British inscriptions. It was found "near Chesterton," but whether on the Huntingdonshire or Northants side of the river is not said.

From the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1786, p. 1034, and the same work 1795, p. 741, we learn that a Roman milestone, bearing the name of the Emperor Florianus, was found in 1785, "on the east side of Bridge Close in Chesterton lordship, Huntingdonshire, south of the river Nene. The castra (*sic*) or camp lay north of the same river one mile." It bore the inscription—

IMP . CAES
M . ANNIO
FLORIANO
P . F . INVICTO
AVG
M . P . L.

On the 27th May, 1799, Richard Gough, the antiquary presented this stone to Trinity College, Cambridge. He sent with it, a long Latin letter, in which he states that it was found in digging a drain near Water Newton. On my writing to the Rev. Mr. Sinker, librarian of the college, as to this, he made some researches, and re-discovered Gough's letter. Both Chesterton and Water Newton are in the county of Huntingdon, but the stone undoubtedly belongs to the great station at Castor. The Emperor Florianus only reigned for a few months, so that this stone must have been inscribed in the year A.D. 276.

¹ Communicated to the meeting of the Institute at Northampton.

The date of this discovery was long before the late Mr. Artis commenced his researches in the locality, yet in his *Durobrivae*, Plate xv, fig. 2, he gives an engraving of a stone with an exactly similar inscription which he says was found in "Normangate Field." If such a stone was discovered it was a duplicate, as at the time Mr. Artis was excavating the first named stone was at Cambridge. It is probable, from its present appearance, that the last letters in the 1785 stone were Lⁱ, and marked fifty-one miles from some station, the name of which does not appear upon it.

In the above-mentioned plate also Mr. Artis engraves (fig. 1) a stone found at Castor, "in removing a part of the old wall, on the north side of the fortified ground." It was only a fragment, and the remaining letters were—

| M A R T O

The next discovery of an inscription was in 1822 at Whittlebury, when Mr. Baker informs us, in his *History of Northants*, vol. ii, p. 73, several portions of Roman bricks were found, one fragment bearing the abbreviation LEG. and another the letters xx.v.v. These fragments, which seemed in some degree to fit each other, came into the possession of Sir Henry Dryden, who has deposited them in the Northampton Museum. Together they form the stamp of the 20th Legion: *Leg(io) x v (aleria) V(ictrix)*.

The next discovery was in 1854, when a Roman tombstone, now preserved in the British Museum, was found at Irchester. It bore the inscription (divested of ligatures)—

D . M . S
ANICIVS . SATVRV
STRATOR . COS . M . S . F.

Its reading is probably :—*D(iis) M(anibus) S(acrum) Anicius Saturu(s) strator co(n)sulari s(m)onumentum s(ibi) f(ecit)*.

A Roman *tessera* of burnt clay and about one inch in diameter, and similar to a number of others found at Britanno-Roman stations, found in Northamptonshire, but where is not stated, is described in vol. vii of the *Archæological Journal*, p. 71. It was inscribed—

E
III

The last discovery was that of a Roman flanged roof tile found in 1867 at Hilly Wood, two miles east of Woodcroft, and on the line of the Ermin street between Castor and the Lincolnshire boundary. (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 356.) It was inscribed—

LEG . IX . HIS.

i.e., *Leg(io) IX His(panica)*, "the Ninth Legion (named) the Spanish."

Such appear to be the whole of the Roman inscriptions recorded as discovered in Northants. That great numbers still lie buried around the stations I have named may be accepted as a great probability, and it is to be hoped that excavations like those undertaken by the Rev. R. S. Baker, will be the means of bringing many of them into the light.

Original Documents

RELATIVE TO CANONS ASHBY, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Communicated by JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.

The following original charters may interest Northamptonshire antiquaries, as they relate to the Church of the "Blessed Mary of Ashby," the well known Priory of Black Canons of the Augustinian Order, founded in the reign of Henry II, probably by Stephen de Leya, then lord of the manor. He was at all events its earliest benefactor, as his very interesting charter testifies, of which, with its details, an abstract is given by the laborious Baker (*Hist. of Northamptonshire*, vol. ii, p. 18). It occurs on the first folio of the MS. cartulary of the Priory, a document often referred to by Baker, and his predecessor Bridges, as being in the possession of the family of Orlebar of Hinwick, Co. Bedford. Baker has also given an abstract (*loc. cit.*) of the third and most curious of the charters now printed, shewing that it is contained in the MS. cartulary, and probably so are the other two. But as the cartulary has never been printed, so far as the writer understands, the full text of these documents may perhaps be acceptable.¹ The charters are Nos. 5882-3-4 of the *Additional Charters*, British Museum, and were purchased from a London bookseller in May 1841.

Add. Charters, (5882).

I.

Sciant presentes et futuri. Quod ego Henricus miles filius Rogeri de Mortona pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et heredum meorum et pro animabus patris et matris mee Et omnium antecessorum meorum Concessi et dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et Ecclesie Sancte Marie de Essebi et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus totum dominicum quod datum fuit in maritagium cum matre mea. Scilicet. decem seiliones super Exlet. et duas seiliones super ulteriorem Bereforlanga Et tres seiliones super alterum Bereforlanga et sex seiliones et tres foreras super Hegtrelanga et duas seiliones super hob'ge et totam terram in Brade quam emi de Henrico le L'ab cum prato toto quod emi de predicto Henrico. Habendum et tenendum predictis canonicis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam liberam et quietam ab omni seculari servicio Hanc elemosinam meam ego et heredes mei Warantizabimus predictis canonicis contra omnes gentes Hiis testibus. Domino Symone de Pinkeni. Johanne vicario de Mortona. Roberto de Sureia. Roberto filio Hernaldi. Toma filio Felicie. Willelmo filio Ivonis de Eidona. Hugone clerico de Culw'c. Rogero priore. Mychaele de Bukgham. Warino et multis aliis.

Size 6in. by 2½in., clearly written with contractions.

Endorsed—"Carta Henr) Knycht.

de xxij seilionibz cum ij forr et alijs."

¹ It may be, that, as is often the case, the cartulary does not give the lists of the attesting witnesses, always one of the

most valuable details in an early charter as tending to fix its date.

[Abstract.]

Henry the Knight son of Roger of Morton for the safety of his own and his wife's and his heirs' souls, and those of his father and mother and of all his ancestors, gives to God and the Canons of the Church of S. Mary of Essebi all the domain which was given in marriage with his mother, viz., 10 ridges of land on Exlet; and 2 ridges upon further (or (over) Bereforlang; and 3 ridges upon the other Bereforlang; and 6 ridges and 3 furrows upon Hegtrelang; and 2 ridges upon Hob'ge; and all the land in Brade which he bought from Henry "le L'ab," with the whole meadow which he bought from said Henry. To be held by the Canons in pure and perpetual alms.¹

"Sir Simon de Pinkeni," one of the witnesses to this deed, was probably Sir Simon of Moreton Pinkney and Sulgrave, who flourished at the end of John's reign and the beginning of that of Henry. He was related to the Barons of Wedon, who were Lords paramount of Moreton.

Add. Charters, (5883).

II.

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus filius Hamonis dedi et concessi et hec mea carta confirmavi Deo et Beate Marie de Esseby et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus pro salute anime mee et pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum unam dimidiam acram terre cum pertinentiis in campis de Wappeham illam scilicet que jacet in Kinewelhul propinquior terre Benedicti filii Bartholomei ex parte orientali. Habendam et tenendam dictis canonicis de me et de heredibus meis in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Et ego dictus W. et heredes mei dictam terram cum pertinentiis dictis canonicis contra omnes homines et feminas Warantizabimus inperpetuum Quod ut ratum sit. presens scriptum sigillo meo corroboravi. Hiis testibus Rogero de Lyuns milite. Roberto de Plunpton. Ricardo de Attenestona. Alexandro de Bosco. Thomas Anegod. Willelmo Henfrei. Henrico Pain et multis aliis.

Size 5 by 2½ inches. Very clearly written, with contractions. The seal is gone, but the slit for the tag remains.

[Abstract.]

William, son of Hamon, gives to God and the blessed Mary of Esseby and the Canons serving God there, for the safety of his own and his father's and mother's souls, and those of his ancestors and successors, one half acre of land with the pertinents in the fields of Wappenham, that namely, which lies in Kinwelhul next to the land of Benedict the son of Bartholomew on the east part. In pure and perpetual alms, &c. Appends his seal.

Of the witnesses, Sir Roger de Lyons and Robert de Plumpton are members of early and important County families.

Add. Charters, (5584).

III.

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Hugo Gulafre pro salute mea et pro salute uxoris mee et heredum meorum et pro animabus patris et matris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum dedi et hac presenti carta

¹ The word "seilio" occurring above, is doubtless the same as the French "sillon." It is explained by Ducange to mean a piece of land of uncertain extent: "Forera," on the same authority,

is a piece of land at right angles to the ridge, no doubt to enable a plough to be turned. "Ridge and furrow" is a well known expression in our own day.

mea confirmavi ecclesie Sancte Marie de Essebi et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus tres virgatas terre et dimidiam in Ettenestona cum masagiis et omnibus pertinentiis et cum hominibus qui eandem terram tenebant in vilenagio. Scilicet. Estmundus Ricardus filius Randulfi. Randulfus. frater Estmundi. Seledus. Wibertus. Orsewinus. Preterea dedi et hac eadem carta confirmavi predictis canonicis unam virgatam terre in eadem villa quam Galfridus de Northona libere tenebit de eis sibi et heredibus suis sexdecim denarios annuatim reddendo. Preterea confirmavi predictis canonicis duas virgatas terre in eadem villa quas pater meus dedit eis cum masagio et grava. Has predictas sex virgatas terre et dimidiam tenebunt predicti canonici libere et quiete ab omni seculari servicio quod pertinet ad me et ad heredes meos salvo forinseco servicio quantum pertinet ad sex virgatas terre et dimidiam de feudo militis quod habet in se xxxv. virgatas terre et dimidiam. Totam predictam terram debeo ego et heredes mei warantizare predictis canonicis contra omnes homines. Testes sunt. Walkelinus Abbas Sancti Jacobi. Ricardus presbiter. Absalon presbiter. Adam clericus. Willhelmus de Pluntona. Ricardus de Leuns. Henricus de Pincheni. Robertus de Leya. Henricus filius Waloin'. Radulfus Basset. Ricardus de Farlinbestun. Gilebertus de Wandevilla. Robertus de Wanci. Willhelmus de Cheindlut. Galfridus de Northona. et filii eius Galfridus et Herbertus. Rogerus de Bosco. Robertus de Ettenestona. et filii Henricus et Galfridus. Walterus Luuel. Osbernus Deunte. Walkelinus de Lindona.

Size 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 3 inches. Very clearly written, with contractions and in fine condition. No seal or tag.

Endorsed—"De terra de attenestona.

Hug. Gul. de t'ra de Attenestona de donacoe"
[Abstract.]

Hugh Gulafre for his own and his wife's safety and that of his heirs, and for the souls of his father and mother and of all his ancestors gives to the Church of S. Mary of Essebi and the Canons there serving God three virgates and a half of land in Ettenestona with messuages &c. and with the men who hold the said land in vilenage viz: Estmund, Richard son of Randulf, Randulf brother of Estmund, Seledus, Wibertus, and Orsewinus. Also gives one virgate in said vill which Galfridus de Northona shall hold of the Canons, he and his heirs paying them 16*d* annually. Also he confirms 2 virgates of land in the same vill which his father gave the Canons with a messuage and a grove. The Canons to hold the said six virgates and a half free of all secular service to the granter and his heirs, except as much foreign service as pertains to 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of a knight's fee, containing in itself 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ virgates.

This is a curious, and, as testified by the number and character of the witnesses, an important deed, and is pointed out as such by Mr. Baker, especially in respect of its conveyance of the six villeins, and its specifying the extent of a knight's fee.

The granter was doubtless Hugo Gulafre, Lord of the Manor of Blakesley in Norton Hundred circ. 1200. Bridges'. *Northamptonshire*, vol. ii, pp. 227, 231-2; and Baker, vol. ii, p. 22.

Walkelin, Abbot of St. James, is considered by Bridges (vol. ii, p. 497) to be the same person as Walkelin, father of William de Duston, who in 7th of John (1205) obtained a confirmation of the lands which his father held in Duston (Newbottle Hundred) "at the time he put on the habit

of a religious. Walkelin was elected abbot of St. James's Monastery in 26th Henry II, and died in the 7th year of this (John's) reign."

Henry de Pincheni is either the Baron of Wedon of that christian name, who died circa 1209, ancestor of the competitor for the Scottish crown, or his relative, Henry de Pinkeni of Morton Pinkeni and Sulgrave, temp. Henry II.¹ Some of the other witnesses belong to well known Northamptonshire houses. Ralph Basset could trace a high judicial lineage. He was probably the second son of Richard Basset, and Mauld Ridel, heiress of Geoffrey Ridel Chief Justice of England, "an eminent and learned person," as Dugdale calls him; while his paternal grandfather, Ralph Basset, had preceded Geoffrey Ridel in the high office of Chief Justice. And what is curious, from Mauld being an heiress, her eldest son Geoffrey took *her* surname and arms for his life, as Dugdale points out in his Baronage.

These observations may be permitted, although coming from a stranger to the county. Canons Ashby, the historic seat of the Drydens, is not less linked with the name of the great poet, than with the archæological researches of its present owner in Scotland's "Ultima Thule." A Scotsman may, therefore, be presumed to take an interest in a county which, as a member of the Honour of Huntingdon, was once closely identified with the Scottish kings and princes, as many charters yet testify.

¹ It is singular that Dugdale, Bridges, and Baker were unable to trace the career of Sir Henry de Pinkeni, brother and heir of Sir Robert, the competitor for the Scottish crown, except that in 1301 he sold his barony to Edward I, and in 1302 was summoned to serve in the Scottish war. Only a few days ago the writer observed the following original entry concerning him, which seems to be unknown:—

"Pynkenye.

"Domino Henrico de Pinkenye, militi, commoranti ad vadia Regis in municione ville Berewici super Twedam, capiente per diem iis pro vadiis suis, et Mauricii de Dromsagard, scutiferi sui, capientis per diem xiid a vicesimo nono Maii anno presenti quinto, usque in septimum diem Julii anno eodem finiente, utroque computato per xl dies vj libras.

Probatum."

This was in A.D. 1312 (5th Edward II). In the Horse Roll, Sir Henry's horse,

a "clear bay," is valued at 20 marks; and that of his 'Squire, a "black," at 100 shillings.

This is taken from a Muster Roll of the Garrison of Berwick on Tweed, serving under the orders of Sir Ralph of Monthermer, Lieutenant of the King in Scotland, among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum. Part of it was printed many years ago in the appendix to the *Chronicon de Lanercost* out of the Scotch Club Books, and there it has lain entombed. Sir Henry, who was now in his forty-sixth year, was thus serving as a simple Knight at 2s. per diem. His Esquire was evidently a Scotsman, probably a cadet of the Morays of Bothwell and Drumsargard in Clydesdale. Did the Knight fall a couple of years later at Bannockburn like many of his comrades? He was fairly mounted, but not extravagantly. Some of the English knights on the border at that time had chargers worth from £30 to £50.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 7, 1878.

C. D. E. FORTNUM, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., in the Chair.

At the opening of the new session the CHAIRMAN congratulated the members on the successful meeting that had been held at Northampton, a meeting that had been in contemplation for so many years. The attendance was unusually large, the places visited were of great interest, and much hospitality had been extended to the members in the town of Northampton and its neighbourhood. The papers read at the meeting were chiefly of local interest, and were to be looked forward to in the future pages of the *Journal*.

The death of Dr. David Laing, the friend of Sir Walter Scott, and Secretary of the Bannatyne Club during the whole of its course, was a loss that the Institute would greatly deplore.

The Rev. R. S. BAKER gave some account of the result of the explorations which had been going on in the Roman camp at Irchester, near Wellingborough, from June up to the present time, when they were to be discontinued for the winter.

For the position of this camp, and its claim to be considered one of the Ostorian frontier forts mentioned by Tacitus, Mr. Baker referred his hearers to his paper on the subject read before the Northampton Meeting on July 30th, and which has appeared in vol. xxxv, p. 339.

The first exploration occupied the whole of June, and was undertaken in the hope of finding something interesting for the inspection of the Royal Institute on their approaching visit to the county. Owing, however, to the area of the camp being then a standing field of wheat, the digging was restricted to portions of the vallum which lay outside that field. The site of some extra-mural Roman houses, and a Roman cemetery, a few hundred yards east of the camp, were however explored. The Institute visited the camp on August 1st and inspected the former, but had not time to see the latter named points of exploration. On the lines of the vallum the foundations of the massive stone walls of the camp had been disclosed in several places, and the visitors on that occasion had the opportunity of seeing the remains of the west gate, and the rounded corner of the north-west angle of the camp.

Mr. Baker had now to bring before the Institute the following additional points of discovery:—

Road—The Roman road approaching the east entrance of the camp was found and traced for several hundred yards.

Extra-mural Buildings.—Near this road, some 300 yards east of the

camp, some foundations were found, and in connection with them two wells, and two stone built cess-pools, with a connecting stone drain, running towards the river Nene.

Cemetery.—A trench was cut through the Roman cemetery 500 yards east of the camp, and nine stone-built graves laid bare, all lying east and west.

Intra-mural Walls.—Within the camp itself, a net work of houses and buildings, roads, and paved causeways, has been exposed in the (comparatively small) portion of area, explored by the diggers. Among these the foundations of two circular buildings.

The Wall.—The wall of the camp has also been traced out by pits sunk at intervals along the line of the vallum. The remains of the southern gateway have been disclosed.

All these foundations have been accurately planned and are in course of being mapped, and it is hoped at some future time, by further explorations, to go on with this map and render it more complete.

Heavy Relics.—The principal finds in the way of massive relics were :—
1. The half capital of a column, 2ft. 6in. in diameter at the base. 2. The trunk of a statue well carved in stone, of male figure, about two-thirds full size. 3. A great many portions of the shafts of columns. 4. Portions of an octagonal stone pier, which had had figures in relief recessed upon the faces. Mr. Baker believes this to be an octave of deities representing the days of the week, as described in Mr. Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, p. 265. 5. A great deal of roofing material, of Colley Weston (Northants) slate, of diamond shape, in perfect preservation, with the iron nails still attached, have been recovered. 6. Frescoed plaster from the walls—the colours of which are well preserved. On one fragment are some Greek words, scratched with a pointed instrument.

Small Relics.—Of the portable relics, Mr. Baker exhibited many specimens in pottery, iron, bronze, bone, and glass. He stated that the iron relics were the most numerous of all—perhaps accounted for by its being an iron district; the camp itself lying upon a bed of iron stone. Among these were numbers of *styli*, knives of various kinds, including a little clasp pocket knife in good preservation, sickles, arrow-heads, ladles, fire-bars, carpenters' and stone masons' tools, a trowel, door key, candlestick, &c., &c.

The pottery included several Samian dish bottoms, with the makers' names; also fragments of mortaria with stamps. A great many horns of red, fallow, and roe deer, and of the *Bos longifrons*; a perfect skull of this latter had the perforation of the pole axe in the forehead. Also many wild boar tusks, and bones of a cock's leg with the spur on. Some 300 or more bronze coins have been found, chiefly third brass, and ranging from Nero to Honorius.

Mr. Baker concluded by saying that the funds were reduced to zero, but that he hoped to replenish his purse, and recommence excavations next year, either at Irchester or at Cotton, another Ostorian camp seven miles lower down the Nene.

A vote of thanks was proposed from the chair, and cordially passed, to Mr. Baker, not only for his paper, but also for the trouble that he had taken in establishing himself on a somewhat lonely spot, in order to personally direct and so intelligently guide the work of exploration at Irchester, which had revealed so many interesting remains.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. R. S. BAKER.—A large quantity of Roman antiquities from Irchester, including coins and weapons and implements of iron, articles of bronze and bone, British and Roman pottery, hair, black and red, from Roman graves, and many other objects.

Mr. M. IL BLOKAM remarked upon the antiquities generally, specially noticing the Roman weapons of iron which are so very rare, and alluded to the iron weapons preserved at Blandford, from a Roman camp near that town. In the course of his researches on Roman stations in Warwickshire, he had never found weapons of war in iron. The discoveries at Irchester were, therefore, extremely valuable.

The remarkable collection of late Roman antiquities of iron discovered in 1854 at Great Chesterford are fully described and engraved in the *Journal*, vol. xiii, p. 1-13.

Mr. H. F. CHURCH called attention to the sword-like implements of iron of the Britanno-Roman period found in the neighbourhood of Cirencester, and to the large number of other weapons of war, and implements found on the sites of Roman villas in that place.

By Mr. J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.—A large flint celt; Roman coins and other antiquities found at Billericay. (See Mr. Sparvel-Bayly's paper on Roman Billericay at p. 70).

By Sir JOHN MACLEAN.—A rubbing from a stone with an Arabic inscription in relief, from the island of Cyprus.

By Mr. A. HARTSHORNE.—A MS. catalogue of 124 pages, of the books in the library of Lund Church, Yorkshire, apparently in the hand of Sir Thomas Remyngton; the last twelve pages contain copies of confirmations from "the Court of Yorke" and the "Towne of Lund," of pews in Lund Church to Sir Thomas Remyngton and his family, and an account of a trial at York assizes in 1664, respecting his right of free warren in Lund. The book is dated 1676.

By Mr. R. READY.—A collection of eleven Roman rings of gold, set with intaglios, and nearly all found in London. The Chairman said they were of the ordinary late Roman type. Mr. Ready also sent a fine thirteenth century hoop ring of silver, with a triangular section, inscribed in black enamel: * GASPAR BALTA * ZAR MELCHOR; this was found at Kettering. Mr. Baker produced a gold ring with the same section, found at Little Houghton, near Northampton. A gold repeating watch in a repoussé case, of the time of Queen Anne, was also exhibited by Mr. Ready.

The Rev. J. BARON exhibited a photograph of a stone, found in 1857, built face inward, in pulling down the London Inn at Warminster. This was apparently the front of a tomb. The stone is sculptured with five trefoil headed compartments, of which the ends contain tilting helms with mantlings, over small shields placed diagonally, and with the charges defaced. The other compartments contain the following shields: 1, On a field party per pale, three lions (2 and 1) passant to the sinister and guardant. 2, On a chevron, between three leopards' faces, three mullets. 3, A cross between four lions rampant. Mr. S. Tucker (*Rouge Croix*) has been kind enough to inform us that No. 1 does not appear in the ordinaries; No. 2 is the coat of Perel; No. 3 (in the absence of colour) may be the coat of Danbury, Burghersh, Dokesworth, Dakens, Bence, Pipard, Lutley, Bendishe, Bathe, Ligge, Kusecke, Maundeville, or Everard.

The stone was built into the wall of the courtyard of the Athenæum at Warminster in August, 1877. It appears to be late fourteenth century work.

December 5, 1878.

C. D. E. FORTNUM, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN spoke of the great loss that the Institute had lately sustained by the death of Mr. John Henderson, for many years a valued member of the Institute, and its Honorary Treasurer since 1864. He contributed largely for many years to the exhibitions at the monthly meetings from his extensive and valuable collections, and he would long be missed, not only in the rooms of the Institute, but in all art circles, where his kind and genial manner procured him such universal esteem and regard.

The CHAIRMAN then read a paper on a jet signaculum of St. James of Compostella, which is printed at page 33.

Mr. J. G. WALLER spoke of the pilgrim's sign, the scallop shell, as seen on the hat of Mr. Fortnum's example, and quoted the remarkable passage from Dante respecting a procession of pilgrims of different kinds.

In the church of Ashby-de-la-Zouche is a full sized effigy of a pilgrim, carved in alabaster. This effigy represents, in all probability, Ralph, second son of that Leonard Hastings who flourished in the time of Henry VI. Beyond the fact that he was attached to the person of Edward IV, nothing is known of him. The effigy to his memory is of a kind unique in this country, and represents him in the full costume of a pilgrim who had taken the journey to Compostella. He wears the black *selacine*, with wide open sleeves over the tunic, or *tunica talaris*; his hair flows freely to the shoulders, and on the left side is slung the *scrip*, fastened with two straps and decorated with *scallop shells*. He carries a *bourdon* or staff under the left arm; his legs are clad in *hosen*, and his feet shod with boots, laced in the front, and under the right shoulder appears a broad brimmed hat, ornamented with a scallop shell. A mutilated string of beads hangs from the left shoulder, and round the neck is a collar of S.S., the mark of the wearer's attachment to the person of the king.

The vision of Piers Ploughman, written about the time when this individual was living, contains the following description of a pilgrim and his travels:—

“Apparelled as a paynim
In pilgrimes' wise,
A bowl and a bag
He bar by his side;
And hundreds of ampuls
On his hat setten—
Signs of Sinai,
And shells of Galice,
And many a crouch on his cloak.
For men shold know
And see by his signs
Whom he sought had.
The folks frayned him first

Fro whennes he come.
'From Sinai,' he said,
'And from our Lord's sepulchre,
In Bethlem and in Babiloyn,
I have been in both;
In Armory and Alisandre,
In many other places;
You may see by my signs
That sitten on mine hat,
That I have walked full wide
In weet and in dry,
And sought good saints
For my soul's health.' ”

The following lines have been attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh:

"Give me my scallop shell of quiet,
 My staff of faith to rest upon,
 My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
 My bottle of salvation;
 My gown of glory (hope's true gage),
 And thus I'll make my pilgrimage."

In Haltwistle church, Northumberland, is a sepulchral slab representing a cross flory, having on one side a sword and shield of a knight, who in after life went on a pilgrimage, a fact indicated by a scrip and pilgrim's staff on the other side of the cross. The incised slab in the church of St. Prassede in Rome, to the memory of John Montisopuli (*circa* 1300), represents him in hat and slavine and carrying a scrip and staff.

The REV. J. FULLER RUSSELL read a communication from Mr. C. W. WILSHIRE, concerning the discovery in Curry Malet church, within an altar tomb, of the body of a man severed in two, and minus his arms and feet. It was enclosed in a rough wooden case, and had apparently been embalmed.

It has been conjectured that these are the remains of one of the two members of the Malet family, whose effigies, sculptured in Douling stone, remain, not in their original positions, in Shepton Malet church. These effigies are no doubt the work of the sculptors of the west front of Wells Cathedral, and date from the second quarter of the thirteenth century; they both represent cross-legged figures in complete suits of ring mail, wearing surcotes, carrying large shields and lying upon their swords, an early and unusual attitude. It is possible that when the effigies were removed from their original sites about 100 years ago, one of the bodies was taken across the country, and enclosed in the altar tomb in Curry Malet church. The original tombs at Shepton Malet were, no doubt, stone coffins placed level with the pavement and covered by the monumental effigies.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the CHAIRMAN.—A jet signaculum of St. James of Compostella, and an object in jet described at p. 36.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—A tilting helm from the tomb of Thomas Lord Delamare in Broadwater church, Sussex. Mr. Burgess' remarks upon this head-piece are printed at p. 78.

Mr. WALLER spoke at some length upon this very curious helm. It was no doubt the precursor of the armet, and an early instance of the moveable beaver; he compared it with one of the same general character in Cobham Church, Kent.

The BARON DE COSSON, in the course of the remarks which he was kind enough to make, gave a careful description of the helm, mentioning two similar examples in the Musée d'Artillerie and explaining the characteristics of helms, armets, and salades.

By Mr. T. TAYLOR, through Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE.—A Horæ of the middle of the fourteenth century, of which a few leaves are wanting and the later part has been much injured by water. At the beginning are fourteen full page pictures, and a few miscellaneous prayers. Then follow the calendar and Hours of the Blessed Virgin after Salisbury use, which take up the greater part of the book. Then there is a poem of 138 lines in French beginning

"Precieuse dame saint Marie
 Mere Dieu espouse & amie."

After which follow the seven psalms, the litany, and the fifteen psalms. All except the French poem is adorned with gold and colours, and the larger capitals enclose miniatures. The rubrics mentioning the pope or promising indulgences have, as usual, a line drawn through them, but it has been done with a very light hand.

Of the larger pictures the most remarkable is an Annunciation on the second page, which is of excellent work and evidently by a different hand from most of the others, though the first page which is much rubbed and defaced, may probably be by the same. On one page are the seven sins arranged on a tree, Pride being at the top and the others in the lower branches; and amongst them are many scrolls with short inscriptions in French. On another is a vernicle with the four beasts round it, and above is the owl of the fable with the other birds pecking it. The rest of the pictures are figures of saints or religious subjects, except the last one, which represents a priest celebrating, and attended by a clerk in a surplice who holds a long green taper. Behind them kneel a lady and gentleman, and quite at the margin is the face of another lady. Perhaps these are intended to represent the original owners of the book. The costumes are of the time of Edward II.

In the border round the first page of matins is a shield:—gules, a fess compony argent and azure between six cross-crosets fitchy or. Mr. Waller has identified this as one of the various forms of Butler or Botteller.

Amongst the miscellaneous matters at the beginning of the book is the following office to "St. Thomas of Lancaster," which is a curiosity in more ways than one. The contractions are expanded in italics.

"Thoma Lankastrie flos et gemma milicie qui in dei nomine propter statum anglie occidi sustulisti te."

"V. Ora pro nobis beate christi miles."

"R. Qui pauperes nunquam habuisti viles."

"ORACIO. Mittissime deus aures tuas benigne votis meis inclina ut hii qui beate thome lankastrie comitis and martyris memoriam recolunt post viam universe carnis ingressum mereamur consorcium aggregari per dominum nostrum ihesum christum filium tuum qui tecum vivit & regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

"Benedicamus domino. Deo Gracias."

There is another office of St. Thomas of Lancaster, much better than this in Wright's *Political Songs*.

By the REV. D. EVANS.—Brass matrix of a seal, containing a pelican vulning herself within in the following legend: X & IOHIS: LAVZIVNDI: CL'ICI. This excellent example of a late thirteenth century personal seal was found under the floor of St. Michael's Church, Abergele. From the worn appearance of the loop at the back, it had evidently been hung from a girdle.

By Mr. H. MIDDLETON.—Drawing of pillory, stocks, and flogging post, in one, from the Market place at Coleshill in Warwickshire.



Notices of Archaeological Publications.

HENRY VII, PRINCE ARTHUR, AND CARDINAL MORTON. From a group representing the Adoration of the Three Kings on the Chancel Screen of Plymtree Church in the County of Devon. With an Appendix containing a notice of "Nicholas Monk, Rector of Plymtree, "John Land," &c. London: Printed for T. Mozley, Rector of Plymtree, &c.

In the opening lines of his book Mr. Mozley puts into the mouth of a reader the question "Where is Plymtree?" Henceforth such a question, at all events among Archæologists, will be absurd. Plymtree has found its *vates sacer*, and, since this book was published, has probably been enquired about and discussed more than any village of its (very small) size in the land; surely no edition of fifty copies was ever diffused so widely, or gave rise to so many gossiping conversations.

The work deals with the biographies of three persons, all more or less connected with the Parish of Plymtree, and may well be entitled "Historical Memorials of Plymtree" after the fashion of the well-known "Historical Memorials of Canterbury"; which, though setting out from narrow topographical basis, extend by digressions far out of sight of the starting point.

The first of the Memorials is concerned with a group of personages who, at first sight, would appear to be strangely out of place in a Devonshire village so secluded as to be, even at the present day, remote from highways. King Henry VII, Arthur his son, and Cardinal Morton his astute chancellor! Did these ever visit, or even hear of, Plymtree? By what literary artifice can the actors be brought to the front of the scene? With a dexterity which excites an amused surprise Mr. Mozley has got over the difficulty, and on a small material foundation furnished by the pictures on the screen of his parish church, he has built up a history in which the three above-named personages are the principal figures.

Devonshire churches, as archæologists know, abound in well preserved, and often handsomely painted, rood-screens; and among them Plymtree takes a foremost place in this particular, being enriched by paintings of thirty-four full length figures of saints and other personages appropriate to the place. In the author's words: "The chief ornament (*of the church*) is a magnificent screen, stretching right across the interior, and separating the chancel and chancel aisle, or chantry, from the nave and its aisle. This is profusely carved, painted, and gilded . . . There are thirty-four panels, constituting the solid part of the screen below the open work, and unfortunately below the level of the eye. It is not easy to make a probable conjecture as to the exact date of either the screen or the pictures; but as the Reformation was coming on rapidly by the year 1525, the date of the latest picture could hardly be later than that;

while it is possible, and not even improbable, that the group to which this notice is prefixed (*in the folio copy*) was done in the very lifetime of the persons represented."

The author then goes on to give his reasons for believing that of the three figures in the group of the "Adoration of the Kings," the first, clad in red, may represent Cardinal Morton; the second, a youth, Prince Arthur; and the third, a crowned king, Henry VII. After a not very laborious attempt to prove his identification of the Magi, Mr. Mozley puts together from trustworthy authorities, a vivid account of Cardinal Morton himself and of the times in which he lived. Due allowance, in the matter of *likeness*, being made for the fact that the paintings were executed by a decorator, and not by a portrait painter, we think that the author has made out a fair "case." At all events he has brought together a large quantity of interesting and trustworthy information about an eminent man, who was born within a day's ride of Plymtree; in whose days Plymtree Church was re-built and decorated; and whose skill in state craft was so generally recognised that Shakespere makes Richard III, Morton's political enemy, hearing that—

"Morton is fled to Richmond," &c.,

exclaim—

"Ely with Richmond troubles me more near
Than Buckingham with his rash levied strength."

The second subject in these "Memorials of Plymtree" is based upon a local foundation far broader than the first. In this case a Rector—not an absentee or honorary—but an active, resident Rector of Plymtree, played an essential part in one of the greatest dramas of English history. Nicholas Monk, the Rector in question, was brother to George Monk, first, general of the Commonwealth, then, restorer of the Stuart dynasty, and Duke of Albemarle. More than this the rector was a staunch cavalier, and, masking a natural shrewdness by a seeming simplicity, he was the ambassador who, with success, conducted the negotiations between the king at the Hague and the general in Scotland. All the worthy deeds of his predecessor the present rector of Plymtree tells most pleasantly, and, although this need hardly be written, learnedly. Nicholas Monk was, however, not a mere political go-between; his biographer in summing up his character as a parish clergyman, writes:

"In the year 1643 the subject of this notice was serving the Church as resident curate. He was thus connected with Plymtree for more than nineteen years, . . . and his name appears in the parish book as contributing to a sort of voluntary (poor) rate till a year or two before the restoration. It is prominent also in the list of 'Gifts and Benefactors to the Poor of Plymtree,' put up early last century, if not earlier."

A third Plymtree worthy (as old Fuller would have used the word) was John Land, the younger son of a good yeoman family in the parish, who, leaving his home before the middle of the 17th century, went to London, became a prosperous goldsmith, and, while yet a bachelor, retired from business, disposing of his *goodwill* and shop, which adjoined Temple Bar on the city side, to Mr. Blanchard, also a goldsmith. Mr. Blanchard in his turn made way for Sir Francis Child and his clerk, Mr. Rogers, by whose successors the business, still known as "Child's Bank," has been carried on to the present day.

Land's will, which Mr. Mozley recites at length from a copy in the

parish chest, proves that in the midst of his prosperity in London he retained his affection for his Devonshire home, and for his kindred to whom he bequeathed many legacies. He left a hundred pounds to be placed at interest for the benefit of the poor of his native parish; he provided a crimson velvet pulpit cloth embroidered with gold for the church in which it still remains; but above all he directed his executors to sell—

“My two silver tankards, two silver plates, a silver guilt salver, caudle cupp and porringer, a silver boate and taster, a little silver box, two dozen of silver spoones, and one dozen of silver guilt spoones, and all my plate whatsoever. And also my large golde seale, my large plaine golde ring, three diamond rings, and eight other mourning and hair rings. And the money to be raised thereby I order to be laid out by my executors in the purchase of plate for the communion table of the church of the said parish of Plymtree.” &c.

It will be seen from this notice that Mr. Mozley, in common with a happily increasing number of the clergy, has recognized the fact that in his parish chest is to be found the Record Office of his parish; and also that written documents are not the only materials for writing the history of the place under his charge; but that the architecture and decorations of his church are ready to contribute their share to the tale of by-gone days. Having recognised this, he has successfully employed his practised pen in uttering to the world the story which he has compiled.

So much for the matter of this book; of the manner of its production we can only speak with admiration. In the first place it is lavishly illustrated, as we shall explain more at length presently, but in the second there is a peculiarity of the author's own invention. It is this: every one who is so fortunate as to receive this book has *two copies!* One a large folio containing the coloured plates, and the complete text printed in double column, with ample margin; and also an octavo hand-copy of the text, merely illustrated with outlines of the plates of the folio. Of the liberality of this duplex manner of issuing a book which is to be given away, we need not speak, the fact is eloquent; whilst of the convenience of the invention of an octavo for reading, and a folio for reference, every reader must be a competent judge.

We will now say a few words upon what we have previously remarked as the important part of the volume—the drawings. There are four coloured plates, each measuring $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $6\frac{1}{4}$ in.—fac-similes of the paintings on the screen. We have compared these with the original paintings, and we are happy to recognise the skill and ability of Messrs. M. and N. Hanhart, who have reproduced the paintings by chromolithography in a highly successful manner. We are more especially glad to say this, for in so many books the chromo-lithographs lose the mellow-ness, the depth, and the feeling of the old work. The tone and character of oil colour are here well preserved, and it requires a keen eye to discover a slight defect. The expression on the face of the Virgin in the original is not particularly happy, but yet quiet and placid. In the copy (plate 1) the mouth is distorted, and the profiled outline is not in good drawing; these, together with the slight defect in the right eye, produce an unpleasantness in the Virgin's face, which we are spared in the original. The expression of the child is “well caught.”

We turn with unqualified praise to the figures called Prince Arthur

and Henry VII. Here the artist having bestowed more care, has worked with singular success. The gradations from the high lights upon the crown, &c. to the deep background are carefully given, and the chromolithographs present the same richness of tone as the originals.

The original paintings are on oak panels of about half an inch thick. They have a certain "old" appearance owing to the unevenness of the surface of the oak, and a few occasional chips—but generally they are in excellent preservation—somewhat hidden by successive coatings of common varnish.

One word more—we cannot impress too strongly the necessity that, wherever possible, copies of old paintings should be of the real size, in fact facsimiles in every way. It is only by doing this that we can hope to obtain the character and feeling of the original artist. We are too liable to forget that in reproducing for publication the works of past ages, we are not to attempt to make *pretty* drawings, but exact copies, line for line, of the originals—not as we think they should be, but exactly as they are. We are then doing good service, and handing on, for the study of future ages, many representations of the various schools of art, which are rapidly disappearing. Mr. Mozley has anticipated our ideas, and it is owing to his drawings being fac-similes that they have proved so successful and valuable. We should like to see the same loving care bestowed upon illustrations of the elaborate wood-carvings of the bench ends with which the whole of the church is filled.

J. B. S. AND J. N.

A KEY TO DOMESDAY, shewing the method and exactitude of its mensuration, and the precise meaning of its usual formulæ; the subject being specially exemplified by an analysis and digest of the Dorset Survey. By the Rev. R. W. EYTON, M.A., late Rector of Ryton, and Author of "Antiquities of Shropshire." London: Taylor & Co. Dorchester: James Foster.

In our last number we had the pleasure of noticing a work by the learned historian of Shropshire, and it is now our privilege to introduce to our readers another volume by the same author.

It was justly observed by the late Sir Henry Ellis in 1833, in the preface to his valuable Introduction to the Domesday Book (to the diligent and careful study of which he had devoted twenty years), that "Domesday Book is a mine of information which has not yet been sufficiently wrought. Illustrations of the most important and most certain kind upon our ancient institutions, terriers and tenures of lands, are still to be drawn from it, and its metal cannot be exhausted by the perseverance of any single labourer."

In much of this spirit has Mr. Eyton entered upon the study of the Domesday of Dorset. He says, "Domesday is its own best interpreter, and those who would understand Domesday thoroughly must get their information from Domesday itself." In the work before us he fulfilled the promise of his lengthy title. In the preface he fully states his objects to be: "to enable the inquirer to ascertain with more or less precision the Domesday antecedent of every locality in Dorset; to distinguish and compare the various classes into which the property was then divided, whether a Borough, a Port of Commerce, a Vill, a Manor, a Farm, a Moor, or a Forest; to shew the areal extent of every such estate,

or, at least, to shew how far such extent may be determined from the text of Domesday;—of all occupied territory, whether plough land or meadow land, or pasture, or wood land, to shew the ratio of its culture or its uses; to determine the relative wealth of such estate, whether resulting from inherent capabilities, industrial care, or external adjuncts;—and coincidentally, to collect and review the hints which Domesday supplies as to the comparative numbers and condition of an almost exclusively agrarian population.”

It will thus be seen that the scope of Mr. Eyton's inquiry is very wide, but though extensive, his investigation has been most complete and exhaustive, leaving little to be done by future students as far as the county of Dorset is concerned; and, moreover, he has thrown a vast amount of additional light upon most of the obscurities with which the great record of which he treats is clouded, not only with relation to the county of Dorset, but also to the Surveys of other counties, especially those in the western part of England.

Mr. Eyton, in the first instance, proceeds to elucidate, in an Introductory Essay, the important questions of mensuration, technicalities, and phraseology of the whole Survey, comparing the rules and methods by which the Dorset Commissioners were guided with the Surveys of other counties in which the Commissioners acted upon a somewhat different process, observing that “the contrasts are often more instructive than the parallelisms.” He points out that throughout the whole of the Domesday Book reference is made to two distinct systems of mensuration—one system, he observes, was antiquated though not obsolete; the other was that then in use; the older being based upon the Saxon Hide, which, like Ellis before him, he calls *hidation*.

It is unnecessary that we should enter very closely upon the question of the extent or area of a hide. It has long been admitted by all Domesday students that neither the *hide* nor the *carucate* were ever areal measurements, and Mr. Eyton draws attention to the fact that the term Hide was used by the Saxons as representing the quantity of land, whatever its extent, which was attached to a *homestead*, and because in most instances the area was just sufficient to employ and support a team of oxen the term *hide* and the term *carucate* became convertible. He observes that when in the time of King Ethelred 976-1016 (it was in 1007) it became necessary to levy a tax to buy off the Danes, the country was sub-divided for the purpose of equal taxation, and the hide was accepted as the basis of assessment. On this occasion the hidage of the whole country was carefully examined and re-adjusted, consequently when in Domesday the term *hide* is used it must be understood as a term of record, and represents such a quantity of land as was determined to be a hide and to be gildable as a hide by the taxation of King Ethelred or some later fiscal authority. The Domesday Commissioners of Dorset, therefore, Mr. Eyton says, got the hidation assigned to Dorset manors rather from previous record than present inquest, and that, with some slight alterations, they obtained it from the Dorset Gheld-Roll (as he writes it) made at Easter 1084.

The actual area of *hides* differed very widely. In Cornwall the same Commissioners who visited Dorset are found to have frequently drawn an apparent contrast between the reputed and the actual hidage of certain manors. For example, the Manor of Tregel at the time of the survey

held by Osbert Bishop of Exeter, in the time of Edward the Confessor was gilded for two hides, nevertheless, the Commissioners say, there are twelve hides; and Mr. Eyton points out that this was not corrective but explanatory, shewing that Tregel, though a manor of twelve hides, was gilded for two hides only, ten hides being, by prescription, exempt from gild. He states that no such formula as this is found in the Dorset Domesday because a non-gildable hide in Dorset would not be called a hide at all but a carucate. With reference to this subject it is remarked that it was a principle of the Saxon gild-laws that not only the ancient demesnes of the crown were to be absolutely free from gild, but that the bona-fide demesnes of the Thanes, or Tenants in Capite, should also be exempted from the current gild levy, because, in respect thereto, the tenants had to render personal service. Mr. Eyton exhibits numerous instances of beneficial hidation, shewing very extensive contrasts in the area of land denominated a hide. Cornwall was particularly favoured in this respect. The Manor of Heleston, held by Earl Harold in the time of King Edward, now by the King, is rated for six and half hides of ordinary Cornish *hidation*, but it covered an area of more than 30,000 acres of mixed lands which, according to the hidation of Dorset, was equal at the least to forty hides, and it paid gild in the time of King Edward for only two hides. Besides the hidation thus especially privileged there existed numerous other circumstances which disturbed the uniformity of the hides, from which it would appear that hides were originally regulated in the time of King Ethelred rather by intrinsic value than area. In other instances the hidation of manors would appear to have been greatly influenced by adventitious circumstances such as salubrity of climate, proximity to some great thoroughfare, or centre of trade, &c., and Mr. Eyton mentions the remarkable fact that in Dorset alone some hides are represented by at least 4000 statute acres, whilst others contain not more than eighty-four; observing, however, that the average for the whole country would give from 230 to 240 acres. Our author accounts for the hide having obtained the repute of being an areal measure by suggesting that the most important characteristic of a Dorset manor was its quota of plough-land, and that it came to pass that the specific hide of most manors appears in numerical conjunction with a single plough-gang, or in the words of the Dorset Domesday, a *terra ad unam carucam*, by which means the Dorset hide was brought into a sort of parallelism with the Dorset plough-land, and Domesday itself, he says, indicates that the word carucate implied much the same thing as the term hide, only that not having been converted into a hide, or made gildable, it remained in name a carucate. The typical carucate of Dorset, he adds, resembles the hide in that it contained a single plough-gang, combined with other territorial adjuncts; it differed from the hide in that its essence was nothing but land.

The plough-gang, or *terram ad unam carucam*, differed from the carucate as a part differs from its whole, and in the same manner did the plough-gang differ from the hide. In the Dorset Domesday where the number of ploughs (*carucæ*) proper of any given manor was equal to, or in excess of, the number of hides there one great element in the value of such manor was its arable land, and conversely, where the number of (*carucæ*) proper is found to be less than the reputed number of hides then the element of value which constituted the hide consisted of other advantages, such as mills, meadows, pastures, woods, &c.

To meet the necessities of an assessment based upon the hide in taxing estates of various value, less than a hide, it became essential to divide the hide into lesser denominations, and the terms used were so suggestive of areal measurements as to lead to, or strengthen, a misapprehension on the subject. These subdivisions were:

1 Hide = 4 Virgates = 16 Ferndels = 48 Acres.

1 Virgate = 4 Ferndels = 12 Acres.

1 Ferndel = 28 Acres.

In Dorset the gild-hide was divided into four virgates, and each virgate into twelve acres, but in Devon and Cornwall, where the gild-hide was, in many instances, of enormous extent it was necessary to introduce an intermediate denomination between the virgate and the acre, which was called a ferndel (farthing or fourth-ing), but none of these denominations were any more areal measures than was the hide. The *acræ ad gheldum*, as Mr. Eyton prefers to write it, was quite distinct from the measured, or Norman, acre used in stating the quantities of meadows, pastures and woods, which latter was simply the statute acre legalised afterwards by King Edward I., and continuing in use to the present time. This is proved by many examples extracted from the Domesday Book.

The term *carucate* Mr. Eyton considers a Norman term introduced at the Conquest, and, he supposes, was very nearly analogous to a Saxon hide; and he illustrates this conjecture by the fact that in the Fief of Strigoil (Chepstow), in Monmouthshire, which had never been conquered by the Saxons, the term hide is not used, and the *carucate* is expressly mentioned as a Norman measure (*L carucatas terræ, sicut fit in Normannia*). In the survey of Lincolnshire also the term hide is not used, and evidence is shewn that the *carucate* and the hide were corresponding quantities. But on the other hand the *terra ad unam carucata*, or plough-gang, was of a different character, and constituted very nearly, if not quite, an area of about 120 acres statute measure. The plough-gang also was subdivided. As the *caruca*, or full ox-team, consisted of eight oxen, so was the plough-gang divided into eight *bovates*, and the smallest quantity of arable land mentioned in the Dorset Domesday is two *bovates*, and this is not described as *Duæ bovatae terræ* but *Terra ad duos boves*. This was a fourth part of a *Terra ad unam carucam*, and consisted of thirty acres.

The lineal measures by which the meadows, pastures, woodlands, and wilds, were described are more definite. This system of measurement, Mr. Eyton tells us, was that then in vogue, and the Norman Commissioners chose thereby to classify the result of their own investigations as distinct from information received by evidence of others. These measures, taking the *pertica* or *virga* at $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards, is thus tabulated:

Table, p. 25.

16½ feet =	5½ yards =	1 virga or pertica.
66 feet =	22 yards =	4 perticæ = 1 acra.
660 feet =	220 yards =	40 perticæ = 10 acræ = 1 quarantina
7920 feet =	2640 yards =	480 perticæ = 120 acræ = 12 quarantinæ
	=	1 Leuva or Leuga or Leuca.

In consequence of the use made in Domesday of these lineal measures, it is very important to understand in what respects they differed from our

present conception of measures of length. This Mr. Eyton has clearly explained, shewing that instead of proceeding from the farling (four long) or quarantine, to the Norman league of twelve quarantines, we have adopted, as the next higher denomination, a *mile* consisting of eight quarantines, and above the English mile we have the higher denomination of a *league*, or three English miles, which is just double the Norman *leuca* or *leugu*. Of the areal or superficial measures, he remarks that they must not be confounded with *square measures*, because the Domesday measures have usually unequal sides; and discarding the measures called *local*, he shews that the Domesday perch consisted of $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards, as subsequently confirmed by statute, and still remaining in use.

Table, p. 30.

TABLE OF AREAL MEASURES of the Dorset Domesday, the lineal perch perch or virga being taken at $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet or $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards.

30 $\frac{1}{2}$	square yards =	1	"pertica" or square perch.
4840	square yards =	160	"perticæ" = 1 areal acre.
48400	square yards =	1600	"perticæ" = 10 areal acres = 1 square quarantine.
580800	square yards =	19200	"perticæ" = 120 areal acres = 12 square quarantines = 1 areal league.

With this table the modern system corresponds in ratio, though using different denominations.

Having treated very fully and ably of the mensuration of Domesday, our author proceeds to describe the district surveyed—its Royal Forests, its woods, its pastures, its meadows, its vineyards, of which there were two, its gardens, its orchards, and its churches and church lands—shewing the application of the measurements before described, and the probable condition at the time of the survey of each class of land.

In writing of the Domesday agrarian population of Dorset he names the several classes in the order of their degrees of freedom, and shews the condition, respectively, of each class; leaning, we think, to a larger amount of freedom among the unfree than that which we had been accustomed to hold. He also shews the condition of the inhabitants of towns, the burgesses and the industrial classes, and treats of the farming stock, the values of lands and rents, &c., and brings before the reader a large array of illustrations, collected from Domesday itself, proving the theories he had advanced.

Having described the four Dorset Boroughs, and exhibited Tables of Dorset Landholders, with special notices of individuals, Mr. Eyton proceeds to treat of the lands held by the king, distinguishing the ancient demesnes of the crown from those which had fallen into his hands by escheat. The former were free from gild, but the latter, though held by the king, did not cease to be Hundredal and taxable. These chapters are particularly interesting and instructive. He compares the Inquisitio Gildi of 1084 with the Survey of 1086, and has appended very copious statistical tables, exhibiting the results of these enquiries.

Returning again to the question of statistics, it appears that the number of the adult male population of Dorset as deduced from the record of 1086, was about 9,000; whilst by the census of 1871, the total number of the whole male population of the county was 95,616. Assuming that 50,616 of these were children, the remaining 45,000 is only a five-fold

increase, or 500 per cent., in the period of 800 years. And Mr. Eyton points out that though in these eight centuries the increase of population has been 500 per cent, the same period has been marked by an increase of about 3,500 per cent. in the denominational price of corn and cereals; by an increase of about 6,000 per cent. in the denominational price of live stock; and by an increase of 24,000 per cent. in the denominational price, or rent, of land.

He estimates the average value of land in Dorset in 1086 as $1\frac{1}{4}$ l. per acre, and the present value as averaging £1 1s. 0d. per acre. He uses the term denominational advisedly, for as to real value there is a further question. The real value of a thing is the price for which it will sell, and the real value of money is the quantity of commodity a given amount will purchase. A shilling in 1086 would pay the rent of eleven and half acres of land, would suffice to purchase perhaps two store sheep, or a quarter of mixed corn. In one case it was as valuable as 240 shillings of our money, in other cases it would purchase as much produce as 35s. or 60s. But then arises the question. Why has land increased so much more in real as well as denominational value than the products of land in real value? In answer, Mr. Eyton states "that the increase in the value of land has been caused by forces about five times as great as those which have operated upon produce. One fifth only of such forces consists in the marketable increase per head, or per quarter, of land products. The remaining four-fifths of such forces consist in the circumstance that land has been brought to produce from four-fold to twenty-fold as much in bulk, or quantity, as it did at the date of Domesday."

One other subject demands a brief notice, viz., the parties by whom the Domesday territory of Dorset were held. Mr. Eyton has divided the whole area of the county into 265 parts, of which, he says, there will have belonged—

"To the King in demesne or by lapse, or escheat	nearly $36\frac{1}{2}$ such parts
To the Bishop of Salisbury and other Ecclesiastical persons or bodies	102 such parts.
To Earls, Barons, and the greater Feudalists ...	98 such parts.
To the lesser Feudalists, or <i>Franci</i> , to the Kings' Thanes, to the Kings' Serjeants, to the four Boroughs of Dorset, and to a few unclassified land owners	about $28\frac{1}{2}$ such parts,"

and he remarks that, "the great and marvellous feature in this disposition of the Dorset lands is, that the Church, with her vassals and dependents, enjoyed more than a third of the whole county, and that her patrimony was greater than that of all the barons and greater Feudalists combined."

OLD ENGLISH PLATE, Ecclesiastical, Decorative, and Domestic; its Makers and Marks, with improved Tables of the date-letters used in England, Scotland and Ireland, founded upon the Papers and Tables of C. Octavius S. Morgan, F.R.S., F.S.A. By WILFRED JOSEPH CRIPPS, M.A., Barrister at Law. London: John Murray, 1878.

Most of our readers will be well acquainted with the treatises on Assay marks, and with the valuable tables used at Goldsmith's Hall, London, by Mr. Octavius Morgan, printed in the *Journals* of the Institute for

1852 and 1853,¹ which, with the exception of a slender attempt made some years previously, was the first effort towards the identification of the date of Old English Plate. Soon afterwards, Mr. W. Chaffers published a work on the same subject, in which he not only improved Mr. Morgan's Tables by adding the forms of the shields in which the date-letters were placed, which Mr. Morgan had not thought it necessary to give, but appended also additional tables of marks used at the assay offices at Edinburgh, Dublin, and Exeter. These tables continued the standard authorities in the study of this very interesting subject until the publication of the very valuable work at the head of this notice, which greatly eclipses its predecessors. Mr. Cripp's work is based upon Mr. Morgan's tables, from which gentleman he has, in its preparation, received very valuable assistance, which in the fullest and most graceful terms he acknowledges. The Assay Tables in the work before us have been made more complete, and tables of the York, Norwich, and other local assay offices added; moreover, Mr. Cripps has appended very extensive tables of makers'-mark, which are very valuable to the student as enabling him, in many instances, not only to establish the year in which any particular piece of plate was made, but also to identify the master workman by whom it was manufactured.

It is not only with respect to the tables here alluded to that Mr. Cripps excels. He has made a very careful study of the whole subject of Old English plate, and his disquisitions on the various marks and the several classes of plate, will be read with much interest and profit. Unfortunately articles of such great intrinsic value, and so easily convertible, as plate, are specially liable to destruction, and consequently we have to lament the loss of most of the magnificent objects of art-workmanship and value with which the beaufets of our knights and nobles and our religious houses, as well as the altars of our churches, were in mediæval times enriched. Into the subject of these losses Mr. Cripps fully enters, especially with respect to the destruction of the ancient church plate in the sixteenth and subsequent centuries. Space will not permit us to enter upon this subject further than to remark that all the ancient chalices and patens known now to exist, may be counted on the fingers. There is a fine chalice and paten, silver gilt and enamelled, at Nettlecomb in Somerset, exhibited at the Institute and at the Society of Antiquaries, by Mr. Morgan in 1869, a description of which by him is published in the *Archæologia* (vol. xl, p. 405), beautifully illustrated of the full size in chromo-lithography. But there are no articles of ancient domestic plate of greater beauty and interest than the old mazers. Being made chiefly of wood, usually taken from the knotted knarles of the maple and beautifully polished, though enriched with silver mountings, their intrinsic value did not afford so strong a temptation to their destruction as if they were wholly composed of the precious metal.

Many of the ancient mazers continue in existence of various sizes, some as much as a foot in diameter and some very small. They are all ornamented in much the same style, having a rim of silver which, rising above the edge of the bowl, increased its depth, underneath which was a band on which an inscription is usually engraved. Mr. Cripps has given illustration of several examples, but there are none finer or more

¹ Vols. ix and x.

Maximalist Club - Oxford

beautiful than one preserved at Oriel College, Oxford, of the date (circa 1470), which was given to the college by Bishop Carpenter about the time it was made. A beautiful woodcut of it was prepared by the late Mr. Albert Way, but in consequence of his lamented death it was never used until a cast of it was lent to Mr Cripps for his valuable work, and it is now here introduced. It is eight inches in diameter and two and half inches in depth, and on the band around the rim is the following inscription in Gothic letters—

*Vir ratione bibas non quod petit atra voluptas
Sic caro casta datur his lingue suppeditatur.*

PALGRAVE FAMILY MEMORIALS, edited by Charles John Palmer and Stephen Tucker (*Rouge Croix*), Norwich : Printed by Miller and Leavins. (For private distribution only.) 1878.

Family memorials, though of course chiefly of interest to the families immediately concerned, are of considerable general value when they are carefully and conscientiously prepared. This appears to be the case with the work before us. Indeed the name on the title page of one of the most active and able of our Officers of Arms is a sufficient guarantee that the genealogy and heraldry have been carefully scrutinized.

The genealogy of the several houses of this name are carefully traced. They do not all seem to have descended from the same ancestor, and it is only those experienced in the work who can conceive the difficulty in such circumstances of identifying those of the same name and fixing them in their proper places in the respective pedigrees. The editors in this case appear to have been successful in their labours. The genealogy is well supported by abstracts of wills, extracts from parish registers, &c. The most remarkable man of the family would appear to have been the late Sir Francis Palgrave, deputy keeper of the Public Records, and the learned historian of "The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth," the "History of Normandy and England," &c. His original name was Cohen, but, having married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Dawson Turner by Mary Palgrave, daughter and one of the coheirs of William Palgrave, of Coltishall, he upon his marriage, in 1825, with the assent of William Palgrave, then the head of the family, by Royal license, took the name of Palgrave, and was granted a Coat of Arms.

Archaeological Intelligence.

NORTHAMPTON CASTLE.—We expressed a hope in our last number (p. 460) that the efforts of the Northamptonshire Architectural Society for the preservation of these valuable remains might be successful. We greatly regret to have now to record that such has not been the case. The London and North Western Railway Company propose to adhere to their work of destruction, and the Postern-Gate and wall connected with it are to be removed, and the gateway "carefully rebuilt" (we know the loving hands of modern masons) in the boundary wall of the new station.

It was not in this spirit that the Great Northern Railway Company treated the Castle at Berwick and the walls of York, and we can only hope that in this unfortunate case at Northampton, a gun-metal plate recording the removal will be affixed near the gateway; otherwise, possibly, the mystification of historical enquirers at Northampton may be as complete as that of future antiquaries who speculate upon the Eleanor Cross within the enclosure of Charing Cross station.

PROPOSED COUNTY HISTORY FOR LINCOLNSHIRE.—We gather from the thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society that this very important undertaking, suggested last July at the meeting of Archdeacons and Rural Deans, presided over by the Bishop of the Diocese, has since assumed a more practical form. A meeting was held last October, at which resolutions were passed forming a basis of operations. The co-operation of the clergy was invited in the preparation of the history of their own parishes, and the formation of a subscription was proposed, to furnish the funds necessary for the thorough examination, by well qualified persons, of the Records of the Realm, the Episcopal Registers and other documents, together with the transcription and arrangement of all entries relating to places in the county. Such a work will necessarily occupy a considerable time, and cannot fail to be costly, but it is felt to be absolutely essential to ensure the thoroughness and the accuracy of the history. This mass of historical and archaeological material once collected, and arranged according to parishes, the way will be open for the commencement of the **actual** history, which, it is suggested, should be taken according to the ancient hundreds, or wapentakes, one of these divisions being completed before the publication of another is begun. If this systematic and sensible plan is encouraged as it should be in the county, and, most of all, if the historian, or historians (for a county history is too much in these impatient days for the powers of one man) are found at the right time to direct the whole, Lincolnshire will be fortunate indeed. It is certainly not much to wish the project greater patronage than was accorded to the laborious and unrivalled historian of a neighbouring county; is it too much to hope that the Lincolnshire genealogies will be set forth as accurately as those in Baker's Northamptonshire?

A discovery of Roman coins, to the number of 685, contained in an earthen vessel, was made on the Downs, near Eastbourne, at the end of February last.

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1879.

THE LAND OF MORGAN.

Part IV.

THE EARLS OF GLOUCESTER AND HERTFORD.

By G. T. CLARK, F.S.A.

RICHARD de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, was born 4 August, 1222, and was therefore a little over eight years old at his father's death, 25 October, 1230. His wardship was granted to Hubert de Burgh, then Justiciary, who had married the young earl's great aunt, then however some years deceased. In addition to the wardship, de Burgh, 26 November, 1230, had a grant of the homage and service of John de Braose for his Honour of Gower, described as held of the Honour of Caermarthen and Cardigan, which tenure however was never admitted by the lords of Gower (P. Roll. 15th Henry III., m. 7.) William de Goldcliff, Bishop of Llandaff, died before the earl, 12 January, 1229, when the custody of the bishopric was given to Maurice, archdeacon, and Ivor, a canon of Llandaff, and 23 February seisin of the lands was given to the Earl, the Earl Mareschal, and John de Braose, under whom the bishops held manors in different parts of the diocese. Elias, Treasurer of Hereford, was confirmed 30 August, 1230, in the vacant See.

At Michaelmas, Abbot Peter of Tewkesbury took seizin of their moiety of the church of Llandir, probably Llantwit-major, which William, parson there, formerly held. After much dispute between the abbot and the Welsh parishioners, some of whom wished that William's brother

should succeed, the abbot gave way, but took a charge of eleven marcs yearly, the abbey retaining a chapel attached to the church, to indicate possession. It was provided that if the farm rent was not paid to the day, the tenant should lose his tenement for ever.

In 1231, 2 June, Ralph Mailoc, a local celebrity in Glamorgan, died. Thomas, Dean of Hereford, Peter, Abbot of Tewkesbury, Maurice, Archdeacon of Llandaff, Master B., Rector of Thornbury, and others, met at Cheston (?) to arrange respecting the church of Llanblethian which Mailoc had held of Tewkesbury, and which by the Court of Rome and the confirmation of the bishop had been granted to be held impropriate. It had been given away by the bishop, although shortly before he had already granted it to a chaplain, who however renounced, and accepted a vicarage from the abbot.

About Michaelmas, the monks sent brother Eustace to receive seizin of Llanblethian Church, which Mailoc had held. He found the church locked and the key carried off to the mountains, so he took seizin in the porch, and protested against this invasion of the privileges of the abbey. The Welsh replied to this by taking him prisoner on the highway, and keeping him three days in the mountains. In rejoinder, the bishop excommunicated the wrong doers generally, and laid the matter before Hubert de Burgh, the custos. The abbot, also, in presence of his monks, excommunicated a certain J. Grant, probably of Sigginston, who had laid hands on Eustace. No doubt the resistance to the abbot's claim was encouraged by the concurrent invasion by Llewelyn, who attacked Brecknock, descended upon Caerleon, and thence retired across the hills to Neath, where he laid siege to the castle, which was surrendered about 29 June. Aided by Morgan Gam, of Avan, he burned the town, levelled the castle, and extorted 60 marcs from Margam. All this seems to have been provoked by the violation of an existing truce, for 20 February, 1232, the king writes to assure Llewelyn that he has, by his brother Earl Richard, ordered that the infraction of the truce by Richard Siward be made good.

De Burgh fell in July 1232, and was displaced as custos 15 August, and 10 September Peter de Rivaux

has a patent of custody of the castles of Cardiff and Newport, and of those generally of Glamorgan, Cardigan, and Caermarthen. 17 October Henry de Turberville is custos of the Lordship of Glamorgan, and 19 December Ra. de Hurle is to receive the issues of the lands, &c., of Glamorgan and Wentlloog, and the custody of Cardiff, Newport, and Newcastle. Peter remained in power till 1235, giving great dissatisfaction. Just before de Burgh retired, 13 April, 1232, the king allowed the young earl's claim "*de collatione baculi*," as to Tewkesbury, and de Burgh, in consequence, gave the monks leave to elect an abbot, who was confirmed by the king. The same claim was allowed for Keynsham. It seems to have been usual to allow to the representatives of the founder the privilege of collating to an abbey, but a license for its exercise was necessary. Thus 16 April, 1200, John granted to Wm. Earl Mareschal the privilege of bestowing the pastoral staff of Nutley, in Bucks, an abbey founded by Walter Gifford, but within the earl's fee.

In 1232 Llewelyn again invaded Glamorgan, and attacked Kenfig. The cattle had been removed, and to clear the way for the defence, the people burned a part of the town within, that is to say close to, the gates. The Welsh, on their part, burned what was outside the walls, and attacked the castle keep, then only defended by a hedge and a ditch. The Welsh were driven off, and fled to the hills. It was observed that on this occasion, they spared the lands of the church.

Events were now ripe for the breaking out of the war between the king and the Earl of Pembroke. Earl Richard Mareschal, a scholar and a soldier, a moderate and an honest man, "*muris inter dominum regem et magnates*," had just succeeded his brother William; and, forbearing as he was, found himself driven to oppose in arms the king's violence and imprudence. The dissatisfaction was very general, and broke out in Monmouth and Glamorgan in a civil war, which, continued by De Montford and the Earl of Gloucester, led to the battles of Lewes and Evesham, and the siege and ban of Kenilworth. The services of De Burgh were forgotten, and Henry was inflamed with jealousy against that great statesman, who, always loyal to the crown, and succeed-

ing Pandulph as minister, had composed the Irish war, quelled the discontent in Gascony, kept Llewelyn and the Welsh within moderate bounds, razed Bedford Castle, exiled De Breauté, and procured the Bull declaring Henry of full age, upon which the royal castles had been surrendered to him by the lords who had held them during the minority. De Burgh was ill exchanged for Peter des Roches, an ecclesiastic of violent and dangerous counsels, a foreigner, and intensely unpopular. In 1232 the Abbot of Tewkesbury had a royal writ to receive his accustomed payment from the Honour of Cardiff, and another writ 24 May, 1233, for Peter de Rivaux, was addressed to Ranulph de Hurle, bailiff of Glamorgan. Both, therefore, were still in office.

Among the disaffected in Glamorgan were Philip Basset, whom the king had deprived of a manor given him by King John, and Richard Siward, a bold and distinguished soldier, and one of the Earl of Gloucester's most turbulent barons. Siward, who owned the castle of Talavan, had married Basset's sister, Philippa, widow of the Earl of Warwick, according to some accounts without the king's license. The Earl, Henry de Newburgh, also Lord of Gower, had died in 1229, and Philippa then paid 100 marcs not to be distrained to marry, and if she did marry, to have leave to marry any faithful subject. She did marry, before 1 March, 1231, Richard Siward, and that this was not then disapproved by the king appears from a writ to the Sheriff respecting certain payments due at the exchequer. Siward's real offence seems to have been his attachment to the Earl Mareschal, and his opposition to Bishop des Roches.

Henry summoned the barons to a meeting at Oxford 24 June, 1233, which the Earl Mareschal and his friends decided to decline to obey, as they did a further summons for the 11 of July. They further informed the king that unless he dismissed his foreign advisers they would renounce their allegiance. On the 1 July the barons met the king in London, but as the Earl Mareschal, warned by his sister, feared treachery, he turned back and rode to Wales. Nothing was decided at the meeting. Henry then summoned his military tenants to Gloucester for the 15 August. As Earl Richard was again absent,

he and his adherents were proscribed as traitors, the earl's lands were seized and laid waste especially, 2 November, his house and gardens in Worcestershire, and a day was named for his trial. Henry, evidently looked for support among the English in the rear of the Earl Mareschal's head quarters, for 6 August is issued a writ to the bailiffs of Bristol stating that "Although the king has directed them not to let any victuals be taken from their town, yet they are to allow the men of Cardiff, Swansea, and Carmarthen to do so, they giving security not to take them elsewhere." The king's proscription caused the Earl Mareschal to close an alliance with Llewellyn, offensive and defensive, each party swearing not to make peace without the consent of the other. The Earl of Cornwall took part with the insurgents. Henry having received an accession of force at Gloucester, crossed the Severn, and marched on Hereford. His object seems to have been to attack from the west the Earl Mareschal's chief castle of Chepstow, and his plan to descend the valley of the Usk, taking advantage of the support of John of Monmouth, to whom belonged that town and castle, and of Morgan of Caerleon, who held the lowlands of Gwent, and thus to interpose between the earl, who lay westwards near Cardiff, and his sister Margaret de Braose and Walter de Clifford, who held Abergavenny and Builth, and the country and strong places of Irchenfield, west of Hereford. In executing this plan he descended the right bank of the Usk, and at Usk laid siege to the castle, which was found to be so strong that the king offered terms. What actually took place is doubtful; the general, though not very probable, account is that the king asked for the surrender of the castle to save the royal credit, and pledged himself to restore it uninjured in fifteen days; to which the earl agreed, and gave up the place, which, however, the king retained, breaking faith. Henry entered Usk about the 1 September, and this success, however obtained, was the first important feature in the campaign. In the castle he placed Henry de Turberville, an eminent captain, who had been seneschal of Gascony, and who was ordered to give up the stores therein contained, an order certainly given, and which seems scarcely consistent with this alleged breach of faith. Moreover,

the surrender of Usk was followed, 8 September, by the establishment of a truce settled at Abergavenny, the terms of which were however construed very differently by the king and by the earl. 12 September, Henry was at Hereford, whence he directed the vicecomes of Cardiff to restore all the booty taken on the Earl Mareschal's lands, and called on the earl and Morgan of Caerleon to do the same, a summons which does not seem to have been obeyed. The king retired to England, promising concessions, and summoned a meeting for the 2 October. Here Earl Richard's friends demanded his trial by his peers, a right denied by Bishop Peter, who thus placed himself in opposition to the whole baronage.

Meantime, the earl was under arms, and by the aid of Philip Basset and Siward, de Burgh was rescued from the Devizes, and brought in safety by way of Aust to Chepstow. 20 September the king wrote to Richard Mareschal no longer to harbour Siward and his fellows, but Siward was far too useful to be disavowed.

Henry bid high for the support of the young Earl of Gloucester's tenants, writing from Ledbury, 2 December, to Reymund de Sully, a principal Glamorgan lord. The Close Roll 15 December 1233, states: "*Rex significat Rey: de Sully quod bene placit regi quod ipse et alii probi homines de partibus suis veniat ad fidem et servitium regis dum tunc securitatem faciat de bono et fideli servitio, &c.*"

2 December, Henry laid hands on Siward's lands at Chedworth and Brailes. Also, 3 November, had been seized the lands of Gilbert de Turberville of Coyty, at South Moulton and Marshfield, and given to Herbert Fitz-Matthew; those of Roger Berkerolles in Somerset were given to Ralph de Hurle, who died before 22nd Henry III, and was succeeded as bailiff of Glamorgan by Toran de Hurle. The lands of John le Sor at Alwington went, 7 November, to William Bloet; of William de Somery in Somerset to William de Boils; those of Simon and Richard de Pincerna in Devon to Simon de Sleland; those of Gilbert de Umfreville at Court-Labeford to Roger la Suche; those of David Basset in Wernford to Philip Choatte. Those of William de Barry in Devon, of Thomas de Sandford in Berks, of John de St. John,

William and John de Regny, Peter le Butiler, Thomas de Hawey, and William le Fleming were also taken, and even Reymund de Sully did not escape; his lands at Alsiston being given to de Boils. All this shews the close connexion in property between the holders of fees in Glamorgan and the counties of Somerset and Devon.

Cardiff Castle seems to have been held for the king, as Warene Basset, one of the earl's partizans, was killed in an assault upon it, 15 October, 1233, and was buried at Llandaff, 21 October. The earl was then at Cardiff, having burned Monmouth. 17 November he defeated the king at Grosmont, and forced the barons and knights of Glamorgan, and the burgesses of Cardiff, to give hostages for their good behaviour. Henry again offered terms, which the earl, then at Margam, refused, and his adherents kept up a harassing war from Newport and Cardiff against the shipping of Bristol. Towards Christmas, Siward harried the lands of the Earl of Cornwall, an offence never forgiven. Nevertheless, 7 January, 1234, the Countess of Warwick was allowed to go to the Marches of Wales, to her husband, R. Siward.

The Earl Mareschal's position, west of Chepstow, was not without its dangers. The actual Lord of Glamorgan was a minor, and in the king's hands, and the war was by no means popular with the people, who had everything to lose, and nothing to gain by it. The knights and barons who, with their tenants, formed the military strength of the lordship could not afford to give a steady support to the earl, as almost all held fees of considerable value in Devon, Somerset, or Gloucester, all in the king's power. That many of them were disposed to listen to the king is made probable by his letter above quoted, and all the English settlers in Wales must have been alarmed at the Earl Mareschal's intimacy with the Welsh; and, indeed it appears from one of Henry's letters to Llewelyn, 22 August, 1234, that there was a report that the earl had gone so far as to grant to Morgan Gam and other Welshmen lands which belonged to the Earl of Gloucester.

Towards the end of 1233 Bishop Peter seems to have created a division in Ireland where the Earl Mareschal had a great interest, acquired by his ancestor Strongbow, and whither he went, leaving the conduct of the Welsh

war to de Burgh, Siward, and Philip Basset. In Ireland he was mortally wounded, and died a prisoner at Kildare, 15 April, 1234. Meantime, and probably before the news reached England, the earl's partizans were active. Siward scoured Berkshire, and under cover of Windsor Forest made the country unsafe, and threatened the exchequer messengers who carried money, 29 April. A little later, 2 May, the king informs the sheriff of Gloucester that in the way from Wallingford to Reading, Siward had seized the baggage of Stephen de Segrave, de Burgh's enemy and successor. The sheriffs, however, were foiled, and Siward reached Wales in safety. Thos. Siward, his nephew, was taken at Hereford, as was St. Philibert, another nephew, 10 May.

The Earl Mareschal's death left the party without a leader and the war ceased, although the position of the insurgents enabled them to secure excellent terms, which included Llewelyn, de Burgh, Siward, and their followers. Bishop des Roches was dismissed from power. 17 May, 1234, the men of Glamorgan were referred to Henry de Turberville for the terms on which they might be admitted to the king's peace, and 26 May, the king, by documents entered on the Close Rolls, formally laid aside his indignation against Gilbert Mareschal, Hubert de Burgh, Richard Siward, Gilbert and Philip Basset, William Crass, H. de Barry, William of Christchurch, and Richard de St. John, and by an entry on the Patent Roll, 25 May, they were pardoned. Thos. Siward was released, and on the 18 May and 3 June Richard Siward was actually placed in charge of Glamorgan, to which, 17 July, Swansea was added, and that this carried the Lordship of Gower with it, appears from a precept on the Close Roll informing Siward that because the king understands that the "maritagium" of Agnes, daughter and heir of William Mara, pertains to Margaret de Braose as part of her dower, the £100 fine which Robert de Penris made for her with Peter de Rivaux is to be paid over to Margaret. Rivaux had evidently usurped the "maritagium" from Margaret, and Siward as custos is to redress the wrong.

With the rest, the king extended his favour to the Barons of the Honour of Gloucester, Roger Berkerolles,

Roger de Hide, Gilbert de Turberville, Richard Pincerna, William Flandrensis, Wydo Wak, and Hoel son of Archid the two bailiffs of Swansea, Reymund de Sully, John de St. John, and Gilbert de Umfreville. 17 July, Richard Lelande was ordered to inspect the lands held by H. de Burgh as guardian of the Earl of Clare, and to report how they had been held by Peter de Riváux and Richard Passelewe. This seems to have been preparatory to the handing them over to a new guardian. Siward's appointment was in fact temporary, and 23 January, 1235, he had a safe conduct to surrender the lordship to Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, who was admitted 28 February, and having been allowed the title and estates of his late brother, Richard Mareschal, was, 11 June, girded with the sword of the earldom. For the wardship of his nephew and the lordship of Glamorgan, during the remainder of the minority, he fined 500 marcs. This acquisition placed the whole seaboard from Chepstow to Pembroke and Aberystwith, Gower alone excepted, in the hands of Earl Gilbert. Among those now restored were John de St. Quintin, who was to have his castle of Llanblethian and other lands in Glamorgan, Peter le Botiller, Thomas de Hawey, Thomas de Saundford, John de Reyny, Robert Fitz-Payn, Richard le Butiller, Jordan de Aunteston, Maurice de Cantilupe, William de Barry, and William de Reyny. Also, as part of the general amnesty, the men of Bristol were to let those of Swansea have the wine that had been seized, and the abbot of Margam's ship was to be given up to John, the cellarer of that house. Neither were the burgesses of Bristol to vex those of Swansea by requiring of them customs' dues contrary to King John's charter and its confirmations. 9 June, 1235, the abbot of Neath had a license to send ships to England to trade. The amnesty extended to Ireland, and 7 November, 1235, Milo de Rochford, taken in the war with Richard Earl Mareschal in Ireland, was to be released.

Soon after, 12 March, 1236, Ralph of Newcastle, having scruples of conscience about the source whence he received his church, renounced it before the chapter of Llandaff, and again accepted it as a free gift from the abbot of Tewkesbury. 22 April, the same abbot and convent gave

to Elias, bishop of Llandaff, the church of Lanederne, retaining the tythes of Lamberdam for the use of the priors of Cardiff, to whose sustenance they belong. About the same time the bishop and chapter confirmed to the same abbot all the ecclesiastical benefices he held in the diocese. 4 July, Richard Siward seems again to have given offence, for he was taken at Gloucester, though soon afterwards set free.

According to Matthew Paris, one of Henry's grievances against de Burgh was that he had married his daughter Margaret to Earl Richard, the king's ward, and a minor, without the leave of the king, who seems to have intended to marry him to his own niece, a Provençal. Hubert denied this, and said he had no knowledge of the matter. A curious account of the whole affair is recorded in the Close Roll of the 22nd Henry III, and extracted by Sir Duffus Hardy, whence it appears that the day after Michaelmas 1238 the king had Hubert before him at Eccles, and called on him to resign all claim to the marriage of Richard de Clare, that being one of the conditions of his pardon. Hubert took time to answer, and finally met the king at Kennington, where he stated that after the reconciliation at Gloucester, Henry led him to the altar and asked him to swear never again to mention the subject of the marriage, which he did, and took no further steps in the matter. On this, however, some of his friends said things had gone so far that the parties ought to be affianced, and the Countess said her daughter was committed, and that a marriage had actually taken place at St. Edmund's, while de Burgh was besieged at Merton. The matter was never quite cleared up, but Hubert does not appear to have been to blame, whatever may have been the case with his countess. He nevertheless had to make his peace by promising a sum of money to the king.

Margaret seems to have died soon afterwards, in November, 1237. The matter is obscure, and de Burgh's statement is supported by the fact that the king sold the earl's "maritagium," 26 October, 1237, to John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, for 3000 marcs, and the remission of a debt of 2000 more, but this was subject to a power of cancelling the agreement, if by transferring the "maritagium" there should be any chance of bringing the Comte

de la Marche to the king's party. This was not acted upon. The bride was the Earl of Lincoln's eldest daughter, Maud de Lacy, and the marriage took place 2 February, 1238, when the earl was about sixteen years old, and seems, from an entry on the Patent Rolls, to have had opinions of his own, not at that time specially favourable to the royal cause. 26 August, 1237, died John de Goldcliff, abbot of Margam, and was succeeded by John la Ware. 8 March, 1238, was a suit between Richard Fitz-Richard and Thomas de Marini, and the abbot of Neath, for common of pasture in Horblanton. 30 August, Ralph de Somery, the farmer of the chapel of Cogan, died, and Wm. le Fleming of Glamorgan, led by evil counsels, declared himself attorney for the Lord Richard de Cogan, presented the son of Wm. de Reymin (Reigny) to the chapel, and summoned by writ of last presentation Robert abbot of Tewkesbury before the comitatus at Cardiff. After much dispute, William was adjudged not to be the attorney.

This year opened with the secret marriage, 7 January, 1238, of Simon de Montfort with the king's sister Eleanor, the widow of William Earl Mareschal. This, which soon was known, gave great offence. Simon being then considered in England only as an obnoxious foreigner, while Eleanor had taken vows of chastity. Henry's own conduct, and his readmission of foreigners to power, promoted the general disaffection, and the king's brother Richard Earl of Cornwall, and Richard Earl Mareschal, the leaders of the opposition, were expelled from court.

On St. Oswald's day, probably 5 August, 1240, being a day over his eighteenth birthday, the young earl was admitted to be of age for certain purposes, and he redeemed his Glamorgan lands and repaid to his guardian the 500 marcs, the price of his wardship. Dugdale, however, places this transaction in the 19th Henry III, 1234-5. In May, 1240, the earl's daughter Isabel was born, and 13 May died Elias bishop of Llandaff, and Waleran Teutonicus was put in to administer the temporalities of the see. He also collated to two stalls and the archdeaconry. The chapter then elected Maurice, also archdeacon, to the see, but he was set aside by the king. Next they elected William of Christchurch, who held the

seat, but without installation, till 1244, when he resigned, no doubt because disapproved by the king. Finally, another *congé d'élire* was issued, and 30 July, 1246, William de Burgh, a king's chaplain, became bishop. 23 May, the Earl of Cornwall and Simon de Montfort left England for Palestine. They were escorted to Marseilles by the French king. During their absence Gilbert Earl Mareschal died from the effects of an accident, and was succeeded by Walter the third brother. Henry at first refused him livery of the lands, but at last gave way, and on the Sunday before All Saints he was recognized as Earl Mareschal and of Pembroke. The king, however, resumed the custody of the castles of Cardiff (Caermarthen ?) and Cardigan, which Hubert de Burgh and Earl Richard had held. The Welsh had been troublesome, but by August, 1241, they were quieted, and 28 August, 1242, Henry remitted his displeasure against the abbot of Margam, who had harboured William de Marisco. In this year died Morgan Gam of Avan, and was buried at Margam. In this year also, 26th Henry III, the sheriff of Norfolk is ordered to assign a dower to Alice, who was wife of Roger de Clare, out of the lands which he had held of the heir of Earl Gilbert, now in the king's custody ; Alice paid 200 m. to have the custody of Roger's lands in Middleton and the marriage of the heir. (Abb. Rot. Or., 26th Henry III). In 1241 Fitz-Hamon's body was translated into the choir at Tewkesbury, and placed on the left of the high altar. 7 August, 1242, Gilbert de Sully, vicar of K., died, and 4 September the abbot of Tewkesbury put in Walter Alured.

25 July, 1242, a dispute arose between Howel ap Meredith, Rhys ap Griffith, and Gilbert de Turberville touching an infraction of the truce in Miscin and Senghenydd. Robert, abbot of Tewkesbury, William de Cardiff, James de Clare, and others the earl's friends were sent down to make enquiries. They summoned a "comitatus" at Cardiff, 28 July, took hostages from the Welshmen, and lodged them in Cardiff Castle, and so restored quiet. The abbot took the opportunity to visit Llanblethian to accept the transfer of the church in pursuance of the decree of the prior of Winchcombe,

Papal subdelegate. This related to the incumbency and farm of the benefice of which Roger Mailoc, probably a nephew of Ralph, had been deprived for arrears of rent. The see being then vacant the archdeacon, as ordinary, presented Thomas de Pennarth. The abbot refused to allow this, upon which Thomas resigned, and accepted the benefice at the hands of the abbot, with the obventions and profits of the church, excepting the tythe sheaves. On this Roger sued the abbot before the comitatus. Roger had an uncle Rhys, and was otherwise well supported, so the abbot offered him a pension of five marcs, which at the earl's request was raised to six, but still was refused as insufficient. The abbot, as a safeguard, took letters of protection from the earl, addressed to the vicecomes.

The earls returned from the Holy Land early in 1242, but the Earl of Gloucester was probably too young to take part in the fierce discussion that then arose in Parliament, as to assisting the king to recover his foreign possessions. No doubt his sympathies were with his stepfather the Earl of Cornwall, but nothing is heard of him before the 4 August 1243, when he was of full age. A message was sent to Henry, then on the continent, pressing him to give seizin of the estates by letter. This he declined to do, and the earl actually had seizin at Winchester 29 August, and finally 23 September the king accepted his homage. (Plac. Coron., 27th Hen. III.) With his other lands he received those which his mother the Countess of Cornwall had held in dower. In this transaction the convent of Tewkesbury became his "fidei jussores" in 300 marcs to the Earl of Cornwall, and in return took a bond of indemnity from the young earl. A little earlier, 25 March, the abbot of Tewkesbury gave to Rely Morgan a yearly pension of two marcs until he should provide him with a better benefice, and Rely gave up his pension from Llandough into which he had been inducted by Archdeacon Maurice his uncle.

2 September, 1243, the earl's eldest son Gilbert was born at Christchurch in Hampshire. In this year J. vicar of Dinas Powis won his cause against Tewkesbury and 15 marcs costs, and obtained the small tythes. Howel

ap Meredith was again in rebellion, and Kenfig was burned.

On the death in 1240 of Bishop Elias, the custos claimed for the earl the right, as chief lord, to take possession of such lands as were held of him by the bishop. Also, on the death of Archdeacon Maurice, 14 December, 1242, he claimed to appoint and put in Ralph of Newcastle, some canons dissenting, some approving. Ralph held office until the king's proctor objected and nominated, and as the earl had not as yet had seizin of his lands, it was thought better to submit. 29 March, 1244, Thomas, the king's archdeacon, had a protection, and in July a royal licence allowed the chapter to elect a bishop. Meantime, Ralph, when archdeacon, had appointed a vicar to the chapel of St. John at Cardiff, against which Ralph de Derley had appealed. The transactions connected with the recent appointment to the see of Llandaff led to a dispute between the king and the earl, and it appears from the *Placita Coronæ* that the earl gave up his claim. R. de Clare came before the king and acknowledged that the "*Baculum pastorale*" and patronage of the bishopric belonged of right to the king, but a day was named for him to shew what it was he claimed. What he did claim was the custody of the lands held of him, and the collation to the prebends and the archdeaconry. The new bishop, probably soon after taking his seat, appeared before the king, and admitted that he held nothing from any other in his bishopric save from the king. In 1245, Roger de Somery (of Dinas Powis) has a protection in Wales from the king.

On Whitsunday, 1244, (?) the earl seems to have been knighted by the king, and in March 1245, upon the aid for marrying the king's eldest daughter, he was assessed at £261 10s. upon 261½ fees, besides 12½ fees in Kent, and £43 for 43 fees, his moiety of the Honour of Giffard. In 1245, the earl was among those who made a bold attempt before the Council of Lyons to moderate Papal tyranny in England. In this year Henry summoned certain Welsh lords to do homage to him at Westminster, 30 April, and among them the son of Morgan Gam and Howel ap Meredith. The latter had been disseized of his lands by the earl. 5 February, 1245, the Lord

Herbert Fitz-Mathew met his death in a certain combe near Avan Castle, crushed by a mass of rock, which broke his neck. A writ of "Diem clausit" was issued 7 February, but M. Paris lays the scene in North Wales. Probably it took place in the gorge of the Avan, a mile or so above the castle, which stood on the right bank of the river, close to the church of Aberavan. 1245-6, the bailliffs of Bristol were ordered to seize all the wool purchased by the Ghent merchants from the abbot of Margam, and to hold it till further orders.

About this time the great house of Mareschal came to an end. Earl Walter died at Goderich Castle, 24 November, 1245, and his writ of "Diem clausit" was issued 3 December, and 5 December his brother and successor Anselm, the youngest and the last, also died, and childless. He was buried at Tewkesbury. This death broke up the estate, and left the De Clares without a rival in South Wales. About the same time the earl proposed to meet Guy de Lusignan, one of the new batch of the king's foreign relations, at a tournament at Dunsstable. The king, however, seems to have feared for his half brother, and forbade the meeting, as he did a later one proposed at Northampton. The earl granted Petersfield, Mapledurham, and some other manors to his brother William, and it would seem introduced the Augustin Friars into England. The Welsh also occupied much of his attention. In 1246 he allowed the Tewkesbury monks a free water-flow, "*liberam aqueductam*" across his lands. 17 July, 1247, Stephen Bawcen, an active soldier connected with Glamorgan, had an allowance of £25 yearly to sustain him in the king's service.

In 1248 more of the king's half brothers had arrived, and in the midst of the rising discontent the earl chose to take the part of the foreigners, at a tournament at Brackley, where he aided William de Valence to overthrow William de Odingselles, a knight of Warwickshire. At Newbury he repeated this conduct, and thereby much offended the baronage. In this year he sued the abbot of Tewkesbury for the advowsons of three churches. The bishop of Llandaff absolved the prior of Cardiff from a certain sentence by which he was bound for the vicarage of Cardiff. The vicar there had all the money coming in

to the chapel of S. John, but had to pay out of it 20s. a year to the prior for the food of a priest at the prior's table. At Llantwit, the vicarage had all the "Allagium," with the great and small tythes, except the tythe sheaf of hay, and the tythe of the chapel of Llysworney. Also the Lord William de Cardiff impleaded the abbot of Tewkesbury for the land of Lapull, and in 1250 quit-claimed all his right therein to the earl and the abbot. Richard prior of Cardiff died, and Alan de Cornalia succeeded, who also died soon after, when Philip le Leche became prior. In 33rd Henry III, Henry de Umfreville accounted for £45 for 9 fees held of the Honour of Gloucester, and Richard de Kerdiff was quitted for 36s. 8d.

In 1249 the earl, with the Earl of Cornwall, went beyond sea, and visited the Pope at Lyons and St. Edmund's of Pontigny. Their absence was brief, but included the Easter Parliament. At this time, 33rd Henry III, the abbot of Margam accounted for five marcs in the Pipe Roll for having an assize, and 12 June, 1249, the chapter of Llandaff, under licence, elected John la War, abbot of Margam, to the see of Llandaff. Nicholas however places this election 26 July, 1253, in which year he places the death of Bishop de Burgh.

In 1250 the earl officiated as hereditary seneschal and butler at the enthronization of Boniface of Savoy as archbishop, according to his tenure of Tonbridge. He again had a dispute with Tewkesbury, on this occasion concerning rights of "fossa et furca," pit and gallows, claimed by the abbot, who was allowed these powers in Wimborne and Cranborne, with a gallows at Cranborne, where he seems very conveniently to have found a subject for his newly admitted justice. This year the earl visited Compostella, returning 15 July, and bestowed knighthood upon William de Wilton and Peter le Botiler at Harley. In 1250, 29 June, Abbot John resigned Margam and was succeeded, 22 September, by Thomas de Perthwaite. In 1251 the Cranborne dispute was revived, the earl denying the right claimed for the priory as well as the manor of Beveridge. In the claim, power of life and death seem oddly mixed up with common of pasture. It was said that the abbot had usurped his power during

the minority. The earl asked an aid from his tenants to marry his daughter, but it appeared that no such aid had before been asked for, nor was he prepared to name the bridegroom. It appeared also that he had had a survey made of his villenages, and had raised the dues. Roger Luvel, the Tewkesbury proctor at Rome, was appointed to act also for the earl. In 1251-2 the Pipe Roll shews a grant of £40 from the king to Stephen Bawcen. 34th Henry III the king issued a mandate, in the Close Rolls, to the bailiffs of Kerdiff to permit one whom they had arrested for theft "in the king's court" to go forth without stopping any of the things stolen.

In 1252 the earl held his Easter at Tewkesbury, and confirmed to the chapter of Llandaff half the tythe of the chapel of Lanternen (Llantarnam) 17 April. The king wished to marry the earl's son Gilbert, a youth of great promise, to Alice, daughter of Guy Comte d'Angoulême, his half brother, offering with her a portion of 5,000 marcs. The earl at first accepted, and gave a bond for 10,000 marcs in case he broke off the match. He then changed his mind, and sent the abbot of Tewkesbury and the prior of Stokes to the king. Meantime he and his son went abroad, it being intended that the youth should win distinction in arms. It was about this time that the earl interfered to save the credit of his brother William, who had lost horse and arms in a joust. The earl took his place, recovered the spoils, and brought his brother home with honour towards mid-Lent. He seems also to have visited Gascony, where Simon de Montfort's conduct was the subject of an enquiry. It is said to have been during this visit to the continent that the young Gilbert and William de Valence provoked contempt by their effeminacy, and got worsted at a tournament, which seems scarcely consistent with the tender age of the young noble. At Christmas, 1252, a daughter was born to the earl at Llantrissant, probably within the castle. In this year also he caused Milo his chamberlain to be imprisoned at Usk.

In 1253 the earl, who was very expert in the use of arms, took part in a tournament abroad. About the 11 July he returned to find that Henry, after a stormy discussion, had confirmed the public charters with un-

usual solemnity, under promise of an aid. To this aid the earl strongly objected, and, as was the custom with the nobles of that day, he spoke his mind to the king very freely, and retired from the presence in great anger. He then paid a short visit to Ireland. In this year the young Gilbert, born 2 September, 1243, then therefore about ten years old, was contracted, while abroad, to Alice of Angoulême, the king's niece. Anselm (*Hist. Geneal.* etc. iii, 78) describes her as Alasie or Alise de Lezignan, daughter of Hugh le Brun Comte de la Marche et Angoulême by Isabel, widow of King John of England, and daughter and heir of Aymar Comte d'Angoulême. The actual marriage seems to have taken place in 1257. Anselm says she was divorced in 1258, but this, it will be seen, is an error. Also in 1253 Robert Musgrove held the Honour of Gloucester, probably as sheriff or receiver.

After renewed disputes with the barons concerning foreign service, the king, 7 September, 1254, took the earl with him to Bordeaux, where he was present when Henry conferred Gascony upon Prince Edward, and at the prince's marriage with Eleanor of Castile. Thence the earl visited Paris, where were the kings of France, England, and Navarre. He returned with the king and queen by New-year's day, 1255, to England, where public affairs had become critical. Henry was hopelessly indebted; no money was to be had from his Parliament: even his brother and his son were obliged to protest against his proceedings, and de Montfort, now in England, was in litigation with the crown about his wife's jointure.

25 May, 1255, a proposed tournament at Blythe was forbidden. 10 August, the earl, fortified with credentials, went to Scotland with John Mansel, the celebrated pluralist, to relieve and if possible rescue Henry's sister, the Scottish queen, then a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. This he managed successfully, by a mixture of force and address, to the satisfaction of both her husband and brother. It seems to have been in November of this year that Robert, Abbot of Tewkesbury, died, and the earl confirmed the choice of Thomas as the new abbot. The earl had a dispute with the monks, whom he compelled to follow him to Fairford for a settlement of their claims

upon the tythe of Rendcombe. In this or the preceding year the earl was paying to the king 640 marcs, being a two years' charge upon £80 per annum due from the Earl Mareschal's lands in Ireland for the dower of Eleanor the king's sister, and de Montfort's wife. Her share was one-fifth of the income, which therefore must have been £400 per annum. Here the marc is taken at 5s. instead of 6s. 8d as usual. It was also probably about this time that was drawn up the agreement mentioned by Nash (*Worc.*, ii, 135) between Earl Richard and the Bishop of Worcester concerning Malvern chase, in which the Abbot of Tewkesbury and Lord William de la Mare acted for the earl, and among the witnesses to which appear Philip Basset and Stephen Bawcen. It seems that John Earl of Moreton in 1196, while Lord of Glamorgan, granted to the Bishop of Worcester license to assart land in Malvern Forest, and Countess Isabel confirmed the grant. The dispute however was by no means settled, and reappears in the reign of Edward I.

12 June, 1256, letters of credence were given to the earl and Robert Walerand with their suite, addressed to the princes of Germany. They seem by the Patent Rolls to have left England 22 June. This was no doubt to watch at Francfort the election of the King of the Romans, in the interest of the Earl of Cornwall, and to receive the fealty of the electors preparatory to the crowning of Richard in the following December. Among the earl's attendants were John and Robert Turberville and Adam Waleys, all connected with Glamorgan. 29 June, 1256, John de la Ware, Bishop of Llandaff, died, and on 30 July William de Radnor was elected bishop. The 29 of June was a remarkable day in Bishop de la Ware's life. On that day he resigned Margam, on that day was elected bishop, and on that day he died. In the same year the earl founded the house of the Blackfriars at Cardiff. 7 November, Richard Siward of Talavan was dead, and his twice widowed wife, Ela Countess of Warwick had married Philip Basset. In this year Prince Edward received from John de Monmouth the Castle and Honour of Monmouth in fee. Henry also invested him with regal powers in Ireland, and the Earl of Gloucester did him homage for his land there.

In 1257 Henry seems also to have transferred the conduct of Welsh affairs to the prince, who laid on a tax which excited Llewelyn ap David to take up arms. Griffith ap Blys had died 11 June, 1256. The earl, whom M. Paris calls a dear friend to the king, was in command of the royal forces in Glamorgan and Pembroke, and generally in South Wales. It was in his somewhat unsuccessful campaign that Stephen Bawcen was slain. 24 July, Roger de Somery, summoned by the king to Chester, was afterwards directed to proceed with all his forces to protect Glamorgan, where he held lands. The Close Roll, 42nd Henry III, mentions the claim of Alex. de St. Severino for the price of 45 dolia of wine which the thieves of Glamorgan, West Wales, and Gower had taken and conveyed to Devonshire, to the damage of Earl Richard, whose merchant he was. The sheriffs of Devon and Somerset are to seize the goods, unless the earl or the sheriff of Glamorgan admit them to have been come by lawfully.

23 July, either in this or the following year the earl was taken ill at Sonning, near Reading, and William Scotney, his seneschal and chief adviser, was charged with administering poison to him and his brother William, at a breakfast given by Prince Edward at Winchester. William died 23 July at Retheresford, and was buried at Dareford, probably Dertford, Abbey, privately, instead of at Tewkesbury, as he had wished, lest the news should reach and prove fatal to his brother. The earl recovered, but lost his hair and his complexion; his teeth and nails threatened to fall off, and he was much disfigured. Scotney was dragged asunder by horses at Winchester, or, by some accounts, hanged, 26 May, 1259, and his quarters suspended from a gallows. The earl, however, managed to be present at Tewkesbury, 20 April, 1258, when he obtained a procession, and gave the kiss of peace to all present. In this year, 6 September, the Welsh attacked Neath with 800 mail-clad horsemen, and 7000 footmen. They failed to take the castle, but burned the town up to the gates, "*et sic ad dæmones redierunt.*"

During these years the earl seems to have been acting, though perhaps not very cordially, with the king's party, but Henry's conduct had gradually alienated from him all

men, even of moderate opinions. In 1258 matters drew to a head, but the earl was still with the king, who, 22 January, having heard that Llewelyn proposed to marry his sister Margaret, directed the earl to take her in charge and guard her safely. 8 March he was at Court, and witnessed a royal charter relating to St. Alban's. The opening Parliament of the year met in London, 9 April, and sat till the 5 May. Howel ap Meredith and the Welsh leaders had made an alliance with Scotland. The discussions were unsatisfactory, and the assembly was adjourned to the 11 June at Oxford. In August the earl was directed by the king to enquire as to the large sums of money said to have been taken beyond sea by his half brothers.

The Parliament thus adjourned was the "Mad Parliament." The barons who had attended in London armed, came to Oxford under summons for a Welsh campaign, in full array for war. As in the time of John, a committee was appointed, and in the list the Earl of Gloucester appears with de Montfort on the Barons' side, and in the subsequent very complex arrangements he took an active part, and was one of those by whom, 18 October, 1258, the king's adherence to the Acts of the Council was accepted, and who shared in the provisional government of the following year, and until the outbreak of the civil war. He also signed the letter to the pope against the admission of the Poitevins. The earl had charge this year of the manors of Aymer, Bishop of Winchester, then banished, and it was not until the 7th or 8th of Edward I that Earl Gilbert his son was called upon by a writ of "præcipe" to surrender them. In 1258 the abbot and convent of Tewkesbury paid to Master Henry de Stratford 10 marcs upon a suit between him and Roger Boyfield, one of their monks, on an agreement concerning grain entered into at Cardiff when Roger was prior there.

In 1259 Parliament met early in the year, and the jealousy between the personal influence of de Montfort, and the hereditary influence of Earl Richard, led to a personal altercation between them. Earl Simon was impatient of the Earl of Gloucester's moderate and somewhat temporizing policy, which was the more irritating that he was far too powerful to be set aside. "For you,

my Lord Earl of Gloucester," said he, "the higher your position above us all, the more are you bound to carry these statutes into effect." Indeed, Gloucester's whole conduct up to that time shews that he was not inclined to press too strongly on the king, with whom he kept up some sort of personal terms. 10 May he was named to arrange for the marriage of Henry's daughter Beatrice with John, eldest son of the Duke of Brittany, and 18 May the king had lent him certain artificers. 25 May, in this year or 1260, died James de Clare, probably a near kinsman. After the personal altercation with de Montfort, the earl seems to have gone abroad, as special ambassador to the King of France. Earl Simon, however, is joined with him in the patent, and a reconciliation was patched up between them by the Earl of Hereford and others, no doubt in consequence of the king's proclamation of the 28th of March. Gloucester sent Herwin, his senechal, through his domains to see that the statutes were obeyed, and it probably arose out of this that, 20 July, John de Cokefield was assigned to hear the "*Querela transgressionis et injuriæ*" by Earl Richard and his bailiffs in Gloucester, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge and Herts. In this and the preceding year the Patent Rolls shew that the earl had a licence to crenellate and fortify the Isle of Portland, and the towns and ports of Weymouth and Wyke. The crenellation probably related to "bow and arrow castle," a curious fortress of Norman date, still standing on the east cliff of Portland. He had also a licence to build castles at Walden in Essex, and at Southwood in Suffolk.

The summer of this year seems to have been occupied in a trial of strength between the two parties in the ruling council, de Montfort, and with him Prince Edward, seeing the necessity for speedy action, and Gloucester being indisposed to move. In October a remonstrance by the military tenants of the knightly class throughout England affirmed that the king had done his part, and it was for the council no longer to neglect to do theirs. The results were the Provisions of Westminster, drawn up in this month. The part taken by the Earl of Gloucester is indicated by the inclusion of his name among the twelve barons chosen to reform the state, as well as

in the later council of fifteen. He was not one of the twelve parliamentary commissioners, but appears among the twenty-four of "the aid." 7th November, by an agreement with the abbot of St. Edmund's he concluded a law plea which had lasted nine years and five days, and in the same month he either preceded or accompanied the king to France to take part in the formal resignation of Normandy, and to settle some other differences between the crowns, and during the short remainder of his life his influence was, on the whole, exerted in the king's favour.

In 1260 the state of affairs compelled Henry's return to England, and Earl Richard accompanied him. 30th April he met the barons at St. Paul's, and was reconciled to Prince Edward who had urged on the obnoxious reforms. At the meeting Gloucester and de Montfort again came to words, and besides their public difference de Montfort refused to give up his wife's lands in Normandy, and so endangered the recent understanding with France. The earl however to some extent still acted with de Montfort, and by so doing probably hampered his proceedings far more than had he openly taken the king's part. 30th May, the Welsh attacked Builth Castle, while Roger Mortimer, its keeper, was attending the king in London. He was officially acquitted of all blame. The castle, though small, was strong, as its earthworks still shew. In the summer Gloucester had a violent quarrel with Prince Edward, which caused great general anxiety, but, 22 June, harmony was re-established by the mediation of Henry and his brother, the king of the Romans. An agreement then drawn up is referred to in the Calendar of the Patent Rolls for the year, but the document itself is not given. In this year Ralph Basset, previously mentioned, died. About the same time, while the earl was at Tewkesbury, a certain Jew fell into a jakes and refused to be taken out because the day was the Sabbath. On this the earl, with a curious misconception of his Christian duties, refused to have him taken out on the day following, being the Christian Sabbath, and left him to perish. In this year he attended with the king, under a safe-conduct, the funeral of the French king's eldest son. In a letter from the earl to the king,

15 June, probably 1261, he states that his health prevents his attendance on the king in London. He acknowledges a letter from the king about Prince Edward's affairs, about which the earl has ordered J. Breton to meet him at Tewkesbury. 15 December, Philip de Leche, prior of Cardiff, died, and 27 June following was succeeded by William of Deerhurst.

In 1262, 7 May, it appears from the rolls of Parliament that the earl granted to Chancellor Walter de Merton the manors of Farley and Chessendon in aid of his new foundation, and by another document he informed Roger de Horn his seneschal at Tonbridge that he confirmed gifts to the same Walter by Roger at Malden, and by Philip Basset and Ela Countess of Warwick his wife 8 July, the earl recommends to the chancellor's favour Geoffrey de Aspoll his clerk, and John his brother.

In June the earl was taken ill at the table of Peter of Savoy, the queen's uncle, and was thought to have been poisoned. He died 15 (or 22) July, 1262, "ante statutum" at Eschemerfield in Kent, and was buried 28 July in the choir at Tewkesbury, on the right of his father, in a tomb which his widow encrusted with gold and precious stones, and which bore this somewhat superlative epitaph :—

*"Hic pudor Hippoliti, Paridis gena, sensus Ulissis,
Æneæ pietas, Hectoris ira jacet."*

The bishops of Llandaff and Worcester, eight to twelve abbots, and many barons, knights, and other considerable persons attended at the burying. His actual sword and spurs were suspended over his tomb, and to all praying for his soul's weal archbishop Boniface gave forty days' indulgence, and the bishops of Chester, Llandaff, and Worcester 20 days each, to which Worcester and Llandaff added ten more to all repeating ten Paternosters and three Ave Mary's within the year. In the Annals of Tewkesbury he is recorded as "*Vir nobilis et omni laude dignus.*"

1st Edward I. In the Memoranda roll Master John de Sethwille and John de Bruis (Braose) are named as executors of the earl's will, but those given in the Rolls of Parliament are Hugh Bigod and others. The debts

were considerable, both to the king and to private persons. One debt to the merchants was 480 marcs, and another to Hugh de Gundeville 300 marcs. 7th Edward I, Sethwille received £80. 12th Edward I, the account was still unsettled, both with the Exchequer and the general debtors and creditors. £127 8s. 4d. was allowed for the farm of the Barton of Bristol for eight to ten years. This possession therefore, severed from the castle, was still a part of the estate.

47th Henry III, Countess Maud had an assignation of dower which included Bedwin and Winchcombe, and the castles and manors of Usk, Trillech, and Clare. 52nd Henry III, she purchased the manor of Long Stratton in Norfolk. Their children were 1. Gilbert, 2. Thomas, a man of some mark in his day. He was governor of St. Briavel's castle in April, 49th Henry III, and custos of the royal forests in Essex, and for his conduct at Lewes made governor of Colchester castle. 51st Henry III, he went with Prince Edward to Palestine, and brought home four Saracen prisoners. 55th Henry III, he was governor of London, and soon afterwards went to Ireland with a roving commission to conquer all he could. Soon after his landing he was himself conquered by the charms of Julian third daughter of Maurice son of Maurice Fitz-Gerald by Emmeline daughter and heir of Sir Stephen Longspée a natural son of Henry II and Rosamond Clifford. With her he had Youghal, where the provost and borough adopted his arms, the one sealing with de Clare impaling Fitz-Gerald with a label, both dimidiated; the other with de Clare and Fitz-Gerald, each with a label, and each upon a heater-shaped shield. For the rest his career was unfortunate; he was thrice defeated, and finally killed by the Irish in 1287. His wife was alive in 1321. They left issue John, Gilbert, Richard, and Thomas.

3. Bevis, Benedict, or Bogo, born 11 or 21 July, 1248, was a canon of York. 4. Isabel, born May, 1240, said by Anselm to have been a nun at Barking, but who married at Lyons, 13 June, 1257, the Marquis di Ponte Ferrato, and was escorted thither by a Tewkesbury monk. 5. Margaret, born at Llantrissant, Christmas, 1250. She married Edmund, a younger son of Richard Earl of Cornwall, but his eldest by Saunchia of Provence. He was

regent during Edward's absence in Palestine. She was divorced, childless, 22nd Edward I, and compelled by the Bishop of Winchester "*vitam vivere cælibem.*" 6. Roesia, born 17 October, 1252, married Roger Mowbray. 54th Henry III, Roger Estraneus and Matilda his wife, and Matilda de Mowbray are bound to Matilda Countess of Gloucester in a fine if Roger son and heir of Roger de Mowbray does not marry Roesia, daughter of the countess. The witnesses are Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, Thomas de Clare, Henry de Sully, Paulinus de Kerdiff, Thomas de Bellocampo, Walter de la —, Hy. de Umfravile, knights, John Abbot of Tintern. The marriage took place in 1270. 7. Eglantine, b. 1257, died an infant, fifteen weeks old, and was buried at Tewkesbury. Another Bogo, well known in the reign of Edward I, seems to have been a cousin.

On the earl's death Nicholas Berkeley, and afterward Petronel de la Mare took charge of the Honour. The jurors on his inquisition were directed to make return "*de maneriis quæ idem comes nomine custodiæ et firmæ tenuit die obitus suæ.*" In Glamorgan he so held only Marcross, 46th Henry III.

Earl Richard died at a very critical period in his own career and in the history of his country. His rank and alliances, his immense property, and his power in the Welsh Marches made him a most important person, second only to Henry and his brother. The moderation of his character in a reign continually verging upon civil war placed him in opposition sometimes to one party, sometimes to the other, and probably neither Henry nor Edward, nor Simon de Montfort thought him to be relied upon. He died just when it would have been absolutely necessary to take a decided part, and had he lived that part would probably have been with the king. He was personally brave, and experienced in the use of arms and in warfare.

The Lordship of Glamorgan fell into the king's hands, the young earl being a minor. Humphrey de Bohun at once took charge, and reported to the king, who acknowledged his letter, and committed to him, 18 July, the castles of Usk, Tregue (?), Newburg, Kaerdiff, Lantrissan,

Langenyth, Neth, and all other fortalices and their appurtenances in Wales. Philip Basset is to move John de Breos to deliver up Lantrissant castle to de Bohun. 1 February, 1263, 100 marcs are allowed to store the castles. De Bohun reported to the chancellor that all was then quiet, and that he had equipped the castles. 4 August, 1262, the king directed Roger de Clifford to assist Humphrey. Enquiry is to be made into the late earl's tenure of the manor of Buckingham, which William de Breos alleged that his brother John had leased fraudulently. Bohun is to employ Robert de Meisy, Trahilo ap Hoel, and Ralph de Auste to make an extent or survey of the Lordship, and Walter and Henry de Sully are to have quittance concerning a summons in Devon, and whereas John de Sully had been enfeoffed by the earl of a carucate of land in — and one in Orchiston, he is to receive them from the escheator, 7 December. The extent was also directed of the lands in Gloucester, Essex, and Suffolk. The king announced the earl's death to Philip Basset the justiciary and to Walter de Merton the chancellor, and approved their doings at Amiens.

It appeared that William le Sor held of the "Honour of Tewkesbury" 13 fees. Also, 18 February, Griffin de Bedwas, who was detained in the king's prison at Cardiff, was to be delivered by the sheriff to M. Bezile, constable of Gloucester Castle.

De Bohun did not long act as custos. On account of debility he is to deliver up his charge to Walter de Sully, and 15 February, 1263, the king informed the barons, knights, and loyal men of Glamorgan that Walter de Sully had charge of the lands and castles of the late Earl of Gloucester, which had been held by Humphrey de Bohun, and, 15 June, a royal letter to Sully informs him that he was to be in charge for three weeks or a month, in fact until the earl had seizin. It appeared that William de Powyk had been constituted to take depositions in a dispute between the prior of Eweny and the abbot of Margam, concerning tenements in Llanmeuthin. Also the sheriff of Cardiff was directed to act as to certain crops belonging to the abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, at Treguz and Lancarvan, seized on account of a vacancy in that office. The Archbishop of Canterbury had placed

his seneschal in charge of Tonbridge castle, whence he is ordered to transmit six Welsh prisoners to the constable of Rochester castle. They were Thurk (?), Howel ap Meulyn, Meuth ap Leulyn, Tudor Howel, Howel ap Ivor (?) and Meureth.

THE PARISH CHURCH OF HAREFIELD, MIDDLESEX,
AND THE MANOR OF MOOR HALL

By W. F. VERNON.

The Church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, situated about half a mile from the village, in the centre of the park of Old Harefield Place, is built of flint and stone, with a square tower to the north west corner. When and by whom it was built is not known, but there was a church and cemetery at Harefield before 1200, *believed* to have been built by the Swanlands at a very early period. In the Cottonian MS., Nero E vi, in the British Museum, containing a large collection of documents concerning the lands of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, there are many referring to their property at Harefield, amongst them :

A Grant, by Beatrix de Bollers, sometime wife of Baldwin, the son of Geoffrey, with assent and consent of Geoffrey her son : to God and the Brethren of the Hospital of Jerusalem of the *advowson of the Church of Harefield* with all its appurtenances in pure and perpetual alms for the soule of Baldwin (son of Geoffry) her husband, her own soule, her son Geoffry and her other children, and her ancestors, into hands of *Richard Turcy Prior at Clerkenwell*. Also in augmentation of the said gift, one virgate of land half in the tenure of William de Conete, and half in that of Gladewin Fitzrobert.

Witness, Robert, Chaplain of Harefeld, and many others. There is no date to this document. But *Richard Turcy* was prior at Clerkenwell from 1180 to 1195.

Another Grant by Hugh de Clahull and Alina his wife, to God and Blessed Mary and St. John Baptist, and the House of the Hospital of Jerusalem and the Brethren of

the same, of 120 acres of land in Harefeld, that is to say, from Berdelesegrave to Pirifeld 30 acres of land; and all Bemerhurst as far as Burnam for 90 acres.

Witnesses	{	William Rector of the Church	}	Chaplains
		of Quowilton		
		Robert Vicar of Cuting		
		Master Adam of Fountains		
		Valentine Deacon		
		Richard Giffard Clerk, and many others.		

Confirmation by Hugh de Clahull and Alina his wife of the *advowson of the Church* of Harefeld, and of one virgate of land in Harefeld, which the Brethren of the Hospital held already by the grant and alms of Beatrix de Bollers and Geoffry her son. Confirmation by Gilbert Bishop of London of the *advowson of the Church of Harefeld* to the Brethren of the Hospital of St. John. (Gilbert Foliot, the bishop here mentioned, occupied the episcopal throne of London from 24th March, 1163, to the 18th February, 1188.)

Confirmation by William, Bishop of London, of the confirmation of his predecessor, Gilbert, of the Church of Harefeld, at the instance of Geoffry, son of Baldwin, and of his mother, Beatrix de Bollers, then vacant by the resignation of Robert, priest rector of the same, that the prior and his successors should possess the said Church, but *providing a chaplain* in the same with adequate maintenance.—Dated at London, A.D. 1219, the 15th of the kalends of March, and of the bishop's episcopate the 21st.

This William of St. Mary Church was consecrated Bishop of London 23rd May, 1199, and resigned his bishoprick on the 25th January, 1221.

Thus the Church of Harefeld came into the hands of the Knights Hospitallers of Clerkenwell. Many other grants of messuages and land were made to the knights, amongst others one by Alina de Clahull (now since her husband's death called Alina de Clere) of "One acre and manse next the *cemetary of Herefeld, north of the Church*, which is called Ancrehaglie."

Witnesses, Sir William Gilbert, Baldric my chaplain, Augustus vicar of Rislip, Richard Giffard, Clerk, &c., &c.

Alina also grants divers homages and services for the *maintenance of a Chaplain* in Herefield, and directs that upon the death of the chaplain another was to be appointed within fifteen days.

In 1246 Pope Innocent (IV) confirmed the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell in all grants made to them, and gave them exclusive spiritual jurisdiction over all their ecclesiastical property, with appeal only to the Pope. Thus exempting them from all ecclesiastical interference in England.

In 1338, a return was made from the Prior of England to the Grand Master of the Order, of all the manors in England belonging to the Knights Hospitallers. *Moor Hall* was returned as follows :

“ Camera de Herfeld, County of Middlesex. There is one messuage, three carrucates of arable land, twenty acres of meadow, four pound annual rent, a Church appropriated ; Pasture for twenty cows, twenty heifers and three hundred sheep, and the value is *Forty marks*. Nevertheless, it yields nothing, because in the time of Brother Thomas L'Archer it was granted to Brother William Brex for the term of his life, with no payment of rent.”

“ The officer now (1338) in charge is Brother Simon, of Minewood, Chaplain.”

In 1516, at a Chapter held at Clerkenwell, on the 24th April, Thomas Dowra, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England and the Brethren of the same Priory, granted and leased to farm to Rose Assheby, of Herfeld, in the County of Middlesex, widow, and to her assigns “ Our manor and rectory called Morehalle, in Harefeld aforesaid, with all and singular lands, meadows, grazings, pastures, rents, tenths, oblations, and other profits and commodities whatsoever to the aforesaid manor and rectory in any wise belonging or appertaining. All woods and underwoods, and trees, and escheats, beyond the value of forty shillings, goods of felons, &c., &c., excepted and reserved. From the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next ensuing to the end and term of the following forty years. A yearly rent of nineteen pounds of lawful English money to be paid to us at our treasury of Clerkenwell at two terms of the year, to

wit, at the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of St. Barnabas the Apostle in equal portions. The aforesaid Rose and her assigns shall find a fit *and proper Chaplain* continually performing Divine Service in the *Parish Church there*, and fitly ministering the Sacraments and Sacramentals to the parishioners there during the time aforesaid. They shall also support and undergo all other ordinary and extraordinary burdens incumbent on the manor and rectory aforesaid. The aids and other subsidies for the *Treasurer at Rhodes* only excepted. The aforesaid Rose and her assigns shall repair, sustain, and maintain, as often as shall be necessary during the term all the buildings and houses, as in roofing, thatching, and plaster work; and also all the walls, hedges and ditches, at their own proper cost and expense. The repairs of the buildings and houses in stone, timber, lead, glass, and covering of tiles only excepted, which are to be done at the expense of Us, the aforesaid Prior, and our successors. The aforesaid Rose and her assigns shall have in and of our wood and underwood there, housebote, haybote, cartebote, ploughbote, and fyrebote, within the said Manor reasonably without waste to be expended by the assignment and delivery of one of our servants to be deputed or assigned by us to this office. If it shall happen that the said farm of xix *lb.* a year be in arrear in part, or in all, after the term of payment specified above, for two months, then it shall be lawful for us and our successors to reenter into the said manor and rectory and into any part thereof, and to retain, hold, and repossess all and singular as in our former state; and totally to expel and remove the said farmers from the same, the present lease in aught notwithstanding. To all and singular payments as aforesaid, the said Rose and others oblige themselves to the aforesaid Prior and his successors in the sum of Forty pounds sterling by their bond, bearing the same date as these presents. In testimony whereof Our Common Seal and the Seal of the aforesaid Rose Assheby, widow, are to the present indenture alternately appended.

“Dated in our house of St. John of Clerkenwell near London in the year of Our Lord 1516 and of King Henry VIII, the eighth.”

Six years afterwards the above lease must have terminated in some way, for on the 18th September the 14th of Henry VIII (1522), the prior and the brethren granted another lease for forty-five years in the same terms (except that the rent was to be twenty pounds per annum instead of xix) to Rose Browne of Harefield, widow.

In 1534 the Order of the Knights Hospitallers at Clerkenwell was suppressed, and in 1538 a valor was taken of all the ecclesiastical property in the country, in order to enable the king (as it was expressed) to support the dignity of *Supreme Head of the Church*. The entry simply states that the yearly value of the property at Moor Hall was xx lb.

Attested by William Rugges, Auditor.

On the 18th August, 1542, the Commissioners of the Crown Office granted the manor of Moor Hall, together with Bayhurst wood, with all the messuages, grainges, mills, lands, meadows, pastures, &c., in the manor of *Moor Hall*; also the *advowson and right of patronage of Harefield Church*, and all tithes, oblations, &c., belonging to the same, to the king's beloved Robert Tyrwhitt, the same to be held in chief by the service of one twentieth part of one knight's fee, and an annual fee farm rent of forty shillings.

Witnessed by the king at Berehurst 18th August 1542.

In this grant there is not one word about a chaplain or that the grantee was bound to appoint one, or continue any spiritual privileges which the people had enjoyed under the Knights Hospitallers or their tenants.

The same year (1542) that Robert Tyrwhitt became possessed of this property, he sold the *manor with the advowson and right of patronage of Harefield Church with all the tithes, oblations, &c., and all other rights to John Newdigate, Sergeant-at-Law*, of Harefield manor and estate, which had descended to him by the death without issue of William de Swanland, whose sister Joanna had married (in the time of Edward III) Sir John Newdigate, who was knighted after the battle of Poitiers in 1356, and had a *fleur de lis* granted to him for a crest. From the year 1542 the Newdigates held both the manor of Harefield and the manor of Moor Hall, together *with the patronage of the Church of Harefield* until the year

1585, when the then John Newdigate, great grandson of the John Newdigate who purchased the manor of Moor Hall from Robert Tyrwhitt, exchanged his manors and estates of Harefield and Moor Hall and all his property in Middlesex except one farm called Brakenbury's, with Sir Edmund Anderson, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, for the estate of Arbury in the county of Warwick, where Sir Edmund had recently erected a quadrangular stone building upon the site of the dissolved Priory (of Black Canons) of Erdbury, which he had obtained from the heirs of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the grantee at the dissolution of the Priory (the valuation of the Priory at the dissolution was returned as £122 8s. 6d. per annum).

In 1601 Sir Edmund Anderson sold his estates and manors of Harefield and Moorhall to Alice, widow of Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby, who died in 1594, leaving three daughters but no issue male.

The Countess Alice had remarried in 1600 Sir Thomas Egerton the Lord Keeper, who became Viscount Brackley, and died in 1617. The Countess of Derby continued to reside at Harefield until her own death in 1637. She left by her will dated 24th December 1636, twenty-five pounds a year for ever (settled upon her estates) to the incumbent or curate of Harefield. She also built alms houses in the village for six old women, and left £36 a year for ever to be paid as follows: Five pounds per annum to each of the six old women; five pounds per annum to the incumbent as master, and one pound per annum for repairs.

The estate at Harefield with the manors and the *advowson and right of patronage of Harefield Church* went to Lady Derby's eldest daughter, Lady Anne Stanley, who had married Grey, 5th Baron Chandos, who died at Sudley 10th August 1621, and was succeeded by his eldest son, George Bruges, 6th Baron Chandos, who upon his mother's death in 1647, succeeded to the estate and manors of Harefield and Moorhall, for which he compounded with the Republican Parliament by the payment of £3,973.

In the MSS. at Lambeth of the Parliamentary Survey

of Church Lands returned in 1649, Harefield is stated to be:—

“ One parsonage impropriate to the Lord Chandos in fee, who hath the right of patronage, and we consider the same to be worth about £140 *a year* in small and great tithes, and find that, by order of the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall upon the said Lord Chandos his composition, he is to allow towards the maintenance of an able minister amongst us the yearly sum of £100, which is of late settled upon one Mr. Hoare our present Incumbent and constant preaching Minister.”

This Lord Chandos, the sixth Baron, married, as his second wife, Lady Jane Savage, daughter of Earl Rivers, and dying of smallpox in 1655, left his estates and manors of Harefield and Moorhall, *with the advowson and right of patronage of Harefield Church*, to his wife, who in 1657 married George Pitt of Strathfieldsay. In 1673 she made over all her estates and manors at Harefield to her husband, and the following year (1674) George Pitt sold the Harefield estate, the manors of Harefield and Moorhall, and the *advowson of the Church and such tithes* as arose from George Pitt's land, to Sir Richard Newdigate, Bart., of Arbury, so that after only ninety years alienation the Harefield and Moorhall manors and estates, together with *the advowson and right of patronage of the Church* again became the property of the Newdigates. But *the greater part of the tithes* were sold to different purchasers by George Pitt and his son between the years 1683 and 1695.

In 1674 Sir Richard Newdigate, after his purchase of the Harefield estate and the manors, &c., from George Pitt, altered the bequest of Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby concerning the alms houses at Harefield, and by deed enfeoffed several persons of Baldwin's Hall, and certain plots of land (named) that they might receive out of the rents, thirty-six pounds per annum over and above all rates and taxes, &c., to be applied to the charitable use mentioned. Up to 1854 there was no residence for the incumbent, a subscription was then made for building a good parsonage house. Charles Newdigate Newdegate, the lord of the manor and patron of the advowson, giving nine acres of land as glebe and a

considerable sum besides. In 1857 the building was completed and conveyed over to the use of the incumbent for the time being for ever. The total outlay, including the value of the land, legal expenses, &c., amounted to a little over £3,000.

In 1878 Charles Newdigate Newdegate, M.P., sold his Harefield estate (with the exception of Conduit Farm) to Henry Cox, of Hillingdon, Esq., but retains the manors of Harefield and Moorhall, together with the *advowson and right of presentation to the Church*, and also the appointment to vacancies in the Harefield alms houses and all his other rights, church fees, &c., he having to keep the building in repair.

RISE AND FALL OF THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM IN ENGLAND.

1048. Some merchants from Amalfi purchased a piece of ground in Jerusalem near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where they built two hospitals. One for males, dedicated to St. John of Alexandria; the other for females, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene. The persons who attended upon the sick were called "The Hospitallers of St. John." They followed the rule of St. Augustine.

1099. When Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders these Hospitallers were looked upon with great respect.

1113. Pope Pascal II took them under his protection. Gerard, a native of Provence, was at their head called "Guardian of the Poor," to him succeeded

1118. Raymond Dupuy, a knight of Dauphiny.

1130. The Hospitallers having become a powerful body joined with the Knight Templars in Palestine in protecting pilgrims and making war upon the infidel, as well as nursing the sick.

1187. The Hospitallers suffered a severe defeat in Palestine, their Grand Master, Roger de Molines, was left dead on the field, and in the next battle their new Grand Master was wounded and died the following day at Ascalon. Jerusalem then fell into the hands of Saladin

who allowed ten Hospitallers to remain for one year to take charge of the sick.

1311. The Pope excommunicated the Templars, and in 1312 ordered all their property to be given to the Knights Hospitallers, who had just become extremely popular by the capture of Rhodes, Fulke de Villaret being the Grand Master. (In 1324 an Act of Parliament gave all the Knight Templars' property in England to the Knights of St. John at Clerkenwell, but such was the opposition made to this, that it was not till 1334 that by a second Act of Parliament the Knights of St. John got possession). They held Rhodes until the 15th December, 1524, when they were driven out of it by Soliman II (the Magnificent). The knights then retired to Castro, Messina and Rome, but six years after the Emperor, Charles V, gave them *Malta*.

1534. In the 25th of Henry VIII an Act of Parliament dissolved the Hospitallers of St. John in England and handed over their property to the Crown. A part of this was restored to them under Queen Mary, but the Order in England was completely broken up, and the whole of what remained confiscated in the first year of Queen Elizabeth.

1558. They continued in Malta till it was taken by the French 24th November, 1798.

The dress of the Knights Hospitallers in peace time was a long black mantle, on the left side of which was a cross of white linen. In war they bore a red flag with a white cross upon it, and they wore a surcoat of scarlet in the form of a dalmatic, embellished before and behind with a white cross.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN BRITAIN IN
1878.

BY W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

Since my last annual paper on this subject, about a score of inscriptions and fragments have been made public, as recently found, some of them of considerable interest.

At the very commencement of the year, there was found at Carlisle, in Annetwell street, some twenty or thirty yards south of the great Roman Wall, the figure of a Genius carved in stone, bearing a cornucopia in the left hand, and holding a patera on the top of an altar with the right, as if in the act of pouring out a libation. The figure, which is a half length only, is, including the base, thirteen inches in height. On the base is a nearly obliterated inscription in three lines. All that can be made out of it appears to be :—

.
 C . .
 . . DOMVS . F

I am indebted to Mr. H. B. Dodd, of Carlisle, for a drawing of the figure, and to Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., for a copy of the inscription. The figure is very similar to Nos. 708, 711, and 775, in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*.

Since then a most interesting sculptured tombstone has been found in the same city, evidently of a worshipper of Mithras, but it bears no inscription.

At Cross Canonby (Cumberland) there was found during the summer, in digging a grave in the churchyard, the lower portion of a Roman inscribed altar. The only letters visible were :—

VS . PRAEFE
OH . I . DELM .

The altar has been erected to some Deity, whose name is lost, by tus, Praefect of the 1st cohort of the

Dalmatians (*Delmatarum*). This cohort, we know from other inscriptions, was in the reign of Antoninus Pius stationed in the neighbouring large *castrum* at Maryport. There are the lower portions of letters above * V S . P R A E F E * but too slight to be intelligible.

A stone has recently been added to the Newcastle-on-Tyne Museum, brought from Alnwick, and which is believed to have been discovered in the neighbourhood of the large Roman *castra* at High Rochester and Risingham. It is a portion of a tombstone, and bears a very puzzling fragment of an inscription as follows :—

M
CCA
XITVITA
. NA ANNIS
XXX . . .

In the first line there is a complete blank before and after the M, so that it has doubtless been part of the formula D. M. It seems as if the commencement of the others was broken off, unless it be the fifth. There are at least one or two letters missing at the commencement of the fourth line.

Near the camp at High Rochester also there was ploughed up in 1876 a stone with a pedimental head, and bearing the inscription :—

D. M.
FELICIO LIBERTI
VIXIT ANNIS
XX .

It is plainly erected to the shades of a young man whose name was either Felicius or Felicio. Dr. Hübner suggests the latter name, taking Felicio as an abbreviation for the genitive Felicionis, and thus making Liberti agree with it, the translation being : “To the divine shades of Felicio, a freedman. He lived twenty years.” On the assumption that Felicio is the dative of Felicius (a name which occurs at York) *Liberti* would have to be taken as the nominative plural, and the translation would be : “To the divine shades. To Felicius. The freedmen (erected this). He lived twenty years.” The stone is preserved at Redesdale Cottage, Otterburn, Northumberland (the residence of the late Mr. Lawson), and I am indebted to his heir, Mr. William Hodgson, for a sketch of it.

156 ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN BRITAIN.

At *Vindolana* (Chesterholm) on the Wall, a stone has been found inscribed:—

P O L V
L

This appears to have been all that ever was inscribed on the stone. Another stone, found at the same place, would seem to be Christian, and post Roman, and though not strictly in keeping with this paper, I venture to give its inscription which is fragmentary, as I doubt whether any other inscription of the same period has been found on the line of the Wall.

BRICOVVACLOS
IACIT
IS

The word *jacit* at once stamps it as post Roman, the name is truly barbaric and what word *IS* is the last portion of, it is impossible to say, unless (*ann*)*is* has been intended. These stones are now standing under the verandah at the cottage on the site of the station.

Another stone found earlier, and now standing, stacked with other remains in the garden, is the lower left hand corner of a large and important tablet, but unfortunately the only letters remaining are:—

SV
AG

The inscription has been flanked with *peltae* and other ornaments, fragments of which remain. It is probable, I think, that these lines when entire, read:—

SV(B . SEXTO . CALPVRNIO)
AG(RICOLA . LEG . AVG . PR . PR)

Inscriptions bearing the name of this Imperial Legate occur in this neighbourhood.

I am indebted to A. D. Berrington, Esq., Pant-y-Goitre, Abergavenny, for copies of these three last inscriptions.

At the recently excavated Roman *castrum* at South Shields several discoveries have been made. In June a

Monument to "Regina" found at South Shields.

fragment of red sandstone, about six inches long, which was found, bore the inscription :—

SENILIS

evidently the *cognomen* (a well known one) of some individual.

In October a jet ring was discovered, bearing upon it the inscription :—

OPS

But by far the most important discovery at this station took place on the 19th October, in digging for the foundations of a wall in Bath street. It was that of a tombstone, 4 feet 5 inches in height, and 2 feet 3½ inches broad, formed of a close grained red sandstone. It was found lying face upwards, and was unfortunately broken into several pieces. The stone is sculptured with the representation of an arched recess or alcove, above which is a pediment supported on either side by fine Corinthian columns. Within the recess, seated upon a chair of trellis work, is the figure of a female, with the face unfortunately broken off. The head appears to rest upon a pillow. With her right hand she seems (as Mr. C. Roach Smith says, correctly) to be opening a chest, on the front of which is carved a crescent, with other ornamental details. At her feet, on the left, is a cylindrical shaped basket containing a number of articles, which (judging from a tombstone found at Mayence) would probably be working materials. one of which latter she also holds in her left hand, being, as Mr. Roach Smith says, “at work,” like the lady in the Mayence example. On a plinth beneath the figure is a Latin inscription of three lines, and lower still a line in Palmyrene. The Latin inscription is this :—

D . M . REGINA . LIBERTA . ET . CONIVGE
BARATES . PALMYRENVS . NATIONE .
CATVALLAVNA . AN . XXX .

Immediately upon its discovery, Mr. Robert Blair of South Shields, the antiquarian *genius loci*, sent copies of the inscription to Dr. Hübner of Berlin, and to myself, simultaneously, asking for a reading of it. When compared, our readings were found to be identical, and (though several other readings have been proposed) I am glad to

say that the generality of antiquaries have adopted our view, including Dr. McCaul of Toronto (author of *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*). It is also adopted by Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, in a paper by him on this monument, in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 490-91. This reading was, "To the gods, the Manes. To Regina, freedwoman and wife, by nation a Catvallaunian (*aged*) 30 years. Barates, a Palmyrenian (*erects this*)." There is evidently an error in the first line, the ablative being used. The feminine form of the adjective *Catvallauna* at once shews that it is to Regina that the word applies, which is supported by the fact that it is in the normal position, as we have in other Britanno-Roman inscriptions, "Natione Grecus," "Natione Belga," and "Natione Brigans." The name "Barates" is a compound word, similar to that applied to St. Peter in the New Testament (Matthew xvi, 17, and John xxi, 15, *et seq*) Another example occurs in the name Bar-jesus (Acts xiii, 6); "Bar" simply meaning "son of."

Dr. Wright (professor of Arabic at Cambridge) reads the Palmyrene inscription as, "Regina freedwoman of Bar'ate. Alas." This agrees with the Latin inscription, whilst the version given by the Orientalists of Berlin, "Regina, deceased daughter of Haddai son of Ata," is a puzzle. From the Latin inscription it is plain that Regina was a British female, of the tribe of the Catvallauni, the capital of which, according to the geographer Ptolemy, was *Verolamium* (St. Albans). She was sold as a slave to Barates, who subsequently gave her her liberty (*Liberta*) and then made her his wife. The height of the figure is 34 inches, and underneath the stone were found the bones of some animal, believed to be those of a horse.

Dr. McCaul, in a letter to the writer, says of this stone, "Natione, I think, should be joined with *Catvallauna* not *Palmyrenus* It is evident from the name *Regina* that she must have been a large showy woman, from *liberta* and *Catvallauna* that she had been a native slave, from *Barates*, the *Bar* being equal to *Mac*, that he was a Jew, and from the position in which the inscription was found, indicating most probably his

residence, that he was a non-combatant, probably a sutler."

We cannot gather from the inscription whether *Regina* had any family.

At the same station various articles have been found, made from jet, some of them inscribed, and from the quantity of fragments, it is conjectured that a manufactory of articles in this substance had been established here.¹ Amongst the articles found is a small triangular shaped ornament, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 2 inches, bearing upon its face what appears to be the figure of a gorilla in a sitting posture, and holding with the right arm a club. At the feet of this creature, on the right, are three letters, and the same number occur on the left. They are ELA IAS.

That the gorilla was known to the Romans is very probable. My friend, Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., says on this point, "I see no difficulty in believing that the Romans knew the gorilla. The whole of Morocco was in their hands, Fez, &c. being Roman cities. Hanno the Carthaginian in his voyage (most early) describes him. He would easily be taken down into imperial territory. The search of the Romans after wild beasts was insatiable. See the *Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ*."

What the meaning of the above letters is I am at a loss to understand.

In addition to this there has been found a small ornament of jet, something like the shape of a tombstone, about two inches in height, on the upper part of which is the representation of a man falling head foremost, and underneath it the inscription :—

INSID
IIS. DI
ABOLI.

I consider this to be early Christian, and the figure intended to represent the descent of some unhappy soul to perdition. The inscription "*Insidiis Diaboli*" I would translate as "By the wiles of the Devil." *Diabolus* (in the sense here used) is certainly not a classic Latin word,

¹ I am aware that some archæologists have called these minor articles forgeries; but I hold the opinion that though not

of strictly Roman date, they are genuine antiques. The evidence as to their discovery seems satisfactory.

but in Christian times it would come into general use. There was probably a pair of these ornaments, the other one representing the ascent of a soul into bliss, with a suitable inscription. Dr. Bruce at a recent meeting of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries read this as a dedication, "to the wiles of the Devil." But there is little doubt, I think, that the ablative instead of the dative is intended. The idea that it is Christian seems, I think, further confirmed by the discovery of two small Latin crosses at the station, about two inches in height, one of stone the other of jet, both bearing upon the horizontal bar the letters REMO. One has a ring through it, for suspension round the neck or elsewhere.

As to the whole of these ornaments, Mr. Coote writes to me as follows :—

"The two portable crosses are of paramount value in an archæologic sense. The whole contents of the 'find' illustrate, in my opinion, each separately. The figure and its inscription, 'Insidiis Diaboli,' can only be Christian. The letters are not later than the fourth century. This Christian inscription determines in its turn (as being found in company) that the crosses are Christian of the fourth century, when we have evidences of crosses, portable and made by goldsmiths and artificers (Vide Martigny, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*; *sub voce* 'Croix') Your explanation of the figure and inscription, 'Insidiis Diaboli,' is incontrovertible."

Professor Hübner thinks the "Insidiis Diaboli" inscription seems "to be of the third century. Diabolus is perhaps no certain proof of the Christian religion, but may be of Gnostic origin." In this I cannot agree.

In June I received, through the courtesy of Mr. A. D. Berrington, a rubbing of a portion of a fine Roman tombstone found at a place called Battle, about a mile to the north-west of the large Roman fortress called the "Gaer," near Brecon, which I exhibited at the meeting of the Institute on the 5th July. (Vide *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 190). It is now in the possession of Mr. Baron Cleasby.

It is the left hand portion of the stone containing the commencement of the lines, which are—

DIS . M
 CAND
 NI . FILI
 HISP . VETT
 CLEM . DOM
 AN . XX . STIP . III . H . . .

All that we can *with certainty* gather from this, is that it was erected to the divine shades (*Diis Manibus*) of a soldier of the *Ala Hispanorum Vettonum*, whose *cognomen* was Candidus. The name of his father has been upon the stone, but —NI are the only remaining letters of it. He lived twenty years and served three, and probably, if the last letter (H) was followed by S. E., was buried where the stone was erected; but the H may have been followed by F. C.

The stone has since been engraved by Professor Westwood, in part iii. of his *Lapidarium Walliæ* (pl. 42, fig. 3), where he gives (at p. 76) a reading of Professor Hübner's, based, evidently, upon the tombstone of a soldier of the same *ala*, named Lucius Vitellius Tancinus, which was found in 1736, at Bath. This reading is—*Dis Manibus C. Juli Candidi Tancini Fili. Eq(uitis) Al(æ) Hisp(anorum) Vettonum C(ivium) R(omanorum), Julius Clem(ens) Domit(ius) Valens. H. F. Ann(orum) XX. Stip(endiorum) III . H. S. E.*; but it is mere conjecture, so far as the missing names are concerned. The stone has been highly ornamented, and is the first positive evidence of an auxiliary corps having been in South Wales.¹

At the commencement of the year, some workmen were engaged in removing a quantity of loose stones from a field that was being ploughed, on the property of Thos. Owen, Esq., of Rhyddgaer, in the parish of Llangeinwen, Anglesey, when they came upon three pieces of lead, which appeared to have formed part of a coffin. One was evidently the end, the others, portions of the sides.

¹ When I first saw this inscription, I was inclined to think that DOM, in the fifth line, stood for DOMO; but I could not reconcile it with the preceding word, CLKM, which would, in that case, have stood for the *tribus*. I consequently yielded to Dr. Hübner's reading. Since then, however, Dr. McCaul, in writing to

me, expresses the opinion that *Clemens Domitius* is incorrect, and adds—"In my opinion, instead of CLEM we should have had COL. EM; the DOM standing for DOMO, and COL. EM for *Colonia, Emerita, or Emeritensis*." From the rubbing of the stone, I cannot, however, trace any O between the C and L.

These latter bore inscriptions, the letters being in each case reversed. The inscription on one was

(H) CAMVLORIS

on the other—

CAMVLORISHOI

Both were incomplete, but had probably been originally identical. A piece has been torn off from one end of each. No trace of the bottom, the lid, or the other end of the coffin was found; but both the coffin and the stones above and round it had previously been disturbed, as the rescued pieces bore many marks of the ploughshare. The inscribed pieces were each 3 feet 3 inches long, 11 inches broad, and the lead was half an inch thick. The end was 2 feet 2 inches long, and 11 inches broad. The letters are 2½ inches high, and in relief. What their meaning is, seems doubtful. *Camuloris*, as a proper name, occurs on a stone, in the church of Stackpole Elidyr, in Pembrokeshire. There are the remains of a square Roman camp at Rhyddgaer; and coins, Samian ware, and other kinds of pottery have been found. The soil around the spot where the coffin was found was very dark, and had all the appearance of containing much animal matter. Fragments of tile, pottery, bones and ashes, were mixed with it. The inscribed fragments are preserved at Rhyddgaer House, by Mr. Owen.

There is preserved in the museum at Caernarvon, the handle of a Roman vessel, found at the Roman station there, bearing an inscription, which I venture here to insert, although properly coming under the head of potter's marks. It is

VR † FES

It has been suggested that what I read as TI ligulate, is a cross. This is, however, in my opinion, quite erroneous. I take it to be the name of a potter whose name, with a slight variation, occurs upon the handle of an amphora, found at Binchester, and now preserved in the Newcastle Museum. In this case it is VR † FI.

At Bath during some excavations into the ancient Roman *cloacæ*, still partially used as drains, amongst other remains, there was found the fragments of an

inscription, which, from the size of the stone, the size and shape of the letters, and the peculiar triangular shaped stop, seems to be another portion of the fragmentary inscription found in 1790, belonging to the smaller building near the Great Temple. This latter commenced C. PROTACIVS, &c. The recently found fragment contained only the letters—

T A
E T.

It was found, as I have previously stated in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. xxxv, p. 100) in the same neighbourhood as the 1790 inscription. The letters evidently form the commencement of two lines.

In his list of miliaries found on the “*Via Cambriæ*,” Dr. Hübner gives (No. 1159) what is variously known as the Newton Nottage, or Port Talbot stone. It is inscribed on three of its sides, but of the three inscriptions Dr. Hübner only gives the most perfect one (that to the Emperor Gordian), which in fact until recently was the only one published. But in the *Lapidarium Walliæ*, pl. 27, figs. 3 and 4, Professor Westwood gives engravings of the other inscriptions on the stone which are much obliterated. The letters *seem* to be (though doubtless some of them are wrongly given) these:—

I M M	I M P P C
C A E .	D I O
N O . .	C L E T I
L . . .	A N O
F . . A	M A R C
G	A V R E
	O A

The second of these is evidently of the reign of Diocletian, but if the reading I M P P in the first line is correct, his colleague in the empire, Maximianus, has also been mentioned in the inscription. Of the first of these nothing can be made out, owing to its imperfect state.

At Gloucester, on a fragment of a flue tile recently found, there occur the letters:—

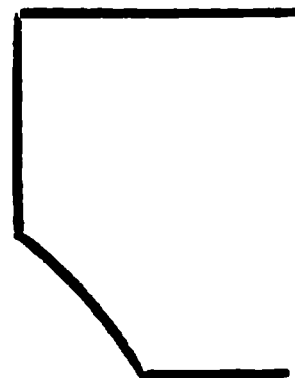
C R P G I
C * N N I

There has recently been presented to the Chester Museum, by Mr. Frederick Potts, a fragment of a very fine inscription found in that city, but under what cir-

cumstances, I am ignorant. I take it, from the shape of the stone, to have originally adorned the front of a temple. The letters are four inches in height, and are of the best period. They are :—

BAVGG E

and have no doubt been part of an inscription to the divinities of the emperors, and to some other god, (NVMINI)B.AVGG.E(T.DEO). From the fineness of the letters, combined with the fact that at the time it was erected there was a plurality of emperors (AVGG occurring instead of AVG), it was probably carved either in the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (A.D. 161 to 169), or in that of Severus and Caracalla (A.D. 198 to 211). The side section of the stone is this:—
I am indebted to Mr. G. W. Shrubsole of Chester for a correct copy of the inscription. Mr. Potts had previously informed me of its existence.



At the large Roman station at Malton there has been found a bronze patella, on the upper surface of the handle of which was inscribed:—

ALPICVS.F

and beneath it a number of letters are rudely made by a series of small punctures, which Dr. Hübner reads as:—

L . SERVENI . Q . L . SVPER . V^sPERI.

The first of these is simply *Alpicus F(ecit)*, but as to the second, Dr. Hübner *may* be correct, though I would not from the rudeness of the letters give a distinct reading. Some of the letters he gives are no doubt correct. This patella is in the possession of the Rev. Canon Greenwell at Durham.

At York, in October, a tile was found inscribed:—

ÆVI SVS

which Dr. Hübner reads as *Ur-sus*.

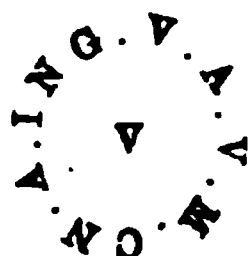
Canon Raine has also recently made known the copy of an inscription on a Roman tile found at York, preserved in the MSS. of Francis Drake, the antiquary, author of *Eboracum*. The tile itself is now lost. The inscription is :—

<POLIONIS
FELICITER

Dr. Hübner suggests that instead of the centurial mark at the commencement of the inscription the letter L was intended.

There have also been found at York during the year, as Canon Raine informs me, "a few unintelligible pieces of an inscription which has been shattered into fragments." I hope however to eventually obtain the letters on these pieces, and endeavour to form some idea of the inscription when entire.

At Colchester during the past year Mr. Geo. Joslin informs me that the only inscribed Roman article found (exclusive of potter's marks) during the past year was a glass bottle of graceful shape, one of a group of eight, bearing upon the bottom a circle of letters of which the following is a copy:—



From this it is very difficult to extract any meaning. If we take ING as an abbreviation of the name *Ingenius*, and the next letters as *V(ixit) A(nnos) v. M(enses)*, the number of months is wanting. Should this be supplied by the centre v? And if so, are CN and A to be taken as the abbreviations of *præ nomina*.

I should have included in the South Shields inscription, a small piece of bone with what appear to be two Syriac or other Oriental characters upon it.

There is an inscription given by Professor Hübner (No. 150 in his work), which is taken from an engraving in Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* (pl. 5, fig. 9.) It was found at Llanio, in that county. I am not sure whether the stone is not the same as that given by Sir R. C. Hoare, in his *Giraldus Cambrensis*, vol. i, *Introduction*, p. cliii. If so, Meyrick and Dr. Hübner give very different copies of the inscription to the latter author, who, as I have stated in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iv, 4th series, p. 116, is also partially incorrect. Sir R. C. Hoare gives in his text, the inscription as COH. II. A ... GFVP, which he expanded as "Cohors secunda (legionis) Augustæ fecit quinque

passus." But, as I pointed out in the vol. above named, the first part of this should certainly be "Cohors secunda A....." the nationality of the cohort being obliterated. I have lately received from Professor Westwood, who saw the stone in the summer of 1878, a copy of the inscription (which consisted of two lines) as far as it is visible. It is

COH . II . A

Beyond A in the first line, however, the tops of the letters sr are plainly visible in his drawing; and thus shews at once that the COH . II . ASTVRVM, well known in Britanno-Roman epigraphy, was intended.

Of inscriptions, previously found and omitted by Dr. Hübner, in his large work, there are still a few fragments to be added. One of these is a portion of (apparently) a tombstone, found at Cirencester, and now at the museum there. It is

I P H
 N I

The portion of a letter before the PH would seem to have been part of the letter v.

Another fragment, of which only the letters

S E —

remained, was found in a well, at the Roman station of Segontium (Carnarvon)—*Arch. Camb.*, vol. i, 1st series, p. 76. It was only two inches long, and of stone.

The altar found at Gloucester, which I thought, when compiling the list of inscriptions for 1876 (*Journal*, vol. xxxiv, p. 148), might be dedicated to Mercury, I have since found from a rubbing should be,—

D E O
 GENIOCHOVCNC
 . . . ORIVENDVS
 • A • I .

and the reading of the first two lines, *Deo Genio Cohortis Cunctæ* (*Vide Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 101).¹ On the other hand, an inscription, found at Greta Bridge, Yorkshire, omitted, as I stated (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 74) in my 1877 list, by Dr. Hübner, from

¹ Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., has since drawn my attention to a passage in Plautus, in which *cunctus* is used in the same

way. It is—"Fac istam cunctam gratiam."

his list of Britanno Roman Inscriptions, has been I see included in his list of *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae* (No. 187, p. 68). Dr. Hübner considers it post Roman and Christian.

One other has to be added to the list of inscriptions found and again lost without being published. In Coxe's *Monmouthshire*, vol. i, p. 115 and note, it is said that at Cilsant "now called Pentre-bach, two miles from Llantarnam, now a farm house." "On a freestone of the great chimney in the hall, is part of a sepulchral inscription, erected to the memory of Vindutius, a Roman soldier of the second Augustan Legion, aged 45. Pentre-bach is as the crow flies about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles W.N.W. of Caerleon. Mr. A. D. Berrington has recently searched this house for the stone, especially at the place indicated, but in vain. It has been removed, and as it does not appear to be in the museum at Caerleon, it is either in some private collection, or has been lost.

This completes, so far as I am aware, the additions to Dr. Hübner's list, up to the present time.

At Leicester there was found in June, 1869, whilst excavating in a cellar at 45, High Street, a drinking vessel of Castor ware, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by 7 inches in diameter, of a dull slate colour. On the exterior, laid on in slips of white clay, in relief, are scroll ornaments, together with several letters (some wanting) about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in height. Were the vessel entire there would be space for about nine letters, but only five remain, which are :—

ME•I•••VI.

At the same town there was found in August, 1872, whilst excavating in Sanvy Gate, another vessel of Castor ware, of the same colour, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, bearing upon it in slip (with other ornaments) the word :—

VITA

It was found between eight and nine feet deep, close to the head of a human skeleton.

Both these vessels are now in the Leicester Museum, but they appear to have escaped Dr. Hübner

There seems to have been an inscription on the base

RECENT DISCOVERIES AT ILIUM.

Communicated by Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN.

Ilium, May 17th, 1879.

I recommenced the excavations here on the 1st March, and have worked very hard ever since, employing constantly from 130 to 150 workmen and some horse-carts. Thus I have succeeded in bringing to light large portions more of the second city in succession from the virgin rock, which I identify with Troy, and now not even one quarter of it remains buried. I have also excavated, to the very rock, my great trench (represented on p. 143, Plate VI, in my *Troy and its Remains*), and visitors can now perceive at a glance that the ruins of the first and oldest city, which is built on the layer of earth (humus), one foot thick, which covered the rock, have the enormous thickness of 23 feet. It must have taken ages to form such an immense layer of *débris*. Nay, in this first city I find, in successive layers, three distinct kinds of pottery, which seem to indicate as many different nations. Immediately on the virgin soil to about 3 feet above it, I find that beautiful black lustrous pottery with incised patterns filled with white clay, which never occurs in the higher layers. Then follows a layer 15 or 16 feet thick, which contains only unornamented lustrous black pottery; the bowls have in the rim long horizontal tubular holes, the vases on both sides double perpendicular tubular holes, for suspension with a string. This pottery continues in the third layer of the first city, but it is here intermixed with many other types, which all occur in the layer, 8 to 10 feet thick, of the second city. In the first city all the house walls are built of small stones joined with clay, and many of them can be seen in my trenches at various heights; they have still retained in many places their clay coating both on the outside and the inside. But all these walls can only be the substructures of wooden houses, because there is no trace of bricks in the first city. In the second city, on the contrary, the immense masses of *débris* of sun-dried bricks, with which the ruins of the houses are filled, can leave no doubt that such bricks entered largely into the construction; nay, many houses of the second city consisted exclusively of them; but for the most part the house walls are here also of small stones joined with clay. The inhabitants of none of the four pre-historic cities here can possibly have used planks for their floors, for they had no saws except those of silex, 1, 2, or 3 inches long, which, in my opinion, can have only served to make ornaments of bone, and a plank is a thing that cannot possibly be made with stone axes or bronze battle-axes, the only kinds of axes found here, because nearly all trees, and particularly the pines of this country, have their wood in form of a helix, and can therefore never cleave in a straight line. Thus it is evident that the inhabitants were forced to use for their floors beams, which were probably not cut at all on the sides, and to make the floors even, those beams were covered with a thick layer of clay. In fact, that it was so and not otherwise is proved by the pre-historic houses excavated on the islands of Thera (Santorin) and Therassia from below three layers of pumice stone

and volcanic ashes. The inhabitants of those houses not having at their disposal beams of sufficient length to reach from one wall to the other, put a large stone in the midst of the rooms, and on that stone a thick beam of wood, on which all the other beams were made bearing. Judging from the vast masses of *débris* here, we may take it as an undoubted fact that the Trojan houses were many stories high, and only in this manner, and by the number of floors composed of beams in each house, can we explain the fearful ravages of the conflagration of the second city, whose *débris* are all calcined and intermixed with red ashes; the sun-dried bricks exposed to a white heat have got the appearance of burnt bricks, and have in many instances been partly fused; but they are not solid and easily crumble away. Traces of such a conflagration are peculiar only to the second city.

I have had here for a month the assistance of the celebrated Professor Rudolf Virchow from Berlin, and I have still with me the famous orientalist, Emile Burnouf, late director of the French school at Athens. I have, in company with them, carefully studied the geology of all the prehistoric cities here, and we have found that the people never destroyed the substructures of the old houses, but merely filled them up and covered them with old *débris*, ashes or clay, which they consolidated in a marvellous manner by interposing portions of clay dissolved in water. By this manner even the layers of red wood ashes were rendered solid, and gave a perfectly safe base to lay the foundations of new houses upon. Some of my severe critics have pretended that the house walls here were made of small stones joined without any ligament. But this is a mistake: not only all the stones, but even the sun-dried bricks were joined with clay.

By their strange process in raising the ground the Trojans rendered the site of their town exceedingly uneven, and I would call the attention of visitors to my trenches, in which the undulating ground may best be seen.

Nearly all the objects of which my collection in the South Kensington Museum is composed were now again found, but only in very small quantities, and the antiquarian treasures of Troy may now fairly be understood to be exhausted, for all the conspicuous parts of the ancient city (I mean Troy, the second city) are now excavated, and what little remains are only the dependencies of the houses. Of treasures of gold jewels I only found two, both in presence of Prof. Virchow and Mr. Burnouf. The first was found in the eastern part of the town, in a depth of only 13 ft. 4 in., and still it most decidedly belongs to Troy proper, because, in building the Minerva Temple, the later Æolian Ilians seem to have cut away from that part of the hill a large portion, at least 6 to 7 feet deep, from the surface, so that in some parts the ruins of the Greek city are on a sudden succeeded by those of burned Troy, whereas everywhere else the ruins of two distinct prehistoric cities intervene between the latter and the later Ilium.

The first treasure was found in a wall that had evidently fallen from an upper storey; it consisted of three gold disks in the form of flowers, $8\frac{1}{2}$ centimètres in diameter, and are almost identical with No. 251 in my "Mycenæ;" they are of *repoussé* work. Further, a large breast-ornament of gold, 45 centimètres, or 18 in. long; the upper part, of basket form, is $4\frac{1}{2}$ centimètres long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ broad, and consists of 25 gold wires, beaten flat and soldered together, bent over and joined by means of a small gold

plate, 3 millimètres broad, and by two gold nails, the small gold plate being decorated with an incised zig-zag ornamentation. To the upper border were soldered two long gold hooks, the wire of which has not less than $6\frac{1}{4}$ centimètres in length, but one of these hooks is lost. The one side calculated to appear outside is ornamented with three rows of rings soldered on, which are filled up with a substance of white glass, which no doubt once had another colour, and may have been blue. Above the upper row, at the foot of each hook, is another such gold ring with a glass pearl. At the lower end is soldered a gold plate with ten holes, from which are suspended ten chains, consisting of rings of thin gold wire, turned round so that each member link of the chain is of double wire, and on each member link is fixed a round gold leaf, 5 millimètres in diameter; each gold chain is composed of 155 such member links and 155 such leaves, and there are consequently 1550 links and as many gold leaves. At the end of each chain is suspended a small gold idol, $3\frac{1}{2}$ centimètres long, with two eyes well indicated; the latter are of *repoussé* work, and around them is a circle of points, which makes them very conspicuous; the body of each idol is ornamented with seven horizontal rows of points. There are besides the fragments of seven much larger and thicker idols, whose eyes are likewise encircled by points; the foreheads have two horizontal rows of points, the body about ten such rows. The lower part of the body, instead of being round, is quadrangular, and ornamented with four lines of points, between which are three eyes with circles of points, all of *repoussé* work. The curious thing is that these seven idols have no holes by which they might have been suspended. Together with this ornament were found the fragments of a small tube of a white glassy substance, around which a grey spiral is painted.

The second treasure was found on the great circuit wall to the north west of the gate, at a depth of 33 feet below the surface of the mound. It consists of seven small gold ornaments in form of boats, with a number of points; one gold ear-ring ornamented with three rosettes, from which are suspended five chains covered with leaves, and at the extremity of each of them is suspended an idol; another perfectly similar gold ear-ring ornamented with three rosettes, from which, however, are suspended only four chains with idols; a gold ear-ring with three rosettes, but without pendants; two enormous massive gold ear-rings, each formed of seven serpents; two small gold ear-rings, formed of five serpents; one very small gold spiral ring for hair locks; a gold frontlet; ten gold ornaments similar to No. 297 in my "Mycenæ;" two immense gold bracelet, very heavy, consisting of very thick gold wire, and having only at one extremity an ornament in shape of a flower bud. Further, a mass of gold beads and rings; six silver ear-rings of the same form as the golden ones, to which are fixed numerous gold beads and an ornament like No. 297, "Mycenæ;" a large silver bracelet, to which are fused numerous beads of gold; hundreds of silver rings, fused together in the great fire; and, finally, a large spoon of silver of a peculiar form, and unique in the world; it has the shape of a trowel, and has inside an embossed ornament perfectly resembling a Trojan shield (see the engraving, No. 234, Plate xiv, in my *Troy and its Remains*); it has a long handle, which is ornamented with a tree, and terminates in a ring; this spoon seems to have served for libations, as it can never have served for domestic purposes.

NOTES ON A BRASS OF ROBERT DE HAITFELD AND ADA HIS WIFE, OWSTON CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.¹

By the Rev. C. R. MANNING.

This interesting little brass remains on the floor at the east end of the north aisle of Owston church, near Doncaster. The architecture of the church is of the Early Decorated style, with Early Perpendicular additions. The chancel has been beautifully restored by the Cooke family, to the memory of one of whom there is a monument by Chantrey. In the north wall of the chancel is a very fine canopy of stone foliations, under a triangular head. This, no doubt, covered a founder's tomb, and it has the peculiarity of being pierced through the wall close to the ground, so as to form an opening into a destroyed north chapel, with mouldings equally rich on both sides. A modern wall has been built up outside, leaving a space so as to preserve it, and a brass to the memory of Lady Helena Cooke inserted. The date of this tomb would be about 1270. Between the nave and chancel is a well-carved wooden screen, of about the date of 1500. The pillars of the nave on the north side are Early Decorated, except the easternmost one, which is loftier, and of about the year 1380 to 1400. At this point the aisle has been enlarged at the same date, no doubt for a chapel, and the windows in it are good Late Decorated or Early Perpendicular in style, with square heads. Robert de Haitfeld, whose brass I am noticing (which was put down at his wife's death in 1409, he being then surviving), desires in his will, made October 15th, 1417, and proved November 2nd following, to be buried in the chapel of S. Mary, in the church of All Saints at Owston, newly constructed. Hunter in his *History of the Deanery of Doncaster*, ii, 481, supposes that this was the destroyed chapel on the north side of the chancel; but there seems no reason to doubt that it was this one at the east end of the north aisle, where the brass still remains.

This brass has all the characteristics of its date, in the fineness of the lines, delicacy of execution, and well disposed drapery and position of the figures. The male figure is on the left of the female, and their right hands are clasped, in token of faithful love, as the inscription below expresses, "en droiturel amor foies." His head is bare, with his hair turned over the ears. He wears a coat with loose sleeves, escalloped at the wrist, tightly buttoned at the neck, slightly split up in front, and extending to the ancles. Round his neck is a collar of an order, probably of Esses, but the engraving is not very distinct. His dress is fastened at

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Annual Meeting at Northampton, Aug. 5th, 1878.

Brass of Robert de Hastfeld and Ada his Wife

the waist with a long girdle, the ornamented end of which he is holding up with the forefinger and thumb of his left hand, the other fingers being extended. At his left side hangs his dagger, or anelace, in an ornamented sheath. His boots are pointed, and his feet stand on a flowered ground.

His wife, Ada de Haitfeld, has her head covered with a veil, showing only a caul of hair on each side the forehead, with a band of jewels across. Round her neck is a similar collar to that of her husband. She wears the tight fitting dress of the time, covered to the ground with an ample flowing mantle. The sleeves are quite plain and extend to the fingers. Her left hand is on her bosom, the first and third fingers being bent, and the other two extended, the thumb being inserted in the fold of the dress, or holding the cord which unites the mantle across the breast.

The inscription at the foot of the figures is in old French, and has some peculiar expressions. Mr. Joseph Hunter, in his account already referred to, was not able to decipher all of it, and has left some blanks. A more accurate description is preserved in the valuable collection of MSS. of Yorkshire history in the library of F. Bacon Frank, Esq., of Campsall Hall, the adjoining parish. Hunter prints it so as to make the first four lines to rhyme. It will be seen that some of the expressions are very unusual, and may require amendment:—

“ Robert de Haitfeld gist ycy
et Adẽ sa fẽme ovesq3 [*avec*] lui,
en droiturel amo^r foies. Pleni
dieu de louir aumes eit mẽy.

Et y fait a remẽbrer q̃ la dite Ade finist p^rmer En mois de juin, le
tieres jo^r & en lan de n^re seign^r Mill^e CCCC & IX. Et finest aussi Ades
le dit Roberd enap's, En mois de . . . le . . . jo^r. Et
en lan de n^re siegn^r Mill^e CCCC &”

The word “finest” for “died” is, I think, very unusual. “Ada’s said Robert,” if that is the meaning, is also curious. “Enap’s” is *en apres*. It will be seen that the date of Haitfeld’s own death was never filled in. This very frequently happened; but Hunter has the following pertinent remarks on the subject:—“It is to be remembered that in those times it would not be easy to find in the country a person who was capable of executing the nice engraving which is found in our antient brasses, and that to complete the inscriptions would have required that the brasses should be separated from the paviour to which they had been firmly rivetted, and sent probably to a great distance.”

Original Document.

PETITION BY THE LADY ISABELLA, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD, DAUGHTER OF EDWARD III, ON BEHALF OF HERSELF AND HER DAUGHTER THE COUNTESS OF OXFORD, TO THE COUNCIL OF RICHARD II, RESPECTING THE RENTS OF LANDS AT KENDAL, &c., UNJUSTLY SEIZED BY ALICE PERERS.

Communicated by JOSEPH BAIN, F.R.A., Scot.

“ Au Conseil nostre Seignur le Roi monstre est qe come nadgairs le Roi Edward ayel a nostre dit Seignur le Roi dona et granta a Ingelram de Coucy Conte de Bedeford et a Dame Isabella sa compaignie fille a dit Roi Edward la reversion des diverses seignories manoirs terres et tenementz en Kendalle et ailleurs queux Johane qe feut la femme Johan de Coupeland tenoit a terme de sa vie a avoir et tenir as avantditz Conte et Contesse et a les heirs de lour deux corps engendrez Et qe par defaute dissue la reversion au dit Roi Edward et a ses heirs pour touz iours; vient Alice Perers et ad ouste par subtilite et saunz cause resonable la dite Contesse de les avantditz seignories, manoirs, terres et tenementz par colour des chartres et lettres qe un Lombard en noun le dit Conte fist a la dite Alice et as autres par un aan apres ce qe le dit Conte departist hors d’Engleterre; par virtue des quelles lettres la dite Alice prist eut seisine puis la mort le dit Roi Edward apres la Feste de la Nativite de Saint Johan le Baptist darrein passee, qe plesse au dit Conseil comander lettres de Prive Seal au Duk de Lancastre qil mande a son visconte de Lancastre et ad autres ses ministres destre aidant a Robert Sturmy, Seneschalle, et a Robert Stirkland, Receviour la dite Contesse en les seignories avantditz et as autres ses ministres illoeqes qils pussent tenir courtes et lever et coiller les rentes et fermes et faire ce qappartient a lour offices pour le profit la dite Contesse et pour contreester la nounresonable entree et presence la dite Alice nient eyant regard a les avantditz chartres et lettres faites par le dit Lombard tant en desheritance nostre dit Seignur le Roi, come de la dite Contesse et de sa fille la Contesse d’Oxenford, eyant consideration qe la dite Contesse de Bedeford nest qe soule femme en Engleterre et ne sciet coment avoir aide et recouvrir sinon qen la tres gracieuse seignorie de nostre dit Seignur le Roi et son bon Conseil.”

[Abstract.]

It is shewn to the Council that the late King Edward, grandfather of the King, granted to Ingelram de Coucy, Earl of Bedford, and Lady Isabella his wife, the King’s daughter, the reversion of diverse lordships manors, &c., in Kendal and elsewhere, which Johanna, the widow of John de Coupeland, held for her life, and failing issue of the Earl and

Countess, the reversion to go to King Edward and his heirs for ever ; that Alice Percers had ousted by subtilty and unjustly, the said Countess from these lands, &c., under colour of charters and letters, which a Lombard in the Earl's name, made to Alice and others for a year after the Earl left England, under which Alice took seisine since King Edward's death, after the Feast of the Nativity of S. John Baptist last past. The Council are "prayed" to direct Letters of Privy Seal to the Duke of Lancaster to order his Sheriff of Lancaster and others his servants to assist Robert Sturmy, Steward, and Robert Stirkland, Receiver to the Countess, and her other servants, to hold courts, collect the rents and duties, &c., and contest the unreasonable entry and presence of Alice ; paying no regard to the foresaid charters and letters made by the said Lombard, as much in disinherittance of our said Lord the King, as of the Countess and her daughter the Countess of Oxford, considering that the Countess of Bedford is but a lone woman in England, and knows not how to have help and to recover, unless in the most gracious Lordship of the King and Council.

In a late number of the *Journal*,¹ I had the honour of contributing an unprinted grant, by Ingelram, Earl of Bedford, to his father-in-law, of the reversion to all lands which Johanna, widow of John de Coupeland, held for her life. As the cause of granting was not mentioned, and the name of the lands was not given, the object of the grant was not apparent. Since then, the discovery of the foregoing petition, and the light thrown on it by other documents referred to in Mrs Everett Green's *Princesses of England*, clears up the matter. The lands conveyed in that Grant are shown by this petition to have been in Kendal ; and were, no doubt, parts of the inheritance of the Lindsays of Lamberton, which came into the Coucy family by the marriage of an heiress, Christina de Lindsay ; though the rights of her descendants had been suspended during the wars with France. And they were conveyed by Ingelram to his father-in-law on the occasion of his being created an earl in 1367, shortly after his marriage.

It is also clear, from the recital in a Patent of Richard II. in favour of his aunt Isabella, dated 27th November 1377 (printed in Mrs Green's *Lives*, vol. iii, Appendix, No. vii), that Edward I. had re-granted the reversion of the Kendal lands (with many others) to his daughter and son-in-law ; and that these were life-rented by Johanna de Coupeland. She only died shortly before 12th December, 1375 (*Rot. Scot.*, vol. i, p. 973 a) ; her husband, who was a trusted servant of Edward III. for his services at Neville's Cross, having been slain in 1362 (Mrs. Green's *Lives*, vol. iii, p. 142, note 4).

As Mrs. Green points out, the Lord of Coucy, a French subject by birth, and only bound by matrimonial ties to the country of his wife, had a difficult part to play when war broke out between England and France. He seems to have been an affectionate husband, and for some years after 1368, took the middle course of serving under the Pope, in the Italian wars. But after the death of Edward III. he formally renounced his allegiance to the English king, and gave up his Order of the Garter, in a letter dated 26th August, 1377, addressed to Richard II., which will be found in Rymer's *Fœdera*. Then, as a matter of course, the various lands, &c., held by his wife and himself in England were forfeited, and on

¹ Vol. xxxv, p. 166

her petition to Parliament they were conveyed by the already referred to Letters Patent, to the Archbishop of York and other trustees for her benefit. But it was provided that this was only to be so while she remained in England, the possessions lapsing again to the Crown on her going abroad to join her husband. The Patent also carefully excepts from the re-conveyance many possessions formerly held by the spouses, viz.: the Castle and Honour of Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight, certain rents of the Town of Rochester, and rents and castle ward of the Castle of Rochester, and others too important to be entrusted to the keeping of an enemy.

The Lombard, whose proceedings are questioned in the present petition, was probably a creditor of the Sire de Coucy. But how the notorious Alice Perers came to be concerned in the affair is not explained. Mrs. Green appears to think that the fact of her being so much about the late king, was a reason for De Coucy's absenting himself from England. If so, it is singular that his agent the Lombard, who must have had some sort of colour for his proceedings, was empowered to deal with her to the detriment of the princess and her daughter.

The document by the way has an indorsation, to the effect that since it is found on record that the lands were held of the king in chief, and the reversion to him if the earl and countess died childless, and no license of alienation had been found in the Chancery, therefore the Council resolved to seize the lands in the king's hand, by briefs in general terms, *i.e.*, "certis de causis," saving all rights; and if any one was aggrieved, let him sue the Council and right would be done.

It is one of a numerous and not much known class of documents—the Petitions to the King in Council, preserved in the Public Record Office. They amount to many thousands, and are often extremely interesting.

Roman Monumental Stab found near Carlisle

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 6, 1879.

The REV. SIR TALBOT H. B. BAKER, BART., in the Chair.

Mr. R. S. FERGUSON communicated the following notes, on Roman remains recently found in Cumberland :—

“Several very interesting finds of relics of the Roman sway in this island have been made in Cumberland during the year 1878.

“Of these the most important was discovered near Murrell Hill, Carlisle, a locality, which though now almost covered by buildings, is far outside the limits of the old Roman city of Luguwallium. It is not, however, very far from the road by which the Romans must have gone from Luguwallium (*i.e.* Roman Carlisle) to Dalston, near which place they worked some quarries, now known as Shawk quarries, where is or was a Roman inscription, figured as No. 505 in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*. In this locality, the north end of Murrell Hill, excavations were being made by Mr. James Nelson of Carlisle for the purpose of extending his marble works, when the workmen lit upon the fine slab now described.

“The excavators came upon a considerable pit, dug in the undisturbed clay, and afterwards filled up—all traces being obliterated by a continuous top spit of vegetable earth, nigh two feet deep. The slab itself lay at the bottom of the pit, face downwards. On careful search, after the slab had been found, I could find nothing but a very minute fragment of Samian ware with the guilloche ornament on it. Coins were found, but disappeared at once. I heard of a second brass of Hadrian and a silver denarius.

“The slab is of grey chalk stone ; its extreme height is 4 ft. 4 in. ; height to top of alcove inside, 3 ft. 6 in. ; to spring of alcove, 2 ft. 8½ in. ; extreme breadth, 2 ft. 11 in. ; breadth within the pilasters, 2 ft. 3½ in.

“It is of late provincial work, and represents a group under an alcove supported by pilasters, one on either side, each having two reedy flutes. A second group is on the top of the alcove. The lower group represents a female figure, seated in a cushioned chair, and dressed in upper and under tunic, of which the first reaches to the ankles, the latter to the ground ; the wide sleeves reach a little below the elbow. Her hair is most carefully arranged with a little curl *à l'Imperatrice* gummed on either cheek. Her right hand is raised, and holds a circular fan, of the kind now common, and made to open and shut. A child stands at her left, and her left hand rests on his left shoulder. A bird is on her knees, with which the child is evidently playing.

“On the top of the alcove is another group ; the centre-piece of which is a figure, whose head has been knocked off, and which holds in its hands a human mask. Right and left of this are two lions, each mummbling human heads.

"The back of the slab is rough and unworked, but the work of the pilasters is carried about three inches round the sides, as if the slab was intended to be built into a wall, from which it should project about three inches. The heads seem to have been intentionally mutilated, and the upper portion of the dexter pilaster has been chiselled off.

"Lions, similar to those on the top of the alcove, have been found in various places in the North of England, and are engraved in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, Nos. 57 and 480. They should be compared with the present find. They are supposed to bear reference to the worship of the Persian Sun-God, Mittras.

"So soon as the frost will permit, careful search will be made for the inscription, which must have belonged to this slab; and, if found, we may then hope to know whom it commemorates."

It will be seen from the engraving¹ that the fan carried by the lady is not the usual classical fan of feathers or leaves, but a folding fan made to open and shut, such as were introduced from Italy in the early part of the seventeenth century.

Mr. FERGUSON also exhibited—1. Photographs of a head in stone, found on the south side of Carlisle, in a locality known to have been the Roman Cemetery, where many interments have been found. It is apparently a portion of a sarcophagus. "An enamelled vase, full of bones," is said to have been found near it, but it has disappeared. It was probably a glass sepulchral vessel.

2. Photographs of a carved slab of red sandstone, found in digging a grave in the churchyard of Bowness-on-Solway, the supposed terminus of Hadrian's mural barrier.

The slab measures 1 ft. 8 in. in breadth; its extreme height is 2 ft. 3 in. now, but the upper portion is gone, leaving the figure on it headless. It represents a standing figure, now headless, in long robe reaching to the feet, and an upper tunic, girt round the waist by a long broad band which hangs down in front. The right hand caresses a dog, which is jumping up, its attitude rather forced in order to display the well known Roman charm against the evil eye. The left hand supports a bird.

3. Rubbing, taken from a stone which does duty as a gate-post, in a road between Little Orton and Bow, some three or four miles out of Carlisle.

Two vine branches form a guilloche pattern of three large circles; the spandrils between the circles, and the circles are filled up with vine foliage and bunches of grapes. The other sides of the stone are worked plain, as if to enable it to be built into a wall. I conjecture that it once formed part of the frieze of some Roman building. Its history has been ascertained. It was brought many years ago from a place in the vicinity called Kirksteads, a small Roman station near the Roman wall, adjoining a farm house, called Cobble Hall. No vestige of the station now remains, except a soil full, "like a gravel bed" (the tenant tells me), of bits of freestone; but in 1800, the noble Roman altar, engraved in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 508, was found in this station.

Old Roads, no doubt Roman, lead from the camp to the neighbouring stations on the wall.

¹ The Institute is indebted to the obliging courtesy of the Editor of the *Graphic* for the loan of this illustration.

With the exception of the gate-post, all these remains are now in the Carlisle museum.

The Meeting was also indebted to Mr. Ferguson for the following paper upon "Certain Sepulchral Slabs in Cumberland."

"In the fifth volume of the *Archæological Journal* the late Dr. Charlton called attention to the numerous gravestones and monumental slabs of early date scattered over the remote parishes of Northumberland, Durham, and Cumberland. He estimates the number of these in Northumberland alone to be 120, in Durham 50, and in Cumberland perhaps an equal if not a greater number. I have recently visited some seventy churches in Cumberland, and have no doubt that the number of monumental slabs to be found in the county is far in excess of the estimate made by Dr. Charlton. The Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society hope shortly to catalogue all that exist in their district. I propose now merely to call attention to two or three which are remarkable from the symbols, or combination of symbols they bear.

"1. And first as a contribution to the controversy on the meaning of the shears.¹ At Holm Cultram, in Cumberland, is a slab 5 ft. 10 in. long by 20½ in. broad, on which is a cross in relief, accompanied by a pair of sharp pointed shears, and the following inscription ' + Hic jacet Juliana de Reidsyke.' Here the sharp pointed shears clearly mean a woman. Another slab with cross and sword records ' + Hic jacet Machs de Reidsyke.'

"2. At Beaumont Church, near Carlisle, is a singular slab 3 ft. 1½ in. long by 1 ft. 7 in. at top, and 1 ft. 2½ in. at bottom, with a chamfer of 3 in. ; on the centre of each chamfer a circular roll almost like a handle. A harp, much worn away, is on the table of the slab. Cutts (in his *Manual of Sepulchral Slabs*, etc., p. 40) states 'the sword and harp' to occur at Heysham in Lancashire, and at Auldbar, co. Angus, but can suggest no explanation. The harp alone, as at Beaumont, must indicate a musician.

"3. The unusual combination of cross, chalice, book, sword and sword belt occurs once, possibly twice, in Cumberland under singular circumstances. In the east of Cumberland is the manor and extra-parochial place of Carlatton, once a parish having its own church. The church has long ago disappeared *in toto* ; tradition still points out its site, and the amount of stones below the surface (for no remains appear above the sod) attest the truth of the tradition. A neighbouring farm is probably built of materials taken from the church, and two sepulchral slabs are visible in its walls. The larger of these is 6 ft. 2 in. long by 2 ft. 3 in. broad at one end, and 2 ft. 2 in. at the other. The floriated cross stands on four degrees or steps ; on one side of it, the dexter, are the chalice and book, and on the other the sword with sword-belt attached. A similar cross and sword with sword-belt occurs in the neighbouring parish of Great Sulkeld,* and is engraved in Cutts' *Manual*, plate xiii, as well as in Lysons's *Cumberland*, cxcv.

"The following inscription runs round three sides of this slab :—

" + HIC IACET HENRICVS DE NEWTON QVI FVIT VICARIVS
" DE CARLATON ORATE PRO ANIMA EIVS.

Henry de Newton was appointed Vicar of Carlatton in 1320 by the Prior

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 258.

and Convent of Lanercost, and probably died in 1344, when William de Stockdale was appointed.

The second slab is now the lintel to a door into the barn. It is about the same length as the other but not so broad; the mason who built it into the barn has worked the sinister side of it into a smooth face; thus, though we have the chalice and book on the dexter side of the cross, we can only conjecture that the sword might have been on its sinister side. We have no more of the inscription left than:—

“ON ISTIVS ECCLESIE V. ORATE P ALIA EIVS PAT.

The letters are of earlier shape than in the more perfect slab, and we may take it that the slab commemorates one of Newton's predecessors in his vicarage, probably his immediate predecessor, Robert de Loudon, or London, who was appointed by Beck, Bishop of Durham.

“It remains to solve the enigma presented by the occurrence of the priestly and military symbols together on one slab, which slab covered and commemorates one individual only, Henry de Newton. The history of the parish and manor of Carlatton will supply the key.

“‘Karlattun,’ says Denton in his MS. history of Cumberland, ‘stands in Gilsland, but is no part thereof,’ i.e., of the barony of Gilsland. It was once the property of one Gospatric, but escheated to the crown, prior to the 31st of Henry II. (see the Pipe Rolls for Cumberland, Westmoreland and Durham, published by Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, p. xxx, see also the Testa de Nevill); and it remained in the English crown until, in the reign of Henry III, with other royal manors in Cumberland, it was consigned to the Scottish king, in settlement of his claims (see numerous documents in Rymer's *Fœdera*). Edward I resumed these manors, and Carlatton, though occasionally granted out, has ever since been a royal manor until about ten years ago, the trustees of the Earl of Carlisle bought the rights of the crown. Edward I granted the patronage of the vicarage of Carlatton to Beck, Bishop of Durham, but afterwards resumed it, and granted it to the Prior and Convent of Lanercost (Rymer's *Fœdera*).

“Now the parish and coterminous manor of Carlatton was small; it never had more than seven or eight houses; it had no castle or manor house—it was very poor; in the Valors of Edward II and Henry VIII it is written ‘Ecclesia de Carlatton non taxatur quia non sufficit pro stipendio capellani.’ I expect the vicar of this poor parish was the only man in it who could read or write, and he was also steward of the manor and commander of its contribution to the *posse comitatus*, when summoned to ‘follow the fray.’ Thus the sword and sword-belt, equally with the chalice and mass book, would be the symbols appropriate to Henry de Newton.

“Another unusual combination of symbols occurs on an incised slab at Melmerby, which is thus described in Singleton's MS. account of that parish written in the seventeenth century:—‘above that ther is another through stone, on which ther is cut out the like crosse (a crosse flowry), with some what like a paire of wool shears on the south side therof; and a chalice, under which a masse book on the north side therof.’ The cross stands on two very lofty steps. The shears, which are deeply incised and sharp-pointed, are to its dexter; the chalice and a clasped

book to the sinister. The slab is 5 ft. 5 in. long by 2 ft. 2 in. broad. The chalice is early in shape.

"The Rev. T. Lees, of Wreay, points out to me that it was part of the duty of the Archdeacon 'to clip the long hair of clerks;' and that cap. 9 of the Legatine Council at York, under Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1195, says—'Let clerks who despise the crown (*i.e.*, the tonsure), if beneficed, be deprived; if not, let them be shaved against their will by the archdeacon or dean.' Hence, Mr. Lees concludes that this slab commemorates an archdeacon or rural dean.

"The adjacent parish of Great Salkeld was appropriate to the archdeaconry of Cumberland so long ago as 1337, and it is probable some archdeacon held both Great Salkeld and Melmerby, and was buried at Melmerby; but the gaps in the lists of the archdeacons and of the rectors of Melmerby prevent any corroboration of this conjecture.

"It may be useful to put on record that the slab engraved in Cutts' *Manual*, Plate lii, and stated to be at Melmerby, is not now to be found there.

"The pointed shears and the book occur together on a very beautiful slab engraved in Cutts, Plate lxiii, and also in Lysons's *Cumberland*, and stated to be at Dereham, in Cumberland. The slab has been removed to Dovenly Hall; but I, like Mr. Cutts, doubt if the object said to be a book is one."

With regard to the exact meaning of many of the emblematic figures upon the gravestones of the middle ages, there will probably always be some difference of opinion, and of these figures the shears will no doubt remain the most puzzling. Indeed, the fact of this emblem occurring so frequently, and in conjunction with so many other figures, would appear to give it a very wide significance. That the sword and baudric, bow, or bugle, typify a soldier is obvious enough, and it has never been doubted that ecclesiastics are symbolized on their gravestones by the chalice, paten, book, or corporal. May not the rose signify the freshness of youth, or the briefness of life? The hour-glass (sometimes mistaken for the chalice) that the sands of life are run out? The shears that the thread of life is cut? The hammer and pincers, the key and the fish, easily admit of a religious interpretation; but if these and other signs are to be taken simply as indicative of trades or callings, and the shears solely as the emblem of a woman or a woolstapler, we are at once met by the anomalies of woolstaplers, mercers, or women who were also blacksmiths, locksmiths, and fishmongers. The evidence of the inscribed stone at Horton,¹ with the shears dividing the inscription—"Orate pro anima (*shears*) Anne Barbowl," comes closer to the point, and seems to tell against the theory that the shears are simply intended to mark the sex of the departed, for the christian name sufficiently shows this, as it also does in the case of the inscription to Juliana de Reidsyke. The stone at Hexham² with the inscription—"Hic jacet Matilda uxor (P)hilippi mercerarii," ends with a pair of shears, of which the meaning is very ambiguous.

Mr. A. NESBITT sent the following notes on Horse Shoeing in Greek and Roman times:—

"I observe in No. 136 of the *Archæological Journal* a communication from Mr. G. A. Rowell concerning certain horse-shoes found at Oxford.

¹ *Journal*, vol. v, p. 256.

² *Journal*, vol. v, p. 257.

In this "Fleming's exhaustive work on *Horse Shoes and Horse Shoeing*" is quoted as asserting that 'neither the Greeks nor the Romans, until a century or two after the Christian era, shod their horses with metal, or at least with such shoes as were nailed to the feet. This, I know, is a very general opinion, but its correctness may, I think, be doubted. There is a passage in the *Iliad*, A 152—

. . ὑπὸ δέ σφισιν ὤρτο κονίη
ἐκ πεδίου τὴν ὤρσαν ἐρίγδουποι πόδες ἵππων
χαλκῷ δηϊόωντες (*ground being understood*)

which can hardly mean anything but that the horses were shod with bronze or copper. But how could a metallic shoe be attached to a horse's hoofs unless by being nailed to it? I remember, indeed, that a friend of mine living in St. Helena had a Chinese groom, and one day found him tying on a cast shoe with rope yarn, but such methods of attaching shoes would not have lasted through a journey or a battle.

"If, then, the Greeks of the time of Homer shod their horses with metal, is it probable that the practice was afterwards abandoned?

"I am not well aware upon what grounds the popular opinion is based; if upon the evidence afforded by works of art, I must express a doubt whether that is at all conclusive. In Greek sculpture, much elaboration of detail is not usually found; and the Romans, to a certain extent, followed the example of the Greeks. I observe, however, in a cast which I have of a bronze statuette, representing Alexander the Great on horseback, found at Herculaneum, and preserved in the museum at Naples, a horse's foot represented in a manner quite untrue if the horse were unshod, as the frog is not shown, but which would tolerably well represent a foot shod with leather and an iron shoe. The central part is a little raised, as the leather would be in the supposed case by the pressure of the frog.

In the Saalburg, near Homburg, a good many horse shoes have been found, and may have been really of Roman origin, though, as it has been assumed that the Romans did not use iron horse shoes, they have been assigned to a later period.

"It is, however, very probable, that the Romans used iron horse shoes less than we do, for it is still the practice at Rome (and, possibly, elsewhere in Italy) not to shoe horses behind, in order that they may have a better hold on the slippery pieces of lava with which the streets are paved. It is difficult to understand how the fore feet, particularly of draught horses, could have stood the wear of stony and hilly countries such as Greece and Italy, unless artificially protected.

"Horse shoes are not very often mentioned by Roman writers of the classical period, but there are a few instances in which they are alluded to. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii, 11), says, 'Nostraque ætate Poppæa conjunx Neronis principis delicatioribus jumentis suis soleas ex auro quoque induere solebat;' and Suetonius tells us of Nero himself, that he shod the mules of his thousand cars with silver ('Nunquam minus mille carrucis fecisse iter traditur, soleis mularum argenteis.'—Suet. *Nero*, 30).

"These, it may be said, are exceptional instances of pomp and magnificence, but there is a passage in Catullus (*Ad Coloniam*)—

'Et supinum animum in gravi derelinquere cæno
Ferream ut soleam tenaci in voragine mula,'

which seems to shew that shoes were in common use.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the CHAIRMAN.—Drawings of a Roman vase of dark pottery, found by Colonel Akers near Chatham. This vessel exhibits an aperture at either end, apparently for the introduction and retention of water by means of a false bottom.

By Mr. R. S. FERGUSON.—Photographs, rubbings, and lithographs, in illustration of his papers.

By Sir E. C. KERRISON, Bart.—The following objects of iron, found from four to seven feet below the old ford, while excavating for the foundations of a bridge over the Gold Brook, at Hoxne or Eglesdene, Suffolk, the scene of the murder of Edmund, King of the East Angles, in 870:—a blade of a weapon, apparently a “scramasax” or Saxon knife; a spear-head, with portions of wood in the socket; portion of a horse shoe, exactly like those found in Oxford, in 1876 (figured in the *Journal*, vol. xxxiv, p. 464); a pair of prick spurs, early fourteenth century; two odd stirrups, both early fourteenth century.

The Rev. C. R. Manning exhibited an iron cheek-piece of a bit, gilt on the outer side, and found on the same spot in 1859, together with the skull of a “bos longifrons.” This object is slightly recurved at either end and measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. It has the appearance of being, at least, earlier than the conquest. The cheek-pieces of bits in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries were much larger, and of quite a different form.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Several pairs of prick spurs, of various dates, for comparison with those found at Gold Brook.

By Mr. H. S. HARLAND.—Two bronze celts (one with the cable moulding round the socket) found many years ago at “Danes’ Dyke,” near Flamborough; an axe-hammer stone, weighing $5\frac{1}{4}$ lb., probably an agricultural implement, found at Harwood Dale, eight miles north-west of Scarborough; a small earthenware bottle of unknown use, ploughed up near Brompton, Yorkshire—the birthplace of the learned Benedictine, John of Brompton; a bulla of Pope Boniface IX, from the same place; and an iron-handled hatchet, seven inches long, probably used for cutting and driving wedges, in connection with the mechanism of the old-fashioned wooden ploughs of 150 years ago.

By Mr. A. WATERHOUSE.—A large collection of bronze weapons, implements, and other objects, found at Yattendon, Berkshire, where the historian Carte is buried.

March 6, 1879.

R. H. SODEN-SMITH, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., in the Chair.

The Rev. C. F. R. PALMER sent the first part of a paper on “The History of the Priory of Dartford, in Kent,” which was read by Mr. Hartshorne. This careful account of the foundation of the mother-house of the Sisters of the Dominican order will appear in a future *Journal*.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. DELISLE POWLES.—A collection of gold ornaments and objects from ancient Indian graves in Columbia. Mr. Powles spoke at some length upon these interesting remains of the Chipcha tribe. They were found some fifteen feet below the surface, together, in some in-

stances, with deer horns. The religious rites of this ancient people were described, and the manner in which they made annual offerings to their deities by casting quantities of treasures of the kind exhibited into certain lakes. Efforts had been made to recover some of these antiquities, but, owing to an unfortunate accident that had befallen the explorers, by which they had become asphyxiated in a level driven for the purpose of search, the work had languished. Mr. Powles said, in conclusion, that the tribe had no great temples, but collèges for priestly training. The sun and the moon, and a certain female "Bacu," were worshipped. The tribe suffered much at the hands of the Spaniards, and it was greatly to be deplored that its literature had thus perished.

The Chairman said that the objects presented technically many curious and interesting points, and had a general analogy with the gold ornaments of other savage tribes, for instance, with those of the Ashantees, who carried on in the same manner the earlier traditions of interlaced or plaited gold work by casting, thus imitating the older and higher civilization. In remarking upon the penannular nose rings, the chairman described them as skilfully made, like the Irish and Welsh Celtic rings.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Powles for the interesting account he had given to the meeting of these curious relics.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Sword with swept guard and heavy pommel from Malta ;—a plate of steel, now lost from the hilt, was pierced in the form of a cross of St. John of Jerusalem, the blade double edged, with a central ridge, middle of sixteenth century ;—Japanese arrow-head of steel, of large size, heart-shaped, with open centre, one outline serving for two designs, with figures in relief, chased from the solid steel, the tang of great length, with an incised inscription.

By Mr. D. BROWN, Q.C.—A collection of original charters relating to Yorkshire, of which an abstract will be given in a future *Journal*.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—A pair of mediæval compasses and a small brass figure in armour of St. George and the Dragon.

By Mr. R. READY.—Miniatures on vellum of Mary Queen of Scots, Lord Chief Justice Holt, and the first and second Lords Crewe.

By Mr. HARTSHORNE.—A pair of finely chased candlesticks of copper gilt, temp. George II.

By Mr. J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.—A coarse Indian bronze, dredged out of the Thames.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE BRITISH BARROWS. By WILLIAM GREENWELL, M.A., F.S.A. and GEORGE ROLLESTON, M.D., F.R.S. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.

We rise from the contemplation of this work with feelings of great satisfaction at the great merits it possesses. The amount of information contained in it is very large, and we have no doubt that the fullest reliance may be placed upon every statement of fact in it; for never was there a more accurate or complete description given of everything that may tend to place the reader in the most favourable position for forming a judgment upon the construction, the contents, and the purposes for which the barrows were made.

We quite agree in the propriety of offering every suggestion which may help to explain the facts that are discovered. In such ancient matters many things must be uncertain, and every suggestion that is made may tend to lead to the discovery of the truth, even where it happens not to be the right solution. No suggestions could be offered in a more candid or appropriate manner than they are in this work, and the reader cannot fail to perceive that their only object is the ascertainment of the truth. That many of the suggestions are correct admits of no doubt; whilst others seem to be doubtful or erroneous, and we shall direct attention to the latter wherever it seems to us that a better explanation can be offered.

The engravings, with which the work abounds, are excellent, and afford a most useful help towards understanding the matters which they represent; indeed in many instances they render things perfectly clear, which without them could not be made intelligible by any verbal description, however accurately made.

It is almost superfluous to add that the work is written in a very clear, and, in some parts, eloquent style.

The work commences with an Introduction, in which the principal points are very lucidly discussed. Then comes a description of the round barrows on the Wolds in the East Riding of Yorkshire, which amount to 123. We next have those in the North Riding, numbering 37 more; followed by those in the West Riding, adding two more. Other barrows in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Durham, and Gloucestershire are afterwards dealt with, and the whole number described is 220.

Next follows a table of the barrows, interments, and articles found in them.

Then we have the long barrows in the North Riding, East Riding, Westmoreland, and Gloucestershire, making a total of 234.

An admirable description follows, by Dr. Rolleston, of skulls and general remarks upon the series of prehistoric crania, and an appendix containing remarks on the prehistoric flora and fauna of the country.

It would be quite impossible to deal with anything like the whole of the very interesting questions which are contained in this work within any moderate bounds; and consequently we shall confine ourselves to those points on which it may be our lot to question the inferences drawn from the facts, or on which we may, perhaps, be able to throw some additional light, or to offer explanatory suggestions. In our opinion there are some facts which have an extremely important bearing upon the state of civilization in Britain before the coming of Cæsar, and which have been very generally overlooked; and it appears to us that those facts ought to be considered together with every other fact bearing upon the matters in question; for in cases like the present, where all the acts of a people are involved in the depths of obscurity, every ray of light that can be brought to bear upon them from any quarter is very desirable, as it may either tend to show what their state was, or prevent false inferences from being drawn respecting it.

We thoroughly agree in the following beautiful passage "our own English ancestors might, no doubt, have been understood in many of their great characteristics, in their obedience to law, their love of justice and of freedom, and their aptitude for self-government; for these by an unswerving tradition have passed down, by slow gradations of change, into ourselves. We might have known something of their poetry and other writings; for Cædmon and Beda and Alcuin had lived and written, and letters had early taken root among them. We might have recognised their energy, their devotion, their strong religious feeling, which made them the teachers of a new and purer faith to those beyond the borders; for all Europe bears testimony to the great missionary labours of the English, when Wilfrid, Willebord, and Boniface became the apostles of the Gospel to many a heathen land. But without the wondrous museum of gold and silver and iron and precious stone and glass and bronze and ivory, which the cemeteries of Kent, of East Anglia, and of middle of England have so carefully preserved to us, what should we have known of English progress in many a development of artistic workmanship? How should we have become cognisant of their wondrous skill in goldsmith's work; their tasteful application of metal, stone, and glass to the enrichment of personal ornaments; their knowledge of glass manufacture in beads and vessels of that material; their high cultivation of art; their great practical acquaintance with the mystery of the smith?"¹

The authors have rightly used the term barrow; for though that more especially designates a mound of earth, yet it well includes cairns, which are made of stone, and lows, hoes and tumps, which are local terms applied to similar burial places. Barrows were all originally raised above the level of the adjoining lands, and there can be no doubt that owing to various causes it is extremely improbable that any barrow has existed for the last hundred years or more at its original height.

Barrows may well be divided into round and long barrows; for it is highly probable that those, which now differ from one or other of these forms, owe their differences to natural or artificial causes since their erection.

It is extremely likely that the round barrows were conical; as that would give them the greatest height, and it would well accord with the

elevated situations on which they were for the most part placed, and which it may reasonably be supposed were selected as a means of causing them to be seen from the greatest distance.

The materials, of which barrows were constructed, were generally obtained from the neighbouring land; and consequently barrows formed of earth are found in places where there is no stone; barrows of stone where there is stone, and barrows of chalk where chalk abounds. Thus in Bradley, near Ashbourne, there was a barrow of great size made entirely of earth, and in Mayfield some four miles off there was a barrow entirely made of stone; in the former parish there was no stone, in the latter there was plenty. In Mayfield the barrow was called Harlow, and the place still goes by that name, although the stone of the barrow was used to mend a road in 1790. Another barrow in the same parish is called Rowlow; these are instances that are worth noting of the tenacity of names of places for ages. But the most remarkable is that of Hanai Tepeh, the wonderful tomb in the Troad.¹ This name means the tomb of the army, and was, no doubt, attached to it soon after the Trojan war; but its meaning had been entirely lost until we discovered it. A Hebrew word, which begins with cheth, the strongly aspirated h, and may be pronounced chanah, kanah, or hanah, means an army, and the name of the tomb is pronounced in all these ways; which plainly shows its origin. Tepeh is another form of *ταφή*, which denotes the burial of those slain in war.² This word and *τάφος* are derived from *ἄπρω*, to set on fire, and that from the Hebrew word *ap*, to scintillate, with *τω* added as usual in forming Greek from Hebrew words. Tophet is derived from the same root, and so probably is the Sanscrit word *tap*, to burn.³ The name would be the same in the Phœnician, which is a dialect of the Hebrew, and some of the whorls found at Hissarlik have Phœnician letters upon them. This shows that there was a time when Phœnician was known in the Troad, or at least Phœnician letters, from which most of the Greek letters are derived.

Much doubt had long been entertained as to the manner in which barrows of earth had been formed. At Bradley, in Derbyshire, a barrow was composed entirely of earth, which differed wholly from the clayey soil around; and the soil of it was so rich that it was used to manure the farm on which it stood, and layers of soil appeared to extend from side to side. There was no hollow, from which the soil could have been taken, anywhere near the place, and we conjectured that the barrow had been formed of thick parings of the land around, which might have had ling or heath growing upon it.⁴ And this conjecture has been fully confirmed by the narrative of the burial of the bones of the Roman legions, who were slain with Varus, as given by Tacitus,⁵ which is explained in a former volume,⁶ and upon which Dugdale⁷ observes that the account of Tacitus implies that "every soldier brought his turf or turves to the raising of a tumulus, according as his respect was to the defunct, and that Germanicus himself laid the first, as eminent persons have used to do the first stone in the foundation of some notable building;" and he adds,

¹ *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 1.

² Thuc. lib. 11, c. 34.

³ M. Wms, *Sansc. Gram.*, 45.

⁴ *Archæological Journal*, xviii, 69.

⁵ *Annals*, lib. i, c. 61.

⁶ *Archæological Journal*, xxxiii, 393.

⁷ Warw. 3.

that the grassy turves "were cut from the surface of the ground, which is the reason why it doth not appear by any hollowness whence the earth was taken that raised the tumulus." This very satisfactorily explains the cases mentioned by Canon Greenwell,¹ where indications of turves or sods of earth were seen, and the remains of grass and other plants were visible.

In any case where a barrow was formed of earth, it would naturally sink in height considerably, and where it was formed of turves it would sink much more in consequence of the decay of the vegetable matters in it, and the decayed turves would form a rich soil; and it is obvious that small animals might much more readily burrow to bodies buried in such barrows, than they could if they had been formed of common earth; and thus the presence of the bones of small animals in barrows near the bones of the persons there buried, may possibly be accounted for.

Whether barrows were formed of earth, stone, or chalk, it is clear that the materials used in forming them must have been carried, and often for a considerable distance; and no instrument for that purpose could be more suitable, or more easily made even by the rudest of workmen, than a hand barrow; and as this word barrow is doubtless derived from some word meaning to bear or carry, it may, peradventure, be that these tombs were called barrows because the materials were carried to them on barrows.

Round barrows differ very much in size; those on the Yorkshire Wolds range from 20 to 150 feet in diameter, and from 1 to 24 feet in height.²

Long barrows are generally placed nearly east and west, and the east end is broader and higher than the other. In some places they contain a chamber of varied shape and size made of stone, with a passage leading into it. In Yorkshire no such chamber occurs. They frequently have what have been termed "horns," formed by walls inclining outwards at the ends, and then returning inwards with a curve, which in some cases constitutes the approach to the chamber.³ There is a difference in the mode of burial in the Yorkshire from other long barrows, not merely that in the latter the bodies were not burnt, whilst in the former they were, and in a most remarkable manner. The remains, sometimes of the whole body, at others in a fragmentary state and the bones separated, were laid at, or a little above, the natural surface in a line from east to west, and covered with turf and wood, and then stones laid over them, and over all the ordinary material of the barrow. The fire seems to have been lighted at the east end of the deposit, as its intensity seems to have decreased gradually towards the west end. The deposits of bones were generally at the east end. These remains were, no doubt, deposited in the positions in which they were found, and there burnt in the manner suggested by Canon Greenwell. Some long barrows were as much as 165 feet long and 40 or 50 feet wide, and generally in the west end no signs of any interment have been discovered.⁴

We fully agree with Canon Greenwell that "the absence of any signs of a burial, where a barrow has been minutely examined, is due to the entire decay of the skeleton."⁵ Wherever air and water can act upon

¹ Page 5.

² Page 5.

³ Page 480.

⁴ Page 484.

⁵ Page 28.

any animal or vegetable matter, it produces decay, and especially if there be an alternation of wet and dry, cold and heat; and the rapidity of the decay seems to depend upon the relative duration of the wet and dry. If, however, the operation of these agents can be wholly excluded, decay is prevented. An oak gate post, some ten or twelve inches square above the ground, had stood for forty years in clay. At the surface of the ground, that is at the place usually and well described as "between wind and water," it was decayed all through. There the damp would continue longest. The upper part was cracked and much less decayed. There the post would become dry very soon after rain. The bottom in the ground was perfectly sound. There the clay had excluded the action of the elements. Earths vary in porousness, and the more porous they are, the more rapidly does decay work within them. Sand and gravel stand in the first rank. In Bradley churchyard a man's body and coffin had completely decayed in twenty years, but the coffin plate remained. This was in gravel. When Beaumont street was made up to Worcester College, Oxford, a cemetery was cut across, and in the gravel might be seen the sides of the graves, which had been much wider at the top than at the bottom, and a thin black mark along the bottom was the only remains of the interment. At the Archaeological Institute a barrow made of sand was described some years ago, and the only remains of the body that had been laid in it was the long hair of a female. When the length of time since the barrows were made is considered, the wonder rather is that the number of bones found in them is so great, than that some few barrows should contain no existing bones. In the case mentioned by Canon Greenwell, where a grave had been sunk in clay and a platform had been supported on stakes, all of which had gone to decay,¹ the barrow was made of sand, and the wet would sink down through it. The makers had evidently foreseen that this would be the case, and had made the platform to keep the body out of the water, as the Canon supposes. It is, therefore, the ordinary case of decay caused by wet, and the supposition that it was caused by some chemical action of the clay is out of the question.

A curious instance recently occurred to us of the decay of wood under peculiar circumstances. A brook meanders through a valley, which is some 150 yards broad, with rising hills on each side. To lay the valley dry, it was necessary to carry a drain about 8 feet deep through a bog, which rested upon a bed of gravel; several oak trees were found lying on the gravel, and all of them were too far decayed to be used for making furniture; but the decay was far the greatest on one side, and gradually decreased to the other, which was the side that had lain on the gravel. No doubt the bog, which was full of water, had gradually risen and so protected the trees from the operation of the elements, and consequently the part nearest the gravel was the least decayed, as it must have been the first protected.

The number of holes which are found sunk below the natural surface within the area of a barrow, seems to have been inexplicable to Canon Greenwell,² and at first it was so to us; but it afterwards occurred whether they might not have been made in order to supply air to the *green* wood placed across or near to them, in order to promote its burning; and this supposition is confirmed by several instances where the wood evidently

¹ Page 170.

² Page 9.

was burnt over holes,¹ and by the holes in the long barrows; which the Canon himself thinks were made to facilitate the burning.²

The case is similar to our common grates, which admit the air from below; of course there would be no fire lit in the holes themselves, if they were made for the purpose we have suggested.

As to the prevalence of burning the dead more commonly in some districts than in others, it would seem that a consideration has been omitted that deserves attention. The difference may possibly have arisen from the presence and absence of wood. We know not now in what places woods existed in the times when the barrows were made. The prevalence of burning in a district shows that there was abundance of wood there, and the absence of burning may be due to the paucity of wood, just as we know that the absence of stone in barrows is due to its absence in the place. Wood may have existed where moors prevail now, and *vice versâ*. And it may perhaps be that the partial burnings may have arisen from the same cause, and if burning were considered a sacred obligation, as it seems very reasonable to suppose that it was,³ it would be resorted to, wherever any wood, however small in quantity, could be obtained; and this may be the explanation of the partial burnings, without resorting to the supposition of Mr. Kemble, that "a little fire was probably considered sufficient to symbolise the ancient rite" of burning,⁴ and this would seem to be the more reasonable explanation; for it is not easy to see why the more laborious operation was resorted to in any case, if the symbolical were sufficient. Tacitus, speaking of the Germans, says *Funerum nulla ambitio. Id solum observatur ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis cumentur.* * * * *Sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adjicitur.*⁵ Perhaps, therefore, the Germans only burnt the chiefs and buried the rest.

We have no doubt that "the popular notion about our naked and painted predecessors"⁶ is erroneous. Cæsar⁷ plainly shows that the Britons were clothed. He says that the Kentish men were far the most polished, and the dwellers in the interior *pellibus sunt vestiti. Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cœruleum efficit colorem: atque hoc horribiliore sunt in pugna aspectu.* This clearly means that they wore skins, and painted the parts of the body not covered with skins, in order to render themselves terrible in battle. And this is corroborated by what Cæsar⁸ says of the Sweves, the most warlike of the Germans, who studied everything to promote hardiness, *atque in eam se consuetudinem adduxerunt, ut locis frigidissimis, neque vestitus, præter pelles, habeant quicquam; quarum propter exiguitatem, magna est corporis pars aperta.* This passage also shows that the exposure was in order to promote hardiness, and not because they were barbarians. For the same reason the Germans lived out of houses for years together, and hence Ariovistus says *invicti Germani, exercitatissimi in armis, qui infra annos xiv tectum non subissent.*⁹ Indeed from youth to age, exposure to cold

¹ Pages 204, 230, 281, 282, 293, 341, 346, 351, 353, 426.

² Pages 496, 497, 498, 500, 503, 506, 511.

³ Page 29.

⁴ *Horæ Ferales*, 101.

⁵ *De Mor. Germ.*, c. 27.

⁶ Page 32.

⁷ *B. G. Lib.* v, 147.

⁸ *B. G.*, *Lib.* iv, 1.

⁹ Cæsar, *B. G.*, *lib.* i, c. 36.

was the common practice, in order to render the body capable of enduring the greatest hardships.

Durum a stirpe genus. Natos ad flumina primum
Deferimus, sævoque gelu duramus et undis.¹

Nothing, therefore, can be a more egregious blunder than to treat that as evidence of savagery, which was the result of the ardent appetite to attain the highest excellence in warlike qualities, and which was supposed to be gained thereby ; for we are told that ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse,² and Caesar's soldiers nearly mutinied out of fear of them.³

There are many bronze implements which occur in great variety of fashion and size, and have usually been considered to have been daggers ; but we entirely agree with Canon Greenwell, that many a bronze instrument "is so thin in the blade, and at times the point is so much rounded, that it would ill serve the purpose of a dagger, and it seems to have been intended rather for cutting than stabbing."⁴ Such, especially, are those which have been found in urns containing burnt bones. The Canon says that "the knife dagger and the plain axe may both be considered, judging from their shape, to be early productions of the age of bronze, and as neither of them has been found accompanying those weapons and implements, which were in use during the height of that period, they may be regarded as prior to such time, and as marking an epoch during the bronze age, namely its first development,"⁵ and the conclusion is, that "the barrows in general belong to a period before bronze was in common use, and when that metal was scarce and only manufactured into articles of a comparatively small size."⁶ Now we cannot agree that these small articles were the production of an early stage in the manufacture of bronze. We are convinced that the contrary was the case. An inspection of the figures of the knives⁷ ought to convince any one that they were produced by great skill, and that the bronze was of excellent quality, otherwise they never could have been capable of cutting anything. So too the bronze awls, prickers, or drills.⁸ Nor does it seem reasonable to suppose that such instruments would have ceased to be made when bronze was more generally manufactured ; and in this case we have an instance of the great danger of trusting to the mere absence of a thing as proof that it did not exist ; for at Plymstock, Devon, there were found in 1868, piled upon a ledge of rock, sixteen bronze celts, a two edged weapon, a mortice chisel and three of these bronze knives.⁹ This is quite sufficient to show that these knives were made in the best bronze period ; and it completely upsets Canon Greenwell's conclusion from the presence of these small instruments in the round barrows that they "belong to a period before bronze was in common use."¹⁰ And it shows that these barrows may be of the age when bronze was generally used ; and thus the question where the burial places of the people of that age exist, which the

¹ Virg. *Æn.*, ix, 603.

² Caesar, *G. B.*, lib., i, c, 39.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Page 40.

⁵ Page 49.

⁶ Page 49.

⁷ Page 45, 47.

⁸ Page 46.

⁹ *Archæological Journal*, xxvi, 346.

¹⁰ Page 49.

Canon found it impossible to answer,¹ is fully solved. In the dwellings in the Swiss Lakes exactly similar bronze knives have been found in company with bronze weapons of excellent manufacture.

It has long been our opinion that the bronze knives found with burnt bones in urns were placed there for some special reason. Pliny says that the Druids cut the mistletoe with a golden knife.² Now the colour of some bronze is so like gold that it may well have been mistaken for it; and bronze is so much better adapted for cutting than gold, that the mistake is rendered more probable. The question, then, has occurred to us, whether the knife which a Druid had used, might not be buried with his bones, as a suitable emblem. According to Cæsar³ there was only one Archdruid in Gaul, and probably no very great number of Druids there or in England. Consequently we should expect to find but few knives in urns; and only fifteen have been found in 379 burials, and all had been used.⁴ Peradventure the presence of knives in urns may thus be accounted for. Since the preceding passage was in the press, Canon Greenwell has pointed out that these bronze knives are found in places where mistletoe never existed. The passage in Pliny, however, if we are right, shows that such a knife was used for a sacred purpose, and it would probably be used for similar purposes in every place, whether there was mistletoe there or not.

It strikes us as extremely probable that there was some particular reason for a deposit with the dead of anything so deposited; and, if that were so, it would naturally prevent the deposit of other and different things; and this may be the reason of the absence of iron implements between its introduction into Britain and the Roman occupation.⁵ Nor is it immaterial that large bronze and iron weapons would be too valuable to be deposited in the barrows, if no reason required it.

In many instances circles of stone have been found. Occasionally a circle has existed where there is now no barrow; but more commonly a barrow has a circle at its base, or a short distance from it, or within it. In many cases these circles have been found incomplete. Very different opinions exist as to the purpose for which these circles were made. The earliest mention of them is in Homer, and the fortunate discovery of the marvellous tomb at Hanai Tepeh in the Troad, fully explains Homer's meaning, and shows what was done and the purposes of it. Upon the solid rock there were two feet of natural earth; upon that there was a layer of 1½ foot of burnt wood ashes intermixed with fragments of coarse pottery. Above this there was a layer 5¾ thick of calcined bones, probably human. A wall, five feet in thickness, and ninety-five in diameter, consisting of large rough stones, without cement, ran all round the mound, and reposed upon the rock. The calcined bones were heaped up within this wall, rising gradually from the sides to the centre. Over the whole there were 5½ feet of earth completely covering everything, and causing the tumulus to have been considered a natural hill.⁶ Now this excellently shows the meaning of Homer's description of the finishing of the tomb of Patroclus—

¹ Page 50.

² Lib. xvi. c. 95, cited Camd. B. xv.

³ B. G., vi, c. 12.

⁴ Page 51.

⁵ Page 50.

⁶ *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 1, where a section of the tomb is given.

Τορνώσαντο δὲ σῆμα, θεμειλιά τε προβάλοντο
'Ἀμφὶ πυρήν· εἶθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν.¹

They made the heap of ashes circular, and laid foundations round and in front of the pyre, and then heaped over it the loose earth. The circular stone wall at Hanai Tepeh is evidently the θεμειλία. Herodotus² speaking of the vast tomb of Alyattes, says—

Τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν ἴστί λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς.
Strabo³ speaks of the same tomb as being

ἐπὶ κρηπίδος ὑψηλῆς χῶμα μέγα.

In both these authors, κρηπὶς evidently means the same as the foundations in Homer. It is clear that in these cases the circular wall was made to support the mound; and it would do so all the better by being itself covered with earth on both sides. The burning in Hanai Tepeh has completely reduced the bones to an indiscriminate mass, and in this respect it differs from any other tomb hitherto discovered. All the tombs spoken of by Homer were made of loose earth.

There are many instances, in which some bodies appear to have been buried simply, and others burnt at the same time, and it is very probable that no satisfactory reason can be discovered for the difference in the mode of burial. In Hanai Tepeh amphoræ of great size, the largest being about five feet long, and made of coarse red clay, mixed with gravel, contained unburnt human skeletons placed on a thin layer of pebbles, and reclining on their backs with upraised knees, surrounded by terra cotta penates and painted vases (lecythi and pateræ) of the best period of the art, the fourth century B.C., but generally of Archaic style, and blue, green and yellow glass vases and other small objects.⁴ Another mode of burial, apparently belonging to the same period, in the same tomb was laying the bodies at full length, under very large oblong tiles placed at right angles and meeting over the bodies. In these tombs bones alone were found. The latter may possibly be the graves of the poorer people, and the former of the richer; and in these the upraising of the knees may have been due to the shortness of the amphoræ.

The amphoræ were all placed in a horizontal position, and a flat stone covered the mouth, which invariably faced the south or south-east, and the skeleton lay with its feet near the mouth, and its face immediately opposite to the mouth, as if it were intended to look out of it.⁵

The differences in the articles found in barrows in various places, and the varying degrees in the excellence of those that are manufactured, naturally lead to the inference that there were divers tribes in England, which, though they might agree for the most part in their general state and customs, yet differed in particular respects. The instances so well collected⁶ fully illustrate this view, and the statement of Tacitus as to the several tribes in his time tends to confirm it. In Scotland we hear of Picti, Bicaledones, Vecturiones, Attacotti, Saxones and Scotti,⁷ which leads to the supposition that the tribes may have been numerous in England.

¹ *Il.*, xxiii, 255.

² *Lib.*, i, 93.

³ *Lib.* xiii, c. 4, s. 7.

⁴ See their representations, *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 4.

⁵ *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 2.

⁶ Page 54.

⁷ *Ammianus Marcellinus*, xxvi, 5; xxvii, 8.

There can be no doubt that the barrows have been used extensively for secondary interments, during which process bodies have been disturbed, and the bones scattered,¹ or in some cases carefully re-interred in proper order as nearly as might be. Even at the present day it is a common practice, we regret to say, in Staffordshire and Derbyshire, to open the graves and dig up the bones of deceased relatives, in order to bury another member of the family. In 1814 we saw a mother's bones thus treated after she had been buried thirty years, in order to make room for her son's body. In the Troad secondary interments were made in the tomb of Hanai Tepeh.²

The question of the date of the barrows is one of extreme difficulty, or we might, perhaps, more correctly say, unanswerable. Canon Greenwell thinks that the time when iron was introduced into Britain may be taken as a starting point, and this he dates "about two or three centuries before the birth of Christ."³ It is true that it was in use as money in the shape of rings,⁴ and as cables for ships,⁵ at the time when Cæsar invaded Britain. But at that time no part of it except the sea coast, and that part opposite to Gaul was known even to merchants,⁶ and consequently little could then be known as to the interior of the island, and less, if possible, as to any previous time. This consideration leads us to doubt the Canon's position.

The Canon also thinks that silver was generally known about the same time as iron, which in Britain may be considered as not earlier than B.C. 250.⁷ But it is difficult to see any evidence of this having been the case, and consequently the conclusion drawn from the absence of iron, silver, and coins in the barrows during the 250 years is very much weakened, if not altogether invalidated. And, as has been already pointed out, such absence may have arisen from other causes than the non-existence of these articles when the barrows were constructed. On the other hand, the natural presumption is that the same people would continue the same mode of burial, unless some great change took place; and, as there is no evidence of any such change, the presumption is that the old mode of burial continued until Cæsar came; and the barrow on Morvah Hill, where a burnt body in an urn, and Roman coins and pottery were found,⁸ and the barrow at Crawley, Oxfordshire,⁹ show that, in fact, the old mode of burial did continue until Roman times.

The result is that the two or three centuries attributed to the bronze age, in its highest state, may well be struck out of the calculation; and the calculation may commence from Cæsar's landing, though, probably, that is too early, as nothing was effected in his time which was calculated to change the mode of burial throughout all Britain.

We quite agree with Canon Greenwell, that the large number of articles of bronze which have been found, and the high perfection of their manufacture, show that it must have been in use in Britain for a very long period; and it may have been in use for at least 700 years, as he supposes.¹⁰ It seems to us impossible to fix any date, even approximately. It is certain that many barrows have existed in their present state 2000

¹ Page 17.

² *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 1.

³ Page 130.

⁴ Cæsar, B. G., lib. v, c, 12.

⁵ B. G., lib. v, c, 13.

⁶ B. G., lib. iv, c, 20.

⁷ Page 181.

⁸ Page 182.

⁹ Page 713.

¹⁰ Page 130.

years; how, then, is it possible to determine how much earlier they existed?

The opinion of the Canon rests upon the supposition that the manufacture of bronze originated in Britain, in which we entirely concur. And we cannot assent to the statement of Dr. Rolleston, that any "tribes brought bronze into England."¹ Tin and copper, the component parts of bronze, abound in England, and especially in Cornwall.² In Anglesea, also, there is a copper mine forty feet in thickness, and tin was worked here in extremely remote times. Herodotus³ tells us that amber was reported to come from a river, called Eridanus, which ran into the North Sea, and that there were there certain islands, called Cassiterides, from which tin came,

(Κασσιτερίδας, ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ);

but he could not even learn that there was any sea on that side of Europe; but that, at all events, both amber and tin came from the furthest part of Europe. The report, however, was doubtless true; for amber comes from the North Sea,⁴ and tin from the Cassiterides. These are the British Islands, sometimes called Hesperides.

Νήσους θ' Ἑσπερίδας, τόθι κασσιτέροιο γενέθλη.⁵

Now we learn from Cæsar⁶ that there was a tribe in Britain of the name of Cassi, of which Cassivellaunus was king; and as he was chosen as commander in chief of all the tribes against Cæsar,⁷ the Cassi may well have been the principal tribe. Now the word Cassivellaunus clearly means king of the Cassi; for vellaunus, bellaunus, or however the word is spelled, is derived from the Hebrew or Phœnician Baal, Lord or King;⁸ and princes formerly took their names from the people they governed.⁹ Cunobelinus is a similarly formed name. Then "tir" in Welsh is land terra; and Cassitir formed from it and Cassi would be the land of the Cassi, like Lapland, Poland, &c. Then the Greeks would add os to the end of the word, and make it κασσίτερος; just as they made Βῆλος from Baal; and the metal would be named from the place whence it came, as many other articles have been. Thus, the derivation of the word has been shown, and the place whence tin went to Greece proved to have been England. And it is well to add that it is clear that Herodotus had never even heard of tin coming from any place other than the Cassiterides. Homer frequently mentions cassiteros as used in the Trojan war, which may, at least, be as early as B.C. 1000. All this tends to show that tin was worked at a very early period in Britain, and that the manufacture of bronze may probably have originated there, and at as early a time as the Canon supposes. We have not found any mention of mining in Britain itself; but, as Cæsar tells us that the Aquitanians were extremely expert in that art,¹⁰ it is very probable that the Britons were so also, as there certainly was a constant communication between Gaul and Britain.

¹ Page 263.

² Lysons *M.B. Cornwall*, cxciv.

³ Lib. iii, c. 115.

⁴ See the account of amber by Tacitus (*De Mor. Germ.*, c. 45), as found in the North Sea.

⁵ Dionysius Alexandrinus, cited *Camd Brit.* iii.

⁶ B.G., lib. v, c. 21.

⁷ Ibid. c. xi.

⁸ *Anc. Un. Hist.*, 306, note H.

⁹ *Camd. Br.*, 278.

¹⁰ *Longe peritissimi*, B.G., lib. iii, c. 21.

From the absence of metal and the rarity of vessels of pottery in the long barrows, it is inferred that they are more ancient than the round barrows, and the fact that the skulls found in them are dolichocephalic is strongly relied on in support of that conclusion.¹

We entertain considerable doubt upon this subject. It would seem that originally a corpse would be laid on the ground; and, whether previously burnt or not, earth would be thrown up on all sides over the remains, and so a mound nearly circular would be formed; at first this would be only large enough to cover the body completely; and when larger mounds were raised, whether in honour of the dead or otherwise, the same circular form would be continued. Such in fact are many of the round barrows, which contain the remains of one body and nothing else. But the stone chambers, and the strange mode of burning in the long barrows, are not only additions, but obviously innovations upon the older mode of burial, and still more so is the vast addition of the part in which no burial took place, and which could only have arisen from some other motive than what prompted the round barrow. In Caithness we are told, that in some round cairns there is the same mode of construction with recurved entrances leading into chambers, indeed they are in all particulars, except in shape, like the "horned" long cairns.² Can there be any reasonable doubt that these are the older form? Again the barrow in Nether Swell, Gloucestershire, was between two round barrows and impinged upon them, and contained a stone chamber with a passage leading into it; and Canon Greenwell does not think it "an unlikely supposition to regard it as belonging to a time of transition, when the older manner of burial was being replaced by another."³ We quite agree in this view, but think the reasonable inference is, that it was a transition from the round to the long form. Then the scarcity of pottery and absence of metal is no more than what occurs in many round barrows, and consequently forms no ground of distinction. The only point remaining is the form of the skulls; now we freely confess our inability to express any opinion on this subject, and we shall only say that we think many more examples of such skulls must be produced before any safe conclusion can be drawn as to the age of the barrows in which they are found.

The long barrows bear a very small numerical proportion to the round ones.⁴ This fact, together with their very exceptional structure, leads to the supposition that there may have been some special reason for adopting their form, though they were made in the same period as the round barrows. There can be no doubt that the long barrows in Yorkshire, were made expressly for the purpose of burning the remains of a number of persons at one and the same time, and the barrow at Upper Swell for the burial at one time of a number of bodies, and the barrows containing cists or chambers for the like purpose. In all these cases we perceive a special purpose, and as far as we are aware, there is no instance of a long barrow made for the burial of a single individual. But there are many such instances in round barrows. Is it to be supposed that in the time of the long barrows, no individual, however distinguished, was buried alone? or is it not more reasonable to suppose that single individuals were

¹ Page 483, &c.

² Page 481.

³ Page 451.

⁴ Page 444.

buried in round barrows, and numbers of dead in long barrows at the same period?

It is observed that "it is only upon rare occasions that anything whatever has been found associated with a burial; whilst in several of these instances the articles are merely such as were connected, in the shape of fastenings, with the dress or other covering in which the body had been clothed."¹ And it is well remarked that "if it were thought that in another world persons would pass through a state of existence similar to that in which they had lived upon earth, and that it was therefore necessary to send them into that second state equipped with the essential means of such an existence, it is difficult to understand why so few persons were laid in the grave with these provisions for that after-life. This difficulty becomes greater when we consider the labour that was bestowed upon the barrows; showing, as it does, that neither care nor trouble was spared upon that which was connected with the funeral rites."² And still more so when some, if not many of these barrows, contain the remains of some one person only, who was evidently a pre-eminent person; for in such cases it cannot be doubted that everything that might be supposed in any way to tend to the benefit or honour of the deceased would be done. The fact that out of 379 burials only 77 contained any bronze or stone implements³ seems to be perfectly conclusive against there being any such general custom of placing articles with the dead for their use in a future state.

We have an admirable description of the pottery found in the barrows, accompanied by many beautiful representations of urns and other vessels;⁴ and without such representations it would be in vain to attempt to give any intelligible description of them. The pottery does not exhibit any representation of any animal or vegetable form; but consists principally of combinations of straight lines in almost endless variety, arranged in cross, zigzag, chevron, saltire, reticulated and herring-bone fashion, and sometimes in curved lines and circular markings.⁵ "The ornamentation upon the vases and urns is not wanting in a certain tasteful arrangement; but in the ignorance of the use of the wheel, in the imperfect firing, in the absence of glazing, or of any other form of design in the patterns than simple combinations of lines or of circular markings, it cannot be said that they had attained to any great perfection in the art of the potter."⁶ But there are instances of greater perfection. Thus, an engraving is given of the top of a vessel, which "is elegant, and its symmetry is such as to show the hand of a master in its fabrication. The ornamentation is very tastefully applied, and with great judgment; and in the delicate arrangement of its pattern, and the skill with which that has been carried out, it much exceeds the most of even the finer specimens of the fictile ware of the period."⁷ And we are also told that the vessels of pottery "have been all hand-made; and taking this into consideration, many of them are surprising specimens of the potter's skill." "All have undergone the action of fire at an open fire, and not in a kiln."⁸

¹ Page 59.

² Page 59.

³ Page 51.

⁴ Page 61, *et seq.*

⁵ Page 65.

⁶ Page 117.

⁷ Page 306.

⁸ Page 63.

A doubt has been entertained as to the manner in which the urns were made. It is said that some "appear to have been made from one mass of clay and at once; but others show that they were formed of separate pieces laid together, the sides being as it were gradually built up."¹ We have recently learned that large amphoræ are now made by the women in India of circular layers placed one upon another. This well explains the mode in which British urns may have been made, and also the very large amphoræ in the Troad.² Some of these had cracked in baking, and a hole had been bored on each side of the crack, and the amphora was held together by lead, which had been run through both holes so as to form a firm connexion. We have one of these leads, which bears the marks of the fibres of some plant on its inside, which had been used to form a mould, into which the molten lead had been run, and a band formed which touched the urn all round, and so held it as closely together as possible. The two holes $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch apart, pierced through the rim of the urn from Scalby near the top, may well, therefore, have been made to repair a crack.³

As to the sepulchral pottery, called "Incense Cups," "Food Vessels," and "Drinking Cups,"⁴ and the bones of animals, a suggestion may be made, which is at least consistent with, and may account for their presence in barrows. Virgil⁵ describes the celebration of rites at the barrow of Anchises, on the anniversary of his burial, and it is clear that the same rites were used as at the original funeral: two libations of wine, two of new milk, and two of sacred blood were made.

Hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho
Fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,

and the vessels are described again as pateras et levia pocula. Then sheep, pigs, and cattle were sacrificed.

Cædit binas de more bidentes,
Totque aues, totidem nigrantes terga juvencos.⁶

Lastly there was the funeral feast,

Subjiciunt veribus prunas et viscera torrent.⁷

And this feast was on the flesh of the animals that had been sacrificed, and their blood poured out in libations, and the wine used was not mixed with water, for that was unlawful." This description seems remarkably to accord with the vessels and bones found in the barrows.

The bones of the horse, goat, pig, deer, ox, sheep, &c., have been found in the barrows, and all these animals were sacrificed by Romans and other people to their Gods;⁸ and it may be said, that this tends to show that the animals, whose bones are found in the barrows, were sacrificed. But the total absence of the bones of animals and pottery from so great a number of the barrows, completely negatives the supposition that sacrifices were ever made at British funerals.

¹ Page 64.

² *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 1.

³ Page 69.

⁴ Page 66.

⁵ *Æn.* v, 46, et seq.

⁶ Juvencus is a bullock in its second year, and bidens a sheep two years old.

⁷ See also *Æn.* iii, 66. *Georg.* iv, 380.

⁸ Heyne's note to *Æn.* v, 66.

⁹ See Virg. *Georg.* ii, 380. Ovid, *Fasti*, lib. i, 349, 357, 381, 385, 387.

One fact is peculiarly strong. No instance has been given where it could even be suggested that an image has been found. At all events, therefore, there is no pretence for believing that the Britons were idolaters.

Canon Greenwell is strongly of opinion¹ that the sepulchral vessels were made for the particular purpose, and if they were made for the purposes just mentioned, they may well have been less carefully made and burnt in consequence; and though porous, they may have been sufficiently retentive to hold the fluids for the short time that was necessary. In the Troad, libations are even now poured on the corpse, and the cups which contained them thrown into the grave and frequently broken. This would account for vessels being found either lying on their sides or broken in pieces.

Our opinion is that Canon Greenwell is clearly right in thinking that "the various sepulchral vessels were especially made for the purposes of burial, and not manufactured for domestic use."² There seems to be no doubt that the urns, in which the bones were placed, were made on the spot, and for the particular burial, and the character of the pottery, of which the others were formed, is so similar in quality, and in the extent to which it has been exposed to fire, as naturally to lead to the supposition that all were made at the same time and place. Nothing has been said as to the presence of clay near the barrows where pottery has been found; and yet that might throw light upon this question. If clay was accessible where there was pottery, and absent where there was no pottery, the inference would be plain. Clay was plentiful near the barrow in which the urn was found at Bradley.

To be continued.

PRE-HISTORIC TIMES, as illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages. By SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, BART. M.P., D.C.L., &c. 4th Edition. London: Frederic Norgate. Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

There is no more absorbing subject, to those who take any interest in it, than that treated of in Sir John Lubbock's *Pre-historic Times*.

Geology, or a study of the structure of the crust of the earth, is itself a science as but of yesterday. It is scarcely more than a century since attention was first directed to it, but it is a science which has made, and is still making most rapid progress though our knowledge, as yet, is very incomplete and imperfect. But out of this science has arisen a new science of still more engrossing interest, the study of Ancient Man, as exemplified in the remains discovered in the drift gravels, bone caves, &c.

The first discoveries in Geology and the pursuit of Geological studies was, at first, met by fear and jealousy, arising from an apprehension, that in it there existed a tendency to undermine the truths of revelation; but that apprehension has now, it is thought, passed away, and a belief has arisen that an agreement between religion and science must of necessity exist, and that the further science is cautiously, conscientiously, and reverently studied, the more clearly will that agreement be made manifest. The present Archbishop of Canterbury in his lecture on "Science and Revelation," delivered at Edinburgh in 1864, when Bishop of London, used these words, as quoted by Sir John Lubbock: The man of Science

¹ Page 105.

² Page 108.

ought to go on "honestly, patiently, diffidently, observing and storing up his observations, and carrying his reasonings unflinchingly to their legitimate conclusions, convinced that it would be treason to the majesty at once, of science and of religion, if he sought to help either by swerving ever so little from the straight rule of truth." The same prejudices which have arisen with respect to the startling discoveries of the great antiquity of man upon the earth will, we doubt not, be in the same manner as those in geology, gradually removed.

To the study of Pre-historic Archaeology have many able and enthusiastic men devoted themselves for several years, among whom there are few who have distinguished themselves by greater energy and acumen than Sir John Lubbock. In the early years of the last decade he published a series of Essays on the subject in the *Natural History Magazine*, and he delivered a course of lectures on the "Antiquity of Man" at the Royal Institution, for which he carefully prepared himself by visiting and examining the principal places throughout Europe at which remains of primæval man had been discovered. This resulted in the publication, in 1865, of his valuable work on *Pre-historic Times*, the 4th edition of which is the subject of this notice. The science of which it treats is, as it were, the connecting link between geology and history.

Though perhaps superfluous, it may be as well here to say that the Pre-historic period has usually been divided into three epochs, or ages, the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron ages, neither of them very clearly defined, all of uncertain duration and variable in different regions, and each running into its successor; but in treating of his subject, Sir John Lubbock has adopted a four-fold division of epochs:—

1. That of the Drift; when man shared the possession of Europe with the mammoth, the cave bear, the woolly-haired rhinoceros, and other extinct animals. This, he says, we may call the "Palæolithic" period.

2. The later or polished Stone Age; a period characterised by beautiful weapons and instruments made of flint and other kinds of stone, in which however, we find no trace of the knowledge of any metal excepting gold, which seems to have been sometimes used for ornaments. This, he says, we call the "Neolithic" period.

3. The Bronze Age; in which bronze was used for arms and cutting instruments of all kinds.

4. The Iron Age; in which that metal had superseded bronze for arms, axes, knives, &c. Bronze, however, still being in common use for ornaments, and frequently also for the *handles* of swords and other arms, though never for the blades.

In treating of his subject, however, under these heads he has inverted their order, dealing first with the two latest in the metallic periods. He begins by alluding to the first discovery and antiquity of metals, observing that Hesiod who flourished about 900 years B.C., lived during the period of transition from bronze to iron, for he mentions the ancients as having used bronze and not iron. Our author further remarks that in the Pentateuch, excluding Deuteronomy, bronze or as it is there, unfortunately, translated *brass*, is mentioned thirty-eight times, and iron only four times. Bronze is a compound of copper and tin, and brass is a compound of copper and zinc, and the latter was not known to the ancients. The period of the introduction of the use of bronze, and that of the transition from bronze to iron are unknown. Sir John Lubbock

combats the opinion of Dr. Nilsson and others, who consider that the introduction of the use of bronze and its dispersion throughout Europe is due to the Phœnician traders, for he says, the Phœnicians, we know, were well acquainted with iron. In *Homer* we find the warriors were equipped with iron weapons, and the tools used in the preparation of the materials for Solomon's temple were of the same metal. Hence it follows that if at these early periods the use of iron was known, the use of bronze must have stretched back many centuries previously. There can, however, be no doubt that bronze implements continued in use for some purposes after the introduction of iron for the higher classes of cutting instruments.

But the most interesting portion of the work is, that which relates to the Stone Age, which the author has divided into two periods, viz:—the Palæolithic Age and the Neolithic Age. He first treats of the latter or Neolithic period. After alluding to the immense number of stone implements and weapons which are found in all parts of the world, he proceeds to give a description of the *modus operandi* in making them, giving numerous examples of celts, axes, hammers, &c., comparing them with similar objects made by savages of the present day.

To this period belong the Megalithic monuments, such as camps, fortifications, dykes, tumuli, menhirs or standing stones, cromlechs or stone circles, dolmens or stone chambers, which occur in vast numbers throughout the world; and in treating of this class of antiquities, Sir John Lubbock has availed himself of the numerous discoveries which have been made since the publication of the last edition of his work; and he enters very fully into the ancient practice regarding the disposal of the dead. We are unable to follow him through all the interesting details which he has given; but we should notice the fact that the long tumuli of Great Britain resemble, in some respects, the Gang-graben of Scandinavia, in which the dead are buried and not burnt. Metal has not, at any time, been found in these tumuli, and it is concluded that they belong to the Stone Age. The skulls found therein are very long and narrow, and have received from Dr. Wilson the name of kumbe-cephalic, or boat-shaped. In a tumulus at Linglow, in Derbyshire, were found thirteen skeletons, which had been buried in the usual contracted posture. They were contained in a cist, composed of large stones, and with them were discovered several worked flints. Long skulls are comparatively rare in the round tumuli in England, and no round skulls have yet been found in long tumuli;—at any rate, in Wiltshire or Gloucestershire. Thus, justifying Dr. Thurman's aphorism—"Long barrows long skulls, round barrows round skulls;" and the recent researches of Canon Greenwell and Professor Rolleston confirm this view. It is remarked that, as yet, no bone of any of the extinct mammalia has been found in a tumulus. The stone implements, also, are of a character very different from those used by the palæolithic men. On the continent, also, as in England, it has been observed that some skulls are brachycephalic or short-headed, resembling the Lapps, whilst others are dolichocephalic or long-headed. The objects buried with the dead are very numerous and varied.

We must not linger over Sir John Lubbock's description of the discoveries in the lake dwellings of Switzerland. These villages belong to each of the different epochs into which the pre-historic time has been

divided. The structure of the dwellings, and the remains found therein, are exceedingly interesting, but are probably familiar to our readers from Mr. J. E. Lee's admirable translation of Dr. Keller's reports, recently published. Moreover, we can only briefly allude to the "kjökkenmödings," or shell mounds of Denmark, which our author has twice visited for the purpose of furnishing an accurate account of them. They are situate near the sea, and only a few feet above the water, and seem to be the waste heaps of a population which subsisted almost entirely upon shell-fish, the most abundant species of which were the oyster, cockle, mussel and periwinkle. Remains of birds and also of some few mammalia, chiefly the stag, roe-deer and wild-boar, were also found, but no vestige of the reindeer was met with. In every case, the bones which contained marrow were split open in the manner best adapted for its extraction. Among the shells were found stone implements of a peculiar and rude description, consisting of axes, flint-flakes, sling-stones, &c., with a few bone pins. The Danish tumuli have furnished several skeletons, from which it appears that the people were of small stature, having round skulls like the Lapps, but with a more projecting ridge over the eye, and with the peculiarity that their teeth did not overlap but met each other, as do those of the Greenlanders of the present day. The stone implements found in the tumuli are very superior in character to those discovered in the shell-mounds, and some controversy has arisen between Danish archaeologists as to whether the shell-mounds were the remains of a more barbarous people than those who constructed the tumuli, and made the beautiful weapons found in them. There are indications that the shell-mounds men were not merely summer visitors, but regular settlers; or, at least, that they remained in their settlement the greater part of, if not during, the whole year. They had no domestic animal except the dog, and belonged to the earliest period of the stone age.

We must pass over Sir John Lubbock's chapter on American Archæology, interesting as it is, and proceed to the consideration of the earlier evidences of the Antiquity of Man in the river-drifts and bone caves. A considerable amount of discredit has from time to time been cast upon the value of the evidence derived from each of these sources. In 1841, M. Boucher de Perthes of Abbeville discovered flint implements in the drift gravels in the valley of the Somme, associated with the remains of extinct mammalia; the antiquaries both of France and England treated the discovery as the hallucinations of an enthusiast. At length several eminent Geologists, including Sir Charles Lyell, Mr. Joseph Prestwich, Mr. Evans, and Sir John Lubbock himself visited the valley of the Somme, and upon a very careful examination were satisfied as to the authenticity of the discoveries. Mr. Prestwich communicated the result of his investigation to the "Royal Society," and Mr. Evans to the "Society of Antiquaries,"¹ from which time the fact has been no longer doubtful. Mr. Evans, on his return to England, found that precisely similar discoveries had been made in England sixty years previously, by Mr. John Frere, F.R.S., who, in 1797, communicated to the "Society of Antiquaries," an account of a flint weapon he had found at Hoxne in Suffolk. This relic continues in the museum of the Society, and is

¹ *Archæologia*, xxxviii, 280.

identical in character with those discovered in the valley of the Somme.¹ Even as early as 1715 a similar discovery was made near Gray's Inn lane, of a spear-head in connection with an elephant's tooth. Many like finds have since been made in ancient drift gravels, in various places in England, in the valleys of the Ouse, the Cray, the Medway, and of the Thames. The remains of a mammoth are said to have been exhumed at Charing Cross within the last few weeks.

The Cave finds have been equally prolific. We need only mention Kent's Cavern at Torquay, and the Brixham Cave, where implements of flint, fashioned by the hands of man, barbed harpoons, and bone needles were found in connection with the remains of the mammoth, the woolly haired rhinoceros, the urus, the hyæna, the cave bear, the cave lion, the great Irish elk, and many other mammalia, now either wholly extinct, or no longer inhabiting Europe, the whole being covered, and sealed up as it were, for countless ages, underneath a bed of stalagmite, varying from three inches to eighteen inches in thickness. Superimposed upon this was a layer of black mould containing stone weapons of the Neolithic period, in connection with the remains of animals of existing species.

It is then an unquestionable fact, that a large number of rude implements of flint have been found both in the river drifts and in the ossiferous caves, which have certainly been fashioned by intelligent beings, and they are found in circumstances which lead to the conclusion, that probably the race of men who made them had passed away long before this portion of the earth was peopled by the 'primitive tribes by whom the more finished stone weapons, which we have hitherto been accustomed to consider of the most remote antiquity, were fabricated.

At what period in the history of the earth the mysterious deposits in the caves, and the equally, if not more, ancient deposits in the river drifts were made, it is, and probably ever will be, impossible to shew. That the geographical and climatic condition of Europe has greatly changed since the mammoth, the rhinoceros, and the reindeer roamed at large in the forests is manifest, for the existence of these animals in England indicates both a degree of cold of Arctic severity and a continental continuity, and there cannot be a doubt that the distribution of land and sea have a vast influence on climate.

The deposits of river drift, in some instances, shew an entire change in the configuration of the country. Such deposits, containing fresh-water shells and other remains, are found on the tops of hills, at a distance from existing rivers; and even those rivers which occupy the same valleys, which by their own force they scooped out for themselves unknown ages ago—such as the Somme—flow on much lower levels than formerly. This is shewn by deposits of drift, 100 feet or more above their present beds.

Sir John Lubbock brings under our notice the fact that many eminent men—historians, philologists and physiologists—"by no means inclined to raise objections against the authority of the Sacred Scriptures," long before the discoveries to which we have been adverting, felt a difficulty in reconciling certain facts with Archbishop Ussher's chronology. He also adduces many theories, geological and astronomical, for determining, at least approximately, the period of the palæolithic deposits, all varying

¹ *Archæologia*, xiii, 204.

greatly in results. Sir Charles Lyell is disposed to believe that the period of the greatest cold occurred about 800,000 years ago, whilst Sir John Lubbock himself considers it "unlikely that the present fauna of Europe should have continued to exist, almost without alteration, for so long a period; and the variations in the range and distribution of aquatic and terrestrial animals might, he thinks, have occurred in even less than 200,000 years, under the great changes in climate which have taken place." We cannot pursue this subject, but it well deserves an attentive study. It must, however, be admitted as conclusively proved that man existed upon the earth at the remote date of the deposits referred to, a period of antiquity not heretofore conceived of; but whether the great geological changes which have since taken place have been the result of slow and gradual natural causes, as advocated by Sir John Lubbock; or of some cataclism, as believed by the French geologists; or on the occasion "when the fountains of the great deep were broken up and the windows of heaven opened," who can tell?

THE BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL
Vol. II.

An examination of this volume convinces us that this young Society is in a very prosperous condition. It is very pleasing to see that the Society already numbers all but 500 members, amongst whom so goodly an array of archaeologists appears. Equally gratifying is it to contemplate the numerous very valuable papers contained in this interesting volume. These papers are for the most part confined to the County of Gloucester and City of Bristol, and in many instances to particular districts. We are convinced that this is the right course for such a society to pursue. The more the attention is concentrated upon particular places, the more the information regarding them will tend towards the ultimate formation of a really good county history; or we ought rather to say, a good history of England; for no thoroughly good history of any county can be written unless the facts relating to each and every part of it be previously ascertained. To comment upon all the articles before us, which well deserve notice, would occupy much greater space than is at our disposal. We shall, therefore briefly notice some, and especially advert to one article.

Several papers throw much light upon the families of Tyndale, Selwyn, Howe, Lord Chedworth, and others.

An admirable description of the Fairford windows is given by the Rev. J. G. Joyce, which is as excellent in its representation of them, as it is free from indulging in controversy as to their author, and we most deeply lament the early death of the author since it was written.

Prefixed to an account of the disinterment of a skeleton in Oakley Park, Professor Rolleston gives a very able disquisition on the several ages of iron, bronze and stone, which he maintains were distinct enough in the middle of each, though there might be gradations at both ends of the series.

Then we have a very interesting paper on the monumental brasses at Cirencester, in which the inscriptions that still remain are given. We most thoroughly agree with Mr. Hadow that these brasses (and other sepul-

chral monuments) are "extremely valuable. In them the herald, the genealogist, the chronologist, the architect, the artist, the palæographer, and the general antiquary, will each and all find much to interest and instruct them in their several branches of knowledge; and they furnish us, not only with well defined ideas of celebrated persons, but make us acquainted with the manners and customs of their times; while to history they give a body and a substance, by placing before us those things, which language, with all its powers, is deficient in describing;" And, infinitely more important than all, prove many a link in pedigrees.

The historical notes on tombs in Tewkesbury Abbey by the Rev. W. S. Symonds, contain a very full and accurate account of them from the earliest times, as far as materials exist for that purpose.

A note by the celebrated Dr. Hübner supports the view that Glevum (Gloucester) was a Roman Colony, and constituted the original standing quarters of the Second Legion.

The notices of recent Archaeological Publications are numerous, enriched in sundry instances by good engravings, and are very well written, and the notice of Northcote's Catacombs is especially good.

We now come to the article on "Tenures of land by the customary tenants in Cirencester," by the Rev. E. A. Fuller, to which we shall devote a more particular notice. This article contains a series of documents, commencing in 1086 with an extract from Domesday, and ending in 1540, or for a period of about 450 years, relating to Cirencester. The documents are extremely well translated, and the comments upon them are excellent. We look on this collection as very valuable, as it illustrates not only the early system of tenures, but of services by persons, both male and female, who were merely inhabitants, or even strangers sojourning in the place for a short time, and discloses the gradual changes that took place in that system as the centuries passed along.

The finding of an inquest that all natives when emancipated, and all strangers who slept in Cirencester on the night of St. John the Baptist (June 24th) and continued there till the corn was reaped, whether freeman or serf, male or female,¹ must do certain services, clearly shows that the title to the article is too narrow, and that services were due from all persons, whether they held lands or not, with the exception of those who were emancipated, or who had not sojourned during the specified time. And this is quite in accordance with the finding in another inquisition, which, after specifying the services due from many, states that all others, who continue (manent) on the land of the king, ought to perform the services there specified.²

Our limits prevent us from any attempt to give a full description of the different services, and the changes which they underwent from time to time; but the documents themselves, and the admirable remarks of Mr. Fuller upon them are very deserving of the consideration of all who are interested in such matters, for if we mistake not, they throw a considerable amount of new light upon them. As might well be supposed in the earlier times, the services were personal and onerous in a greater degree than afterwards, and it may be doubted whether they were not more onerous in Saxon times than at the time of Domesday; for the entry from it here given, shows that 3000 loaves for dogs were rendered in the time

¹ Page 307.

² Page 297.

of King Edward, and sixteen shillings in lieu of them when Domesday was made, and money payments are far less onerous than services in kind. We have looked through the Derbyshire part of Domesday, to see if there were anything that might throw light upon this subject, but in vain. In it the value in the time of King Edward, and at the time of the Domesday survey is stated, and in the majority of cases the value is less, often much less, than in the time of King Edward. But that affords no information on this subject.

The inquisition held under a writ of King John by Richard de Muchegros and Walter de Verdun, concerning the services and customs of Cyrencester, is remarkable in several respects. They convoked a halimot of Cyrencester, and, with the assent of the halimot, they caused to be elected sixteen of the older and more loyal (*legalioribus*) men of Cyrencester, who, as was said, were best acquainted with the customs and services of the vill of Cyrencester, to declare what service the men of Cyrencester were accustomed to render to King Henry I, whilst the vill was in his hands; and these men were sworn (*tactis sacrosanctis evangelis, jurati super sacramentum sanctum*).¹

The first remark is that it seems the oath was taken not only by touching the Gospels, but actually over the Holy Sacrament.

Next we have a jury, who were also witnesses, and apparently the only witnesses, and not only so, but directly interested in the matters to be determined.

There are some words in the documents here given, on which they throw light, or on which light may be thrown from other sources, and therefore they may well be noticed.

Venatoria was some service in hunting; and it is said that it consisted in providing two or three greyhounds for the king,² and it probably related to venaria, which were hares, partridges, &c., which frequented the open, and not deer and pheasants frequenting the woods.³ By the foundation charter of the monastery of St. Werburgh in Chester about 1093, Ralph Venator (the huntsman) granted three plough lands,⁴ and to the foundation charter of the abbey of Stanlaw in 1178, Robertus Venator was a witness,⁵ and to a deed about 1286 Robert le Grosvenour, then Sheriff of Cheshire, was a witness.⁶ There seems no doubt, therefore, that there was an office of huntsman; and, as the extract from Domesday mentions the render to the king of 3000 loaves for the dogs, and the term venatoria occurs as the service of the first person named in the next document, it is probable that the office existed in Saxon times.⁷

Villa here means a district, in which there were open and inclosed lands, as well as houses. See the explanation of this word in *Archæological Journal*, xxix, 85.

Two words denoting agricultural services are very clearly explained by these records.

Bederipa or Bidripa was the service performed by mowing, gathering together, binding in sheaves and stacking corn (*metendo, colligendo, ligando, et tassando blada*),⁸ and may well be rendered corn harvesting.

Fenatio, fenagium, feneson and feneisun are all derived from *foenum*,

¹ Page 293.

² Inq. p.m., 36 Henry III, 42 b.

³ Spelm. *Gl. venaria*.

⁴ Leycester's *Chesh.* 110.

⁵ Ibid., 267.

⁶ Ibid., 305.

⁷ Page 286.

⁸ Page 312.

hay, and mean the service performed by spreading, gathering together, loading and stacking hay (*spargendo, uniendo, levando et tassando fenum*).¹ In the King's Bench Roll, 9 Henry III, m. 6, d. and m. 20, the equivalent word is *feneileva*, which is plainly derived from *fenum* and *levo*; both of which occur in the record. This service may well be called hay harvesting, and *fenare* was to perform this service.

Spelman treats these services as *precaria*, because they were only to be performed when the tenant was bidden or required to do them, and he says such services were to be rendered with horses, carts, ploughs and manual labour, and sometimes as well by free tenants as natives.

The service was to be performed by one able man (*per unum hominem habilem*)² or more; but it is not said to be by the tenant.

For hay harvesting nothing was to be given by the lord; but for corn harvesting three halfpence without dinner or drink.³

Perendinus, the next day after tomorrow, is good Latin, and Vossius gives *perendinare* as *die uno, vel altero, vel diutius apud aliquem divertere*, and here we have the word used for residing for an uncertain time, and nearly equivalent to inhabiting; and any stranger of either class, who slept in Cirencester on the night of St. John the Baptist, June 24th, and continued there until the lord cut his corn, whether free or serf, male or female, was bound to perform service.⁴

Sulfodes is an unknown word. Mr. Fuller says it has been suggested that it is derived from A.S. *sulh*, a plough, and *foda*, food. Possibly *sulcus*, a furrow, and *fodio*, to dig, may be the origin, and the word may mean a ploughman, who must be a skilful man. A jury found that natives, as long as they were under the rod and power of their fathers, and lived as part of the family (*ad manupastum patrum suorum et matrum*) did no service; but as soon as they had their free liberty and lived by their own labour, and became (*effecti*) *sulfodes*, they did service.⁵ The term plainly means much the same as our word emancipated.

Virgatarius, the holder of a virgate of land, which varied in value being two or three shillings a year.⁶ *Waynagium*, cartage, from *wain* a cart.⁷ Spelman has *carucæ wanagium*.

Gabellum and *tholnetum* seem to be here used for different imposts,⁸ and as those who brew their own beer are to be free *de tholneto*, it would seem that this word here denotes a tax on beer; but its general meaning is a toll paid for selling goods in a market.⁹ On the other hand *Gabellum* might denote either the one or the other.¹⁰

Villati seems equivalent to the men or inhabitants of a place. *Quod servitium villati de Cyrencester* is soon changed to *quod servitium homines de Cyrencester*. The word is derived from *villa*.¹¹

Chepingavel, from *cheaping*, an old term for a market, and *gavel*, toll, another form of *gabel*. Here it was a toll of 2½d. paid once a year by the *sulfodes* for the liberty of buying and selling in the market of Cyrencester anything except horses.¹²

Decenna, a body composed of the ten principal men in a vill, who

¹ Ibid.

² Page 312.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Page 307.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Page 297.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ *Sp. Glo. in Tol.*

¹⁰ *Sp. Gl.*

¹¹ Page 293.

¹² Page 307.

were each of them sureties for the others to the king for any wrong done by any of them.¹ Of this body each was called decennarius, and the head decanus.² Mr. Fuller renders decanna by tything; but this seems to be an inaccuracy. Blackstone treats tithing as synonymous with town or vill, and as made up of ten families of freeholders.³ A decenna as used here⁴ would seem to be a body of ten elected⁵ from all the inhabitants of Cirencester. There would also seem to be some distinction between the decennarii and the decenna; for an election is mentioned as made per decennarios decennam.

Thelinga as used here⁶ would seem to mean the same as decenna.

Testator, an aletaster.⁷

Cadaverator, an inspector of carcasses.⁸

Hedepenny, a penny paid by a Decannarius when he was not sworn at any view of frankpledge.⁹

Stakepenny, a penny paid to the lord for every brewing of beer exposed for sale.¹⁰

Tolcestre, a render of four lagenæ of the best, and four of the second best beer of every brewing intended for sale.¹¹

Brasina, a brewing of beer.¹²

Halimot, the court of the lord of a manor. In the cases here mentioned the halimot elected the members of the jury,¹³ and probably the decennarii.

Manens is here used simply for residing for a few days, and so it seems to be in a grant by Alexander de Marwyke to the Abbot and Monks of Kirkstall, without date. In Saxon deeds Spelman interprets manens as a tenant of land, but, as here used, it does not imply any connection with land.

We must now conclude, and the greatest praise we can give to this book, is that we have no real fault to find with it.

We would venture to suggest to the Society, the advisability of publishing the Gloucestershire and Bristol Records. The Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society is doing so, and the Sussex Archaeological Society is contemplating doing the same. The prospectus of the former gives a very good list of the original documents intended to be published, and contains valuable information on the subject. It is published in vol. xxix, Sussex Archaeological Coll., 232, and see vol. xxvii, 1, and vol. xxviii, 1, for further observations on such a proposal. Such a publication is extremely desirable, and will preserve many an important record that may otherwise be lost.

¹ *Sp. Gl. Triborga.*

² *Sp. Gl. in verbis.*

³ 1 Com. 114.

⁴ Page 313.

⁵ Page 314.

⁶ Page 307.

⁷ Page 313.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Page 313.

¹⁰ Page 312.

¹¹ Page 314.

¹² Pages 312, 314.

¹³ Pages 296, 306.

AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY THE ARMS FORMERLY EXISTING IN THE WINDOWS .OF THE PARISH CHURCH AND AUSTIN FRIARY AT WARRINGTON. By WILLIAM BEAMONT, Esq. and J. PAUL RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A., Warrington: Percival Pearse, 1878.

We can scarcely picture to ourselves the richness and beauty our old churches would now exhibit had it not been for the destruction caused by the bigoted zealots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of this the mutilated tombs and the fragments only, alas! of the richly painted windows still bear testimony. The windows at Warrington were, like many others, entirely armorial, and afforded no excuse for their destruction upon any religious ground, and possibly this was the reason they passed through the first period of iconoclastic fury without injury. They were safe in 1640, for separate accounts of them were written in 1572 and the last mentioned year. Probably they were destroyed by the Puritans during the Civil War, at all events one shield only remained at the end of the last century, which had been set up in 1527 to commemorate a deceased rector called Delves, but at the "restoration" of the church in 1860 that also perished!

The description of the windows alluded to above, forms the basis of the work before us. The lists are printed entire, and the blazon has been carefully revised and extended (all additions being placed within brackets), and extensive notes have been supplied upon the shields of arms. The plates of arms are exceedingly well executed, the charges being drawn with great boldness and vigour. Mr. Pearse, we understand, has taken the whole risk of the publication upon himself, and he will, we trust, be very fully compensated for the expenditure he has incurred.

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS OF BEAUCHIEF ABBEY. By SIDNEY OLDALL ADDY, M.A., Oxon. Oxford and London: James Parker & Co. Sheffield: Leader & Sons, 1878.

This is a very interesting and valuable sketch, and may be taken as, which indeed the author modestly professes it to be, a supplement to Dr. Pegge's *Historical Account of Beauchief Abbey*, published in 1801. Mr. Addy explains that his first intention was to edit, with some additions, the work of his predecessor, but that he abandoned such design because he found it impracticable to incorporate into Dr. Pegge's work, in a readable form, the Obituary of the Abbey, now first printed. We regret this decision, for Dr. Pegge's work, which contains the substance of the cartulary of the abbey, is very scarce, and if reprinted, with such notes as Mr. Addy has shewn himself so well qualified to make, and with the new matter contained in the volume before us added as a supplement, would have been extremely valuable.

The Abbey of Beauchief belonged to the great Premonstratensian Order, which followed the Augustinian rule, of which rule Mr. Addy commences by giving a brief abstract. This is followed by a history of the foundation of the house by Robert Fitzranulph in expiation of his guilt, for the share he had in the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whose honour the house was dedicated. Fitzranulph afterwards himself became a Canon. The obituary, which was found among the Cottonian MSS., is unusually full, and though unfortunately

210 NOTICES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

unusually deficient in dates, it is very valuable for local genealogical purposes ; whilst the Visitations of the Abbey, made from time to time, disclose a great deal of the condition of the monasteries in England in the fifteenth century. Some interesting wills and charters are given.

In writing of the appropriated churches, Mr. Addy would appear to conclude that, because certain of them were not mentioned in Domesday, no church existed there at the date of the Survey. This, however, by no means follows. As church endowments were not gildable, the Domesday Commissioners usually did not notice them, unless gildable lands were annexed to the benefice. Hence in some counties scarcely a dozen churches are named in the Survey.

The notes display a considerable amount of learning, and there is a very good index.

Archæological Intelligence.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME NORTHAMPTON.—Mr. W. Thompson Watkin has communicated the following: "The Rev. R. S. Baker, B.A., of Hargrave, in his interesting paper, 'The Nene Valley a Roman Frontier, and the origin of the name Northampton' (printed in the *Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 339), contends that the line of forts erected by Publius Ostorius Scapula, the Roman governor of Britain in A.D. 48, between the rivers Antona and Sabrina, in order to cut off the southern portion of England, from the as yet unsubdued tribes of the north, commenced in the neighbourhood of the Wash on the east, and following the line of the Nene Valley, which river he claims as the Antona, crossed the country to the Severn (Sabrina), in Gloucestershire. I am not going to enter into the means by which Mr. Baker arrives at the conclusion that the Antona of the county of Northampton is the Nene, in the same manner as we have a river, yet called the Anton, in the county of Southampton. Suffice it to say that I agree with him. There are one or two extra facts which I would, however, bring forward. Mr. Baker says that he has found 'in an old county atlas' the name of 'Anton' applied to the river Test, in Hampshire. The fact is that river is generally known as bearing the former name, as well as that of Test, in much the same way as the Mersey, above Stockport, is known as the 'Mersey or Etherow.' The name of 'Anton' is given to it on the ordnance map; in all (or nearly all) county atlases, 'Anton' is applied to it, and there is (in addition to Andover, which Mr. Baker mentions) a place called 'East Anton' near its source. But bearing more immediately upon the 'North Anton,' when Mr. Baker says that 'from the westernmost edge of Northants, to the nearest point of the Severn, Tewkesbury is barely over thirty-five miles,' he has also overlooked the peculiar fact that between the Nene and the Severn, a mile or two E.N.E. of Cheltenham, there exist, buried in the soil, the remains of a large Roman town, which bears the peculiar name of 'Andoversford.' Here, over several fields, extend immense foundations of buildings, walls of vast thickness occurring. About fifty-five acres are full of them. In some slight excavations made on the site in 1863, very interesting discoveries took place. A large building, either a temple or forum, was laid bare; sculptured stones, a bronze statue, about 1,100 coins (covering the whole period of the Roman occupation of Britain), great quantities of 'Samian' ware, and other pottery; rings, fibulæ, armillæ, in bronze; weapons, in that metal and in iron; besides many other remains, which are generally found upon Roman sites, were brought to light. A large amphitheatre (of stone work) appears to be buried also. The name 'Andoversford,' when occurring at such a spot, midway between the Antona and the Sabrina, forms, I think, another link of the chain of evidence as to the correctness

of the hypothesis that it was in this neighbourhood that the line of Roman *castra* were erected. The similarity of the name with the Hampshire 'Andover,' on the present river Anton, is remarkable. It is much to be wished that excavations could be made upon these sites. Those at Irchester, during the past summer, formed a promising commencement."

SCOTTISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.—We learn with much satisfaction that the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have lately given their sanction to the publication, as one of the Rolls' Series of Chronicles and Memorials, of all documents connected with Scottish History in the English Public Records from the earliest period to the end of the reign of Henry VII, to be brought out under the direction of the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland. Such a work, bringing into a chronological series the varied classes of MSS. known to be preserved in the Record Office, cannot fail to be welcomed by all historical students. We understand that the work is to be edited by Mr. Joseph Bain, F.S.A., Scotland, one of the most active of our members, who has for a considerable period devoted his time to such researches.

PUBLICATION OF A NEW MONASTICON.—Messrs. Chatto and Windus announce as ready a new Monasticon by the Rev. Mackenzie Walcott, in two volumes, crown 8vo., with a map and ground plans. It consists of "Churchwork and Life in English Minsters," with essays on architecture, the daily life, external relations and history of our cathedrals, and the "English Students' Monasticon" in alphabetical form, with references to the best authorities.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL HONOURS.—The members of the Institute and the numerous friends of Mr. J. H. Parker will hear with much pleasure that the King of Italy has been pleased to confer upon him, as a token of his royal esteem for his valuable works on the archæology of Rome, the Insignia of Officer of the Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus.

MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE IN SOMERSETSHIRE. The general arrangements for the meeting of the Institute at Taunton on August 5th, under the presidency of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, are now completed. The following are the names of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections:—*Antiquities*—President, Sir C. Anderson, Bart., Vice-Presidents, Sir W. V. Guise, Bart., Rev. H. M. Scarth; *History*—President, E. A. Freeman, Esq., Vice-Presidents, E. Chisholm Batten, Esq., Sir J. Maclean; *Architecture*—President, A. J. B. Beresford-Hope, Esq., M.P., Vice-Presidents, W. Burges, Esq., W. A. Sanford, Esq. The following places will be visited, amongst others, during the week:—Oleeve Abbey, Dunster Castle, Castle Neroche, Stokecourcy, Fairfield, East Quantockshead, St. Audries, Muchelney Abbey, Montacute House, Barrington Court, Wells, Glastonbury, Cothelstone, &c.

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1879.

ON A MONUMENTAL BRASS IN CHRIST'S CHURCH CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

By SIR PHILIP GREY EGERTON, Bt., M.P.

In the course of last December (1878) I received through the courtesy of Mr. Vaughan, of Edwardes Square, Kensington, a careful rubbing of a brass tablet in the recently restored cathedral church of Christ's Church, Dublin. As it raises some points of genealogical and heraldic interest a short account of it may not be unacceptable to the Archæological Institute. The brass is of small dimensions, being only seventeen inches square. It is fixed in a framework of stone projecting slightly from the south wall of the south transept, and is associated with three shields sculptured in stone, two above and one below. On one of these the Grey motto is inscribed, but the heraldic details are indistinguishable in all. The whole area of the brass plate is covered with heraldic details and embellishments, surrounded by a flowing scroll border. The centre of the field is occupied by the shield containing forty quarterings, within a garter. The supporters are: dexter, a Lion rampant, argent; sinister, a Wyvern, or. The helm is enriched by a flowing lambrequin, and is surmounted by the Falcon and Columbine branch, the Grey crest. In the upper dexter angle there is a capital letter A, and in the sinister a G, the initials of Arthur Grey. Below the garter is the motto "AT VINCET PAUPERIAM VIRTUS" on a scroll upon which the supporters rest. Below the scroll are represented two coffins, the one on the right having the figure of an infant on the lid, and that on the

left that of a baby in swaddling clothes. Beside each coffin is a shield quartering: 1. Grey. 2. Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester. 3. Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke. 4. Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. At the bottom of the plate is the following inscription in capital letters. "HERE LIETH BURIED THE SECOND AND THIRD SONNES OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR ARTHURE GREY, KNIGHT OF THE ORDER, LORD GREY OF WILTON, AND OF THE LADY JANA SIBILLA HIS WIFE, WHYCH CHILDREN DIED IN THE CASTEL OF DUBLIN IN THE TIME OF HIS DEPUTATION HERE."

Arthur Lord Grey de Wilton, K.G., who caused this memorial to be erected to the memory of two of his children, was descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors, distinguished by their abilities in the discharge of the high civil and military duties entrusted to them by the successive sovereigns under whom they served. Dugdale in his *Baronage* makes no notice of the Grey family previous to the reign of Richard I, but according to Banks the common ancestor of the several collateral branches of Codnor, Thurroch, Wilton, Ruthyn, and Groby, was Rollo or Fulbert, chamberlain to Robert, Duke of Normandy, "of whose gift he had the castle and honour of Croy, in Picardy, from whence his posterity assumed their surname" (afterwards written de Grey).

In a descent in my possession certified by the College of Heralds the line is traced up to Sir John de Grey, who was succeeded by Arnold, Reginald, and Henry the father of the aforesaid Henry de Grey, who married Isolda, daughter and heir of Hugh de Bandolph.

The Grey descent, as given in my family pedigree, blazoned by Randle Holmes, the Chester Herald in the year 1665, accords very closely with that recorded by Banks in his extinct *Baronage*. The earliest entry is as follows:—"Rowland of some called Ffulbert had issue Arletta concubine to Robert Duke of Normandy ffather to William the Conqueror, and John de Gray which lived in the Conqueror's time, who had issue John, who had issue Arnold, who had issue Reginald Lord of Rotherfield and Waterton, who had issue two sons, John de Gray Lord of Stoke by his ffather's guift, and Henry Lord Gray of Waterton and Rotherfield obiit 33^d of

Hen. I." His son Sir John Grey, "the first called Gray," obiit 12th of King John, and his son Henry, by his wife Ellianor, daughter of Roger, surnamed the good Earl of Clare, is the first of the family mentioned by Dugdale. Whatever ambiguity may envelope the early genealogy of the family, all competent authorities agree in the unbroken descent from Henry de Grey, chamberlain to Richard I, who conferred upon him the grant of Thurrock in Essex, which grant was confirmed by John. His son Richard was the progenitor of the Greys of Codnor, and his son Sir John was the ancestor of the Wilton and Ruthyn branches. This Sir John was justice of Chester in the 30th of Henry III, and was distinguished for his loyalty to his sovereign during the wars with the barons. His son, Sir Reginald, was also justice of Chester in the 54th of Henry III, and had summons to Parliament, among the barons of the realm, from 23rd of Edward I to the 2nd of Edward II. He married Maud, daughter and heiress of William, Lord Fitzhugh, by Hawise, daughter and heiress of Hugh de Longchamps, by which marriage he became possessed of Wilton Castle in Herefordshire. (Dugdale asserts in his *Baronage* that Reginald, Lord Grey, married the daughter of Hugh de Longchamps, whereas this lady was his wife's mother). In addition to this, he obtained from the king Ruthyn Castle in North Wales, in remuneration for his services. John, his son, was made justice of North Wales and governor of Carnarvon Castle, in the 10th of Edward II; and from his son Roger, by his second wife, Maud, daughter of Ralph, Lord Basset, is descended the Ruthyn branch of the family.

For many subsequent generations the Lords Grey of Wilton were distinguished for their loyalty to the throne; the trust that was reposed in them by the several sovereigns under whom they served, and the zeal and ability with which they discharged the duties, civil and military, devolving upon them by nature of the important posts to which they were appointed. These services have been so fully recorded by Hollinshed, Dugdale, and other chroniclers and historians, that it is needless to repeat them on this occasion. The successive heads of the family contracted marriages with the highest grades

of society of the periods in which they lived; and, as many of the alliances were with heiresses, the family shield became enriched by a multitude of illustrious quarterings. Forty of these are engraved on the brass in Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin; but I have a list drawn up by the College of Heralds, in which no less than sixty-two are enumerated as appertaining to this branch of the family. Eighth in lineal descent from the above named John came William Lord Grey, father of Arthur, who was the most distinguished of all the race for his ability, both in civil and military emergencies. The details of his active, yet chequered life, in the reigns of four sovereigns, are fully given by the several historians who have recorded the events of the period, and also in the *Commentary of the services and charges of William Lord Grey*, published by the Camden Society, from a manuscript written by his son Arthur, for the use of Hollinshed. In reward for his long and distinguished career he received in 1557 the Order of the Garter, but he did not live long to enjoy it, as he died in 1562, when Arthur Lord Grey, his son, by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester, succeeded to the family honours as fourteenth baron. He accompanied his father in many of his military appointments, and was with him at the siege of Guisnes, and in his Scotch campaign in 1560. He had summons to Parliament in 1566, and received the honour of the Garter in 1572. He was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in July 1580, and as he was recalled in August 1582, the date of the monumental brass recording the deaths of his two sons must be between these periods. Lord Grey was twice married. His first wife was Dorothy, natural daughter of Richard Lord Zouche of Haryngworth, by whom he had an only daughter, Elizabeth, married to Francis, only son of Sir John Goodwyn of Overwinchindon, in the county of Bucks. The settlement made in this marriage is dated the 28th of Elizabeth, 1586, and is signed by Arthur Lord Grey, Sir John Goodwyn, and Francis his son. This deed only came into my possession this year.

Arthur married secondly Jana Sibilla, daughter of Sir Richard Morrison of Cashiobury, and relict of Francis,

second Earl of Bedford. By this marriage he had Thomas, who, disregarding of the fair fame of his ancestral precursors, became a participator in the Raleigh plot, and being convicted, was committed to the Tower, where he died, unmarried, in 1614.

The only other son of Arthur found recorded in the genealogical authorities was William, who was born in the year 1588, and died at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1605-6. This son is thus referred to in Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*: "John Dunster had several copies of verses printed in various books, especially that made by the Society of Magdalen College, on the death of a noble young man of that house, named William Grey, son of Arthur Grey, Baron of Wilton." A monumental brass was placed to his memory in the Chapel of Magdalen College, bearing the following inscription; "Hic situs est Gulielmus Grey natus minor filiorum Arthuri Grey Baronis de Wilton obiit Februarii die 18 An. Dom. 1605 completis ultra annos ætatis integros 17 quatuor etiam mensibus." This brass had been removed from its position, and was deposited in the Bursary of the College; but, through the kindness of the Dean and the authorities of the College, it has now been replaced. As William was born in the year 1588, it will be seen by the Christchurch Cathedral brass that he was the fourth son of his parents, who had hitherto only been credited with two sons. In addition to the male issue, Arthur had an only daughter by his second wife, Bridget, who, on the death of her brother Thomas, became heir of the whole blood of this ancient family. She married in 1609 Rowland, son of Sir John Egerton of Egerton, knight, who was subsequently in 1617 created a baronet. On the death of the late Earl of Wilton, the lineal descendant of this marriage, the male line of the elder house became extinct, and the baronetage devolved upon John Egerton of Egerton and Oulton, Esq., the lineal descendant of Sir Philip Egerton, Knight, the second son of Sir Rowland, and the earldom passed to the second son of the first Marquis of Westminster, through his mother, sole daughter of the said last Earl.

Having briefly sketched the genealogical interest of this brass, I add a few remarks on its heraldic bearings. The shield contains, as before stated, 40 coats; of these

the following have been identified :—1, Grey de Wilton ; 2, Glanville ; 3, Fitzhugh ; 4, De Longchamps ; 5, Rokele ; 6, Clare ; 7, Consul ; 8, Botetourt ; 9, Strange ; 10, Talbot ; 11, Talbot ; 14, De la Vache ; 15, Fitz Osbert ; 16, Bruere ; 17, Hastings, Earl of Pembroke ; 20, Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland ; 21, Mac Morough, King of Leinster ; 23, Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester ; 24, Marshall, first Earl of Chester ; 25, Randal, second Earl of Chester ; 26, Meschines, Earl of Chester ; 27, Cantelupe ; 32, Valance, Earl of Pembroke ; 34, Fitz Oates ; 36, Muchesney ; 37, Marshall, Earl of Pembroke ; 38, Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke ; 39, Randal, third Earl of Chester ; 40, Hastings. The motto is not the one usually used by the family. Sir Harris Nicolas, in his *History of the Order of Knighthood*, quotes the rhymes of Tashe on Arthur Lord Grey's motto, "Forte en Loyalté ;" and I find no record of "Ut vincet pauperium virtus" in any books of reference I have been able to consult. The only remaining point worthy of observation is the inversion of the supporters. The Grey supporters, as recorded in the Herald's office, and as shewn on the Garter plate of William Lord Grey de Wilton, are, dexter a Wyvern, sinister a Lion rampant ; whereas on the brass the Lion occupies the dexter, and the Wyvern the sinister position. The latter arrangement is that now borne by the elder branch, the transposition having been made, *for a difference*, when Sir John Egerton obtained the Royal warrant for adopting the name of Grey before that of Egerton, and using the Grey arms quarterly with those of Egerton.

THE BABINGTONS, KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN.

BY G. T. CLARK, F.S.A.

The archives of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, preserved among the public records at Malta, are by no means rich in memorials of the English branch of the Order. One volume, of much interest, being a roll of their possessions in 1338, was transcribed by Mr. Millward, and published by the Camden Society, in 1857, under the care of Messrs. Larking and J. M. Kemble. Other volumes of interest, to Englishmen, fell under the notice of the present writer, when the guest of Mr. Frere at Malta, in 1840, and were by him examined so far as they related to the Preceptory of Rothley, in Leicestershire, and the family of the Babingtons, who obtained that property at the Dissolution. In this work the writer was subsequently much assisted by his late friend, the Rev. M. D. Babington, who again examined the books. Some other particulars on the same subject have been derived from the public records in England, and from the papers still preserved among the muniments at Rothley. The Malta MSS. are two thin quarto volumes, on paper, vellum-bound. The one (Casella, 41 H) is entitled: "*Lingua Angliæ Liber in quo per minutum exprimuntur reditus Prioratus Hosplis. Stⁱ Johns Hierosol^mi in Anglia: Et omnium ipsius com'darum. secundum valorem currentem anno 1338. Eodemque modo exprimuntur aliqua bona Ordinis Templariorum quæ Ordini Stⁱ Johis. Hierosolmi. post extinctionem Ordinis Templariorum fuerunt adjudicata; qui liber confectus est ordinatione fris. Philippi Thame tunc temporis ipsius Prioratus Angliæ Prioris.*"

The other book (Casella, 41 I) is entitled: "*Lingua Angliæ. Liber in quo continentur deliberationes venerandæ linguæ Angliæ ab anno 1524 ad annum 1559.*" The leaves of this book are much mis-arranged. It is an original minute-book, with the autograph signatures of the knights present at each Council.

The names of six knights of the family of Babington appear on the rolls of the Order of St. John, and five of that number belonged to it during that part of the 16th century when the seat of its government was removed from Rhodes, and finally established at Malta.

To be admitted into the Order, it was necessary to prove noble descent on both sides for five generations. "The Spanish knights were," says Cervantes, "to be 'old Catholics' without admixture of Hebrew or Moorish blood." An entry concerning the proofs of each knight appears commonly in the Council-book of the Tongue or National Division of the Order to which he belonged, and that this was more than a mere form appears from the case of Sir Thomas Rawson, whose proofs were declared, 16th October, 1528, "not to be conformable to the establishment."

In the Paston Papers occurs the following passage in an anonymous letter to John Paston, dated "Temple of Sion" (in England), in or about 1464: "Our Master, Thomas Babington, Master and Sovereign of our Order, by the assent of his brethren, be advised," etc. (P. Letters, Gairdner, II, 170). Mr. Gairdner is disposed to regard this letter as referring to some private society or club formed among the prisoners in the Fleet. He thinks it possible that Thomas Babington may be the Thomas who was Reader in the Inner Temple 22 Hen. VII.

Of the other five knights, one certainly was of the Dethick or elder, and one of the Ottery, a junior branch of the family, and the rest seem to have been near of kin one to the other. The two branches were at this time related in the fourth degree only, by common descent from a certain Sir John Babington, who died in 1409.

Sir John Babington, the elder of the five knights, and the highest in rank in the order, was the second son of Thomas Babington, of Dethick, and Editha Fitzherbert, of Norbury, his wife. He was elder brother of Humphrey, lessee and finally purchaser of the preceptory of the Temple.

The date of Sir John's entrance into the order is unknown. Certainly in 1505 he had not attained to any of its dignities. (Harl. MS. 6592, fol. 88.)

In 1509, however, he signed an indenture by anticipation of the Preceptories of Yeavely and Barrow, co. Derby, and in 1518 his name appears as an ex'or. to his

father's will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

Before 1522 he farmed the Preceptory of Temple Bruer, and he had instituted, and in that year gained a suit against Thomas de la Laund, for Ashby, co. Leicester.

¹ The first entry in which his name appears in the *Liber deliberationum* is as follows.

"At an assemble holden the 3rd day of July, a'o. 1526, by licence of my Lord . . . Prior of Lombardie, in presence of Turcopilier Sir Wm. Weston and all the whole tonge, was accepted the meliorments of our well beloved brethern, Sir John Babington, Commander of Dalby and Rothley, and Tresorier of St. John in England, and Sir Edmond, (Port) Commander of Temple Bruer for (proofs) and according to the establishment of (our) religion."

On the 20th February, 1526 (the year ended on the 7th April), his name occurs in the following document.

"Decreto de Gran Maestro e Convento di Rodi, per poter permutare una commenda de Priorato d'Inghilterra col Cardinale Eboracense per maggiore commodità dell' Academia di Osford.

"Frater Philippus de Villers Lisle-Adam, &c., Venerandis et Religiosis in Christo etc., Thoma de Docray Prioratus nostri Angliae Priori, Albon Pole, Baiulatus nostri de l'Aquila Baiuliori, et Joanni Babington Praeceptae nostrae Balby et Rodley Praeceptori, ac in eodem Prioratu pro nostro communi Thesauro, receptori, salutem. Viterbo 20 Feb. 1526."—*Codices diplom., etc.*, Lucca, folio, 1737, ii, p. 109.

² In this year also, he was permitted, at a chapter at

¹ The surrender of Rhodes occurred at the close of December, 1523. Vertot states that Sir Thomas Newport with the knights of his nation attempted to succour Rhodes, but was beaten back by a tempest. It is uncertain whether Sir John quitted his leases and anticipations of the temporalities of the order to join in its defence. At the siege of 1480 under D'Aubuisson, Sir Marmaduke Lumley, Grand Prior of Ireland, and at least one English commander and four knights were present.

In January, 1524, the grand master was in London and well received by the king.

² Pope Adrian VI died in 1524, and his successor, Clement VII, Julius de Medicis, who had been a knight of the order, offered to it Viterbo, and the Port of Civita Vecchia. The offer was declined, the port not being sufficiently in the van of Christendom; but the Grand Master rested there for a time.

Sir Thomas Dockwray, says Vertot, contested the Grand Mastership of the order with Lisle-Adam, then Grand Prior of France. Sir Thomas is described as wealthy, of elevated genius, and accustomed to treat with sovereigns.

Clerkenwell, to anticipate his revenues for three years, and to leave the preceptory of Rothley to his brother Humphrey and others. Rothley, though called a preceptory, seems always to have been held with, and subordinate to, Dalby; and it seems that the Temple house was occupied as a grange by the bailiff who managed the lands, and several of whose account rolls are preserved there.

Upon the move given by Sir Thomas Dockwray's death in 1528, Sir John appears to have succeeded to the priory, an office, says Boisgelin (i, 266), which ranked twenty-eighth, as that of Grand Prior of England did twenty-fifth in the Great Chapter of the order. This, shortly afterwards, he exchanged with Sir John Rawson, for the very high English dignity of turcopilier, and the commandery of Dinemor. To this the Grand Master having assented, the exchange was confirmed by the chapter, and ordered to be registered in their chancery. The entry of this confirmation is one of the most explicit in the *Liber Angliæ*. No mention is made in the minute of the pension alluded to by Vertot.

On the 3rd of June, 1527, Sir John Rawson appears at the council as Prior of Ireland, and on the 27th June, 1528, Sir John Babington presides as turcopilier.

Boisgelin, quoting probably De Goussancourt (*Martyrologie des Chev. de St. Jean de Hier:*), confuses the dignities and the exchange of them, and enumerates Brother Babington as 14th Grand Prior of *England*, Turcopilier, and Commander of Dinemor. (*Hist. of Malta*, 4to, 1805, ii, 214).

The order was composed of eight nations or "tongues," each of which was lodged in a distinct auberge, had distinct duties allotted to it in the event of a siege, and was ruled under the grand master by its own officers, whose titles varied in each tongue. At the siege of Rhodes, Sir Nicholas Hussey defended the bastion of England, and in later days at Malta the bastion of St. Lazarus was set aside for the tongue of England, in the vain hope that that branch of the order would some day be revived.

The chief officer of the English tongue was the grand

prior, who was summoned to parliament and took his seat at the head of the mitred abbots.

Next in rank was the Turcopilier, an office peculiar to the "tongue" of England. The turcopilier was the conventual bailiff and commander of the cavalry of the order and of the guard stationed in the court. The etymology of the title is uncertain. Boisgelin states the bailiffs of the eight tongues, as chief officers, to have been styled "piliers," and that a turcopilier was a description of light horseman employed in the wars in Palestine and commanded by the English "pilier." Others have suggested that his duty "Turcos expellere" gave name to the office. The word was written indifferently turcopilier, turcopolier, and turcopleyer. (Boisg, *Hist. Malta*, 4to, 1805, i, 9).

Sir Wm. Weston was turcopilier in 1523, nor has any earlier name been discovered. He signs as turcopilier 3rd July, 1526, and continued to hold the office until the 23rd of January, 1527, together with that of Lord Prior of Ireland. As he signs only as turcopilier, this may have been considered as the higher office, as it was certainly the more important one, at the English board.

Vertot (iii, 65) states that Henry VIII in 1525 requested the grand master to confer the Priory of Ireland upon Turcopilier Brother John Rawson, who had done service in that country. However this may be, Weston did not quit the offices till 1527, when on the death of Sir Thomas Dockwray he became Prior of England, and was succeeded in the Irish Priory by Sir John Babington, and in the turcopiliership by Rawson.

It has been already stated that Babington almost immediately exchanged his new office with Rawson for that of turcopilier with the commandery of Dinemor. At this period therefore he seems to have been Turcopilier, Commander of Dalby and Rothley, of Dinemor, and Treasurer. He no doubt was considered to be within a stride of the English Priory, for as part of his exchange with Rawson, he agreed if he became Grand Prior of England, to charge himself with a pension in his favour of £1000.

"At a tong holden the 4th day of November, A^o 1529, by license of my Lord and Brother Philip de Villers de

Lisle-Adam, in presence of Turcopilier Sir John Babington (and) all the hole tong, were presented the meliorments of our well beloved brother, Sir Roger Boydell, etc."

In this year 1529, in a deed of gift to his brother Humphrey, Sir John is styled Commander of Rothley, Dalby, Dynemor, Garlies? and Upleddyn, and Turcoplyer of St. John of Jerusalem in England. (Temple MSS.) In this document he gives to his brother certain plate left at Temple Bruer, silver spoons, and goblets parcel gilt, one with the arms of Babington and Fitzherbert (his parents).

Also "at assemble holden the 15th day of May, 1530, by lycens of the Great Lord ffr. Philip de Villers Lysle-Adam in the presence of Sir John Babyngton, Turcopyller, these knights following take upon them to make Caravan.¹

"Sir John Babyngton, now?

"Commander of Dynemor.

"Sir John Babyngton (his nephew), etc."

Also 16th June, 1530, Philip Villers de Lisle-Adam, Grand Master, William Weston, Grand Prior, and John Babyngton, Turcoplyer, address a Latin letter to the order, dated London. Sir John signs—

J Babyngton	{	Baliã de Buckminster	{	Lyncolñ Precep-
Turcopilerius		Baliã de Asseby parva		toria de Dalby
				et Rothley

Also, "at assemble, etc., 18 (?) Novr., 1530, by licens of my Lord Leftenant (?) ffr Bernardyrie de Pasto (?) for parting off caravan in the Gallies in the presence of Sir John Babyngton Turcop..... 4 knights Sir George Aylmer, Commander of Salford (?) who it is thought by the hole tong is not stable to make his caravan not a man of courage (?) as other of that noble nacion be, wherefore they will that he shall find a stable knight to go in his room."

On the 7th December, 1530, Sir John paid his fees as turcopilier, and for his commanderies of Dalby and Rothley and Dynmor, and brought in a bill of moneys expended by him for the order at *Saragosa* (?) and Malta.

4th August, 1531, was a meeting held, as it seems, to secure to Sir John a charge upon the commandery of

¹ "Caravan" seems to have been a cruise against the Infidels.

Temple Bruer, promised to him by the Grand Master, Lisle-Adam.

On 13th July, 1531, Sir John Sutton was commander of Beverley and Temple Bruer, and lieutenant turcopilier; but on the 15th August the Chapter granted to Sir John Babington the Commanderies of Temple Bruere and Wylughton.

From his appointment to be turcopilier in 1528 to 30th December, 1531, Sir John presided at the Councils. At the latter date he requested the Balliage of the Eagle, co. Lincoln, vacant by the death of Sir Alban Pole, he resigning the turcopiliership. Sir Wm. Weston had made the same exchange, and Nicholls considers the balliage of the Eagle to have been one of the best preferments in the order. To this the whole tong assented. Sir Alban's death vacated also the Commanderies of Newland, Ossington, *Wynham?* and Stede.¹ Sir Roger Boydell, mentioned above, succeeded to Newland, on the 25th February, 1531. Sir John, then "Bailiff of the Eagle, asked of grace special of the whole tong that he might meliorate him of another Commandery, being in the *Pouent?* in other places, as well out as in the Convent, as well as he might do if he were in the Convent, to which all the whole tong assented."

4th March, 1531, he signed as "Bailly of the Eagle, late Turcopilier."

24th May, 1532, occurs this entry:—Know that I, John Babyngton, Knight, beying Bayley of the Egell hath and rightly enjoy a Mansion House not far distant from the Market Strada within the Borow of Malta, wherein now Sir Henry Pole, Knight of the Honourable Tong of England at that present remaineth. In witness whereoff the said Sir John Babyngton desired this might be registered in the boke of the tong in the yere of ower Lord 1532 the 24th day of May, Brother Philip de Vyllers being Lord Great Master."

4th November, 1532, Sir John signs as Bayley of the Eagle, but in the private instruments at Rothley Temple he seems always to have retained the title of Prior of Kilmainham, or of Ireland.

¹ Wynham may be South Wytham. Stede was camera S^{ti} Salvatoris, vocata le Stede, in Lancashire.

His last signature upon the minute books of the order appears to be dated 21st December, 1534?

Sir John Babington's titles and preferments, so far as they have been recovered, would run as follows:—

The Right Worshipful Brother, John Babington, Knight Commander of the Tongue of England, in the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, or the Hospital, Bailiff of the Eagle, Commander of Dalby and Rothley, Bailiff of Buckminster and of Ashby parva, Commander of Dinmore, Garlies, Upleddyn, Temple Bruer and Wylughton, Treasurer of the order in England, sometime Lord Prior of Ireland, Commander of Yeaveley and Barrow, and Turcopilier.

His armorial bearings, Argent 10 torteaux 4, 3, 2, 1; a label of three files azure; Babington: and over all on a chief Arg. a cross gules for St. John, remain upon the exterior of the tower at Dethick, and in the ancient pedigree roll at the Temple. His effigy in alabaster, attired as a Knight of St. John, forms one of the ornamental figures around his father's altar tomb at Ashover.

The Grand Masters alone quartered their paternal arms 2 and 3, with those of the order. The shield of every knight was represented upon a cross of eight points.

The date and place of Sir John's death are not known. He probably survived and profited by the Dissolution, and as his leases to his brother Humphrey held good, and he himself does not seem to have been altogether inattentive to his pecuniary interests, he may have lived in peace with the Protestant Government, to which his family conformed, and therefore probably he died in England.

A slab in Ashover Church long bore the partially defaced inscription, "John Babington 15....," but whether over this John, or another of the same name, is uncertain. His brothers having built the present tomb house at Kingston, the elder and Rampton branches of the family ceased to erect individual monuments over the dead.

The Preceptory of Rothley was granted 35 Henry VIII. to Henry Cartwright, and by him conveyed, through Sir Ambrose Cave, to Humphrey Babington, who seems finally to have purchased the lands of the Order in Rothley, and their rights and privileges, temporal and ecclesiastical, over the whole soke.

SIR JOHN BABINGTON, THE YOUNGER.

27th June, 1528, it was agreed that "John, nephew to the Right Worshipful Sir John Babington, Turcopilier, should lief passage of the Gentlemen that were accepted at London in the Chapter General in the year of Grace 1528. The said John coming to the Convent within 16 months after the arrival of the first of the fore said gentlemen to be as of [the] same passage."

It is difficult to make out how this John could be Sir John's nephew. His elder brother Anthony had a son John, but he was a layman, and founded the House of Rampton. Ralph, his next brother, was an ecclesiastic, as was Thomas, another brother. Robert and George died unmarried. Of Sir Roland's three sons, none bore the name of John. John, the son of Humphrey, was married, and had issue. John, however, was a name borne by seven successive descents in the Devonshire branch, and a John Babington occurs at this period, whose brother Philip was certainly in the Order. It is possible, therefore, that Sir John the elder may have used the term nephew in an extended sense.

It appears by an entry of the 23rd July, 1528, that John was one of the knights who were received of one passage. All except himself were to be in the Convent within six months.

¹ December? 1534. He is one who takes upon himself to make caravan with Sir Nicholas Upton and Sir Nicholas Lambard. He signed the minutes 29th May, 1535, and 12th April, 1537.

8th May, 1537. He, Sir Thomas Thornhill, and Sir Henry Gerard, or any two of them, are appointed to receive the accounts of Sir William Tyrell and Sir Nicholas Upton, who resign the protectorship.

7th September, 1530, of grace special was granted the . . . of Sir Oswald Massingberd to be of the same passage of Sir John Babington on this condition, that is, that the "said Sir Oswald is content not to demand no . . . of . . . that is past, but as from this day . . . to enjoy all manner of things that shall touch

¹ 4th August, 1531. The two Sir Johns and their kinsman, Sir Philip, sign the minutes.

him by rank as Commanderies etc. belonging to the Nation of England." The Chapter confirm this agreement.

This Sir Oswald was Turcopilier and Grand Prior of Ireland, appointed by Cardinal Pole 2nd of Philip and Mary. Sir Jas. Ware and others call him the last turcopilier. He was son of Sir Thomas Massingberd, himself, after his wife's death, a member of the order, and ancestor, by females, of the Langton-Massingberds of Gunby, co. Linc.

SIR JAMES BABINGTON.

Sir James Babington, Sir Ambrose Cave, and 12 others who came forth of England with Sir William Weston, were received 3rd October, 1524.

26th August, 1525, Sir James signs the minutes, and afterwards 3rd June, 1527, 13th January 1527, and 14th February, 1528. He had paid his fees 20th February, 1525.

13th March, 1528. Sir Rowland White and Sir James Babington are appointed to the Commandery of *Swingfield*, co. Kent, vacant by the resignation of Sir Edward *Belynger* (?), who had accepted that of Wylughton. On the 8th of May, 1528, both White and James Babington were dead, and the Commandery of *Swingfield* was conferred upon Sir Edward (?) Browne and Sir Edward Cave.

Who Sir James was, does not appear. His name is not found in the pedigree, but the Ottery branch to which he probably belonged has been but imperfectly recorded.

SIR PHILIP BABINGTON.

Philip was the third son of John Babington, of Ottery St. Mary, by Elizabeth Holcombe, of Branscombe, his wife. "13th July 1531 at the tong holden by license etc. Sir John Sutton k^t Commander of Beverley & Temple Bruer then being Lieutenant Turcoplyer received Nicholas Upton and Philip Babington to be of this noble religion of our passage by the assent and consent of all the Commanders and Knights of the Inglyshe nacion there being resident in the Convent, and that the said Philip shall bring in his proofs in the space of two years."

4th August, 1531, he signs the minutes, as well as on the 15th and 31st May and the 28th January, 1533.

1st April, 1533, he is one who takes upon himself to make caravan in the Gallies. He signs the minutes 8th May, 1536, 12th April, 7th September and 8th of March, 1537.

26th January, 1530, he was appointed to be of the same caravan with Sir Thomas *Sopryndys* (?) and Sir David . . . 9th October, 1539, he parted for the caravan.

SIR NICHOLAS BABINGTON.

The name of Nicholas was confined to the Ottery line, and this knight may have been a younger son of Nicholas Babington, of Ottery. The pedigree is silent.

Sir Nicholas signed the minutes of the order 8th April, 1532, 6th March, 1533, 13th April, 1539, and 1st February, 1534.

At the Dissolution, the minute-book seems to have been removed to Malta, for after mention, on the 22nd September, 1546, of the election of Sir Nicholas Upton to be "turcopler" by proxy, follows an entry in Italian.

The English "tong" does not seem ever to have flourished in Malta. The present magnificent Auberges were erected after the English dissolution, and the Auberge of England is a mean, poverty-stricken house.

The chapel in the Cathedral appropriated to England was never occupied, and the monument of only one British knight appears in the whole edifice.

M. Miede tells us that at the muster by La Valette, in May, 1565, before the great siege, out of 587 members of the order, one only was English.

Soon after the Dissolution, probably after the death of the last Grand Prior Sir Richard Shelley, the Grand Master thought proper to remove the titles and to retain the office in himself. In 1582 (*Vertot* iv, 123), Gregory XIII. annexed the Turcopoliership to the Grand Mastership. According to the statutes of the order, anno 1643, appended to Baudouin (*Hist. de Malt.*, 105), the order of precedence in the English "Tonge" stood thus :

“ Le Turcopolier,
“ Le Prieure d'Angleterre,
“ Le Prieure d'Hibernie,
“ Le Bailiffe Capitaine d'Aquila or de l'Aigle.”

This order obviously must have been arranged after the Grand Prior ceased to have a seat in Parliament.

The above is to be taken as supplementary to an account of the family of Babington, drawn up by the present writer, and printed in the *Coll. Topog.*, ii, 9, and viii, 264 and 313. *Topog. and Genealog.*, i, 133.

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ST. DENIS, PARIS.

BY J. H. PARKER, C.B., F.S.A.

It is not necessary to tell the members of the Archaeological Institute that St Denis is *one of the turning points* in the history of Architecture, and a very important one. Perhaps there is no other building about which there has been more discussion and dispute. It has been an object of interest to me for the last forty years; I have been there many times, and in company with some of the best archæologists in Europe, always discussing the doubtful points of its history in a friendly manner. I gave an account of it to the Society of Antiquaries ten years ago,¹ not singly, but with other important buildings, in a paper on the "English Origin of Gothic Architecture," in which I believe I shewed that St Hugh's choir at Lincoln, built A.D. 1192-1200, is really the earliest *pure Gothic* building in the world. This is the opposite of the *Parisian view*, which, to my surprise, appears to be adopted in the admirable lectures of my lamented friend, Sir Gilbert Scott. He could not really mean to adopt *the whole* of the Parisian view, that the *present building* is of the time of the great Abbé Suger, erected in 1160-1164: the fact is, that there is enough remaining of his time to shew that by far the greater part of the building is *not* of that time. Scott could only mean to adopt their view so far as this—that it is the first building *in the north of Europe* in which the *pointed arch* is used throughout; but the *pointed arch* alone does not make a Gothic building (as Scott has plainly shewn in other parts of his lectures). The main

¹ Perhaps I may be allowed to repeat here a note that was printed in the *Archæologia*, appertaining to my paper of June 3, 1869:—"On one of these occasions I was also accompanied by the Baron Von Quast, of Berlin, the Inspector

of Monuments for Germany, and one of the best informed German archæologists, and by M. de Caumont, of Caen, the father of the modern school of Archæology in France.

characteristic of the style of the *twelfth century* (which in England is perhaps correctly called the *Norman style*, or more correctly the *Anglo-Norman style*) is *massiveness*, while the main characteristic of a building of the thirteenth century, when the pure Gothic style began, is *lightness*.

At S^t Denis the building is of several dates; the original small crypt in which the remains of the kings of France were interred is very ancient, perhaps part of it as old as the time of the Carolingian kings, as is said; but this was far too small for the ideas of the twelfth century; an apse with a large aisle was added to it by Suger, and this remains unaltered, excepting that two pillars were introduced to carry two side columns of the choir above, and they cut through the vaults of Suger's work, being a century later. The mouldings of Suger's work are quite Norman; the only thing that differs from ordinary Norman work of that period is the regular use of the pointed arch. It is only a *slight* point, just a beginning, but may perhaps be the germ of the transitional period, which lasted half a century. The only part completed by Suger and now remaining is the crypt under the choir, and the lower part of the choir itself, the crypt under it. The record is that the *ecclesia* was dedicated in his time, but in the Latin of the twelfth century *ecclesia* usually means the *choir only*. The nave, if built at the same time, was called *vestibula*, but it was not *often* built at the same time. The architects of those days were very ambitious to outdo their rivals, and they commonly began a building on so large a scale that it would take two or three generations to complete the plan. So soon as the choir was ready the service could begin, and then the *dedication* took place. The part to be built next after the choir was usually the west end, with one or both of the western towers for the bells, and this was the case at S^t Denis; but this part called the narthex, which is a large porch of two storeys, although begun by Suger, was not ready to be opened until the year 1201, when there was a grand ceremonial opening, at which King John of England and many other great personages were present. This work, which includes the west front, is not Gothic; it is advanced transitional, but still very heavy (the circular

window is evidently much later¹). Part of Notre Dame, at Paris, is of the same period, and quite as heavy as this narthex or more so. The probability is that the nave was *not built* until towards the middle of the thirteenth century. It is called a *rebuilding*, but was more probably a completion of the church by filling up the interval between the great narthex of the latter part of the twelfth century and the original choir and apse of the middle of that century. The nave belongs to the pure Gothic period, and is a fine example of it (built A.D. 1231—1281). It seems evident that the walls of the choir were raised and the vault put on at this time, to make it correspond with the nave and with the fashion of the day. The work of Suger appeared clumsy and old fashioned to the architects of the nave, and the choir was considerably altered to make it correspond better with the new nave. The original arches of the choir and apse were low and *narrow*, not more than half the width of those of the nave. To produce a more harmonious whole, two of these narrow arches were made into one (that is, one on each side of the choir), and these arches that have been altered in this manner still have a *crippled* look. The introduction of the massive piers in the crypt before mentioned, to support a column on each side of the choir, make it evident that the central part of the choir and apse was not *vaulted* until that time, otherwise why is this additional strong support required? The flying buttresses or half-arches abutting against the exterior of the wall, to support the vault within, have been added at the same time. Buttresses of this description are essentially a feature of the Gothic styles; they are never found in Roman or Romanesque buildings, whether Norman or any other variety of the Romanesque styles, which vary considerably in some respects and in detail, but all agree in the same general character of massiveness. Some of the *altars* in the apsidal chapels of the choir have dates of the thirteenth century upon them. It is evident that great alterations were made at that time, as soon as the nave was completed, and that the whole choir and aisles were raised ten or twelve feet by the insertion of fresh

¹ This front has been so much mutilated and restored that no importance can be attached to it historically.

stone work and shoring up the old vaults of the aisles. Professor Willis showed the Institute, at their first meeting at Canterbury, how ingeniously the same thing had been done there, by the evidence of the jointing of the masonry, all the new work being more finely jointed than the old work. The jointing of the masonry is often the best guide to the architectural history of a building.

I have said that S^t Denis was the *earliest building in the north of Europe in which the pointed arch was used throughout*, but the pointed arch alone does not make the *Gothic style*; it was only one of the usual features of it, and not an indispensable one. The real characteristic of the two styles, or periods, is the massiveness of all the Romanesque styles, of which there is an infinite variety. They are all *an imitation* of the Roman style. There was in all countries a break, an interval of barbarism, after the fall of the Roman Empire; and when civilization began again, the inhabitants of each province imitated the Roman buildings that remained in that province. The Romanesque styles of Italy, of Germany, of Belgium and of Gaul are not the same in details, though they have the same *general* character, the *debased Roman*. In Gaul, each province has a *Romanesque style* of its own. The French Archæological Society, of which *Arcisse de Caumont* was the leader, set the example (since followed by this Institute) of making Archæological Excursions to different parts of the country, at first once a year only, latterly two or three times a year. In this manner they have examined the whole of that part of Gaul which is now called France. They found that in each province some particular Roman building still remaining in that district has been their model, and the peculiarities of that building have been the origin of the peculiarities of the styles of that province. For instance, in the province of which *Vienne* was the capital, and originally the seat of the Bishopric, the Roman building has *fluted columns*; the Bishopric was afterwards transferred to *Lyons*, and in the Cathedral of Lyons, which is of the thirteenth century, *fluted columns* were still used. The difference of style in the provinces of Champagne and of Burgundy is so marked, that all the churches on one side of the river which divides those provinces are of one character, and all those

on the other side are of the other character, and both of these styles have been traced to a Roman building still remaining in each of them. It was found also, by this process of careful examination, by a party of well-informed and experienced antiquaries, coming chiefly from Normandy, that the buildings of Aquitaine have retained the pure Roman character much longer than any other part of France. At Carcassonne we have the first beginning of the revival of sculptured capitals, and that has the palm-leaf upon it, shewing its Oriental origin. In Perigord, which may be called a part of Aquitaine, the grand Cathedral of Perigueux, as built in the eleventh century, had *pointed arches*.

In many churches of Aquitaine, and in the west of France, of the early part of the twelfth century and even some of the eleventh, stone vaults were introduced in the original plan, the churches being purposely built long and narrow; and it is usually a long horizontal *barrel* vault but pointed, not round at the top, and when windows have to be introduced they also have pointed arches. Many of these churches are earlier than St. Denis.

I have mentioned that in the Latin of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, *Ecclesia* commonly means the *choir only*, and that so soon as the choir was ready for use it was consecrated, and modern authorities say that the *church* was consecrated at that date, whereas the nave was often not built for a century or more *after* that date (and sometimes not built at all) and is often of *considerably later date* than the choir; the next thing to be built after the choir is one of the western towers to hold the bells, then the transepts, if the church is cruciform with a central tower, and a low wall on each side of the nave. Wells Cathedral is a good example of this. The south tower of the west front is of the fifteenth century, although the choir is of the thirteenth; it is evident also, if people would attend to the construction of the walls, that the side walls of the nave were only built there also to the height of about six feet from the ground in the first instance, and the upper part of the walls added from time to time at intervals as the funds permitted.

It sometimes happens that the old west front of a previous building is preserved, when all the rest has been

rebuilt, this is the case at Lincoln ; the west front is of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the original front is of the time of Remigius, very massive and plain, the rich doorways are insertions of Bishop Alexander about the middle of the twelfth century, the choir is the glorious choir of S^t Hugh of Grenoble, the earliest pure Gothic building in the world ; the east wall of the great transept is also in part of his time, but a part only, that transept was not completed until thirty years afterwards. The great circular window of the north transept is about 1230. The nave has been built at intervals during the thirteenth century, there are varieties of detail in different parts, it was begun at both ends, so that the central part is the latest. In Carlisle Cathedral two bays of the nave only have been built. At Cologne Cathedral the choir is thirteenth, one of the western towers is fourteenth, and the nave is of the nineteenth. The original plans were preserved by accident but have *not been followed*, the modern architects thought they could *improve* upon them, and they have done the *opposite*, the central tower is absurdly too small for the place that it occupies.

The present Bishop of Truro seems to have set the example of following the plans of the middle ages in not attempting to do too much at once, but having faith that his successors will complete the good work begun. Father Benson, of Cowley, in Oxford, has followed the same plan, he has built a *fine choir only*, leaving the nave to be built when funds come in. Let us hope that these examples will be followed.

Life of a Priest in Hedbury Church

ON THE SEPULCHRAL EFFIGY OF A PRIEST OF THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY, IN LEDBURY CHURCH,
HEREFORDSHIRE, AND ON OTHER SCULPTURED
MEMORIALS IN THAT CHURCH.

By MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM, F.S.A.

Till the fourteenth century, sculptured sepulchral effigies of ecclesiastics who had attained no higher degree in ecclesiastical rank than that of priesthood are rare. A fine and interesting example of the thirteenth century, is, however, preserved in Ledbury Church, Herefordshire. This, a recumbent effigy within a pointed canopy, trefoiled in the head, and springing from two lateral shafts with moulded bases and caps, has been removed from its original position, and is now placed upright against a wall in the north transept of the church. The effigy is in a better state of preservation than we usually find to be the case in effigies of so early a period. The head reposes on a lozenge-shaped pillow; the face exhibits the moustache over the upper lip, and short crisp beard, a fashion which generally prevailed till about the middle of the fourteenth century, circa A.D. 1350, when the fashion was introduced, perhaps gradually, of representing the face close shaven. The hair appears cut close round the forehead. The person commemorated is represented vested with the amice about his neck, in the alb, without any parure on the skirt in front, over this appear the extremities of the stole which are long and plain; the maniple which is worn over the left arm at the wrist is also plain, the sleeves of the cassock, *toga talaris*, are visible beneath the folds of the chesible and are cuffed at the wrists, the hands are conjoined as in prayer. The chesible which is

well defined is of moderate length, and is covered with the orfrey coming over the shoulders and disposed in front somewhat like an archiepiscopal pall. Few effigies of the kind are indeed more interesting than this, as will be seen by reference to the illustration. Of whom it is commemorative I have no note.

Against the south wall of the chancel, beneath a tent-like canopy, is the sculptured busto of a divine of the seventeenth century. He appears with a moustache and beard, both of which came in vogue at the Reformation, with a ruff round his neck, a hood falling behind, and vested in a surplice. His right hand is on his breast, his left hand is holding a book, his wrist is ruffed, a cushion is before him, and he is represented in the act of preaching. There are at this period few effigies of clergy beneath that of the rank of dean, and still fewer represented preaching in the surplice.

The epitaph runs as follows :

Sub pedibus Doctor iacet hic in Legibus Hoskyns
Esse pios docuit quoque docebat erat
Hoc Herefordensis, luget lectura sepulto
Et Templum lacrymis Lidburiense madet
Cura duplex studiumque duplex duplicavit honorem
Sed minuit fessos invigilando dies
O Fœlix quæ Christe tibi sua Tempora sacrum
Et moritur medium sedulus inter opus.

This John Hoskyns, LL.D., was installed as Prebendary of Hereford December 10th 1614. He died August 8th 1631, and was buried at Ledbury, of which place he was vicar.

Against the north wall of the chancel is another busto of a divine of the seventeenth century. He is represented wearing the moustache and beard. Round his neck is a ruff, a scarlet hood falls over his shoulders. Over the cassock or long side gown is worn the surplice, and over that the tippet arranged scarf-wise ; the sleeves of the cassock are black, the right hand, enveloped in a white glove, is uplifted, the left hand is placed on a book. The date of this monument is 1629. The name of the person commemorated I cannot find.

The monument of Edward Cowper, sometime Arch-deacon of Hereford, to which he was collated in 1567, and

Lomb in Ledbury Church.

which he resigned in 1578 ; consists of an alabaster slab set against the north wall of the chancel. On this his effigy is incised. He is represented with the moustache and beard, a black scull cap is worn on the head, and a ruff round the neck. He is attired in a doublet, the upper buttons of which are apparent, and the black sleeves of which are cuffed at the wrists. Over the doublet the surplice is worn, and a tippet about the neck. In front of the breast a book is held in the hands.

The epitaph is as follows :—

Edward Cooper Grave Learned and Wise
Archdeacon of hereff and canon erst here
Of Ledburie Hospital Master in his life
The Poor did greet theyr land rid from strife
He decessed the xvi day of July, Ao. domini 1596.
The time will come when you shal be as I am now.

There is also in the church of Ledbury a rich and remarkable monument, which requires a pictorial illustration in addition to a written description. It consists of a high tomb panelled in front in seven compartments, with pointed arches, cinquefoiled in the heads, each compartment containing a heater shaped shield, the armorial bearings on which have disappeared. Carried horizontally along over these arches is a cavetto or hollow moulding enriched at intervals with rosettes and four leaved flowers. On this tomb is the well-executed recumbent effigy of a lady with veiled head-dress and gorget or barbe worn over the neck and chin. Her body attire consists of a gown close fitting to the waist, with ample skirts gracefully disposed ; the arms are covered with close-fitting sleeves, buttoned from the elbows to the wrists, *manicæ botonatæ*. The hands are conjoined on the breast as in prayer. Over the gown is worn a mantle, the train of which falls in ample and graceful folds over the lower end of the monument in front. Over this effigy is a singular shaped canopy, the back forming a semi-hexagon, composed in front of six pointed panels cinquefoiled in the heads, and two similar panels on each side. Each panel contains a heater shaped shield emblazoned with armorial bearings. This canopy is slightly coved and divided by small ribs ; an embattled cornice

surmounts the whole design. The whole composition forms a most graceful and elegant monument of a period comprised, I think, in the latter half of the fourteenth century. In the neighbouring church of Murch Marcle is a monument resembling this in general design, but varying in some of the details.

HISTORY OF THE PRIORY OF DARTFORD, IN KENT.

By REV. C. F. R. PALMER.

When Dominic Guzman, canon-regular of St. Augustin in the cathedral of Osma, Old Castile, was preaching against the Albigenses in the south of France, he witnessed a deplorable want of religious training amongst the females of noble but reduced families. As a means of meeting the evil, in the year 1206 he founded a convent of nuns, adjoining the church of Notre Dame at Pronille, a village near Montreal, at the foot of the Pyrenees. In this house many ladies sought a devout refuge, and numbers received that education which their station in life required. The community was governed by a prioress, but Dominic kept it under his own authority, so that it afterwards became the mother-house of the Sisters of the Dominican Order.

In 1215, Dominic began the Mendicant Order which now bears his name, and Pope Honorius III, December 22nd, 1216, sanctioned and confirmed it. Both the Friars and the Sisters were placed under the Rule of St. Augustin, which, being very simple and pliant, was moulded by special constitutions, derived mostly from the Premonstratentians, into codes of laws for the respective sexes. The Friars made their profession *Secundum Regulam Beati Augustini et Institutiones Fratrum Predicatorum*; whilst the Sisters were *Ordinis Sancti Augustini secundum Instituta et sub eorū Fratrum Predicatorum*.

The Sisters were professed with the solemn vows of religion. Their asceticism embraced, principally, the choral recitation of the divine office daily; certain services for the dead: claustral silence, with suitable manual employment, as needlework, etc.: perpetual abstinence from flesh-meat, with fasting from Holy Cross Day (September 14th) to Easter. The habit consisted of a white tunic and scapular with a girdle, coif and wimple, and a black veil thrown back over the shoulders, at certain times and seasons a black mantle or cloak, shoes, etc. Straw and flock mattresses were used for bedding. Linen was altogether forbidden, except when sickness rendered it necessary. The vow of poverty was personal: each community held possessions for its maintenance in common. In after-ages, the Sisters, resigning the charge of teaching, became purely contemplatives.

As the Friar-Preachers spread over the world, which they divided into provinces, so the Sisters, though vastly inferior in numbers, followed. The Friars entered England in the summer of 1221, and in course of time held fifty-two principal and two subsidiary houses. Yet no efforts seem to have been made to introduce the Sisters for nearly seventy years, and it was even sixty years later before the only community which they ever had in this country was established. The history of that Sisterhood forms the subject of the present article.

The Friar-Preachers obtained paramount influence at the royal court, especially after Henry III, in 1256, selected his confessor from their numbers; from which time the king's confessor was always a Dominican, till Henry IV broke through the custom. Queen Eleanor of Castile, "chere reine" of Edward I, held these Friars in special favour, so that she was looked upon as the *nursing-mother* of the Order. She was a great and special benefactress to many of their houses, and was contemplating the establishment of Sisters in the kingdom, when she was carried off by death, in the year 1290.

Queen Eleanor had probably expressed her desire for the foundation so earnestly, that her son, though with procrastination, took the matter in hand. Edward II proposed that the Friar-Preachers of Guildford should surrender their house to a Sisterhood. Moreover, he had founded the priory of friars at Kings-Langley, in Hertfordshire, where he had caused Sir Piers de Gavaston to be entombed, to whose memory he designed to endow that house with possessions sufficient for the support of one hundred religious, there to celebrate for ever for the soul of his favourite. But the friars refused to accept such an endowment, as it was contrary to their institute. Thereupon the king sought to adapt the letter of the friars' law to his scheme, by making the contemplated house of the Sisters subject to Kings-Langley, and letting them hold an endowment for the maintenance of the brethren. Edward II petitioned the Pope, April 22nd, 1318, to sanction this scheme, in favour of which he tried to enlist Nicholas, cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Velletri; Nicholas, cardinal-bishop of St. Eusebius; and Guillaume, cardinal-bishop of St. Sabina—all three Friar-Preachers; and he begged the master-general of the Order to have seven Sisters in readiness for the new foundation. These letters were sent to the pope, cardinals, and master by two accredited friars, Richard de Birton and Andrew Aslakeby.¹ In another letter to his holiness, October 26th, he prayed to be allowed to appropriate the church of Kingsclere to the Sisters; and he commended the same two to Pietro Fabri, papal notary, in the matter.² But an insuperable difficulty lay in the injustice of overthrowing the settlement of queen Eleanor of Provence, who was the royal foundress of Guildford convent. The king, therefore, abandoning all other considerations, tried to make over the priory of Kings-Langley, with his alms, to the Sisters; for, being founder, he could do no violence to his own will. On January 12th following, he sent this new proposal to the pope, by Birton and Aslakeby;³ but although he again urged the point in a letter dated March 23rd,⁴ he failed to obtain the change of that large, important, and flourishing establishment. So, after some delay, he settled to have an entirely new foundation, and wrote, October 8th, 1321, for the papal sanction to erect the house *anywhere*, and to endow it with Kingsclere church, sending his letters by F. Hugh de Offinton and F. John de Cleve, whom he also commended to Luke, cardinal-deacon of St. Maria in Via Lata, and to the archbishop of Vienne.⁵ Pope John XXII, November 1st following, gave full sanction for a monastery to be founded and constructed *in fundo proprio*, and granted to the Sisters who should form it the same privileges and

¹ Rot. Rom. et Franc. 11, 14th Edw. II, m. 13, 13d.

² Ibid. m. 10.

³ Ibid. m. 9.

⁴ Ibid. m. 9 d.

⁵ Rot. Rom. et Franc. 15, 18th Edw II, m. 13 d.

immunities which those of Bellemont, in Valenciennes, enjoyed.¹ But Edward II was dethroned before he had done anything more in the matter.

Following the example of his father, Edward III likewise bound himself by vow to carry out the design of queen Eleanor of Castile. Sir Thomas Wake of Lidell had letters-patent, August 20th, 1344, for bringing over four or six nuns of the Order of Preachers from Brabant, and for founding a house of their religion in some fitting place in England.² The letters, being in the form of a licence and not of a commission, do not seem to have had any reference to the foundation which the king designed, but indicate rather that that nobleman wished to erect a convent of Dominican Sisters; and he probably sacrificed his own inclinations rather than dim the lustre of regal munificence and piety. The king soon matured his plans. He sought the permission of the Bishop of Rochester to found the house of Sisters at Dartford, in Kent, being a town which was a favourite resort of royalty. The letter to the bishop was dated October 8th, 1345, and, on the 21st, the Archbishop of Canterbury also addressed the bishop, urging him to consent to the royal prayer. The bishop, November 3rd, referred the matter to the chapter of his cathedral, directing that enquiries should be instituted as to any detriment which might arise from the foundation of the monastery, particularly as to the appropriated church of Dartford.³ At the same time, he summoned the vicar of the church to wait upon him in person and certify in the same manner, and to declare his willingness, either simply or conditionally, to consent. Both parties were to give their answers by the 20th, the Feast of St. Edmund.⁴

The chapter, on the 13th, gave its approval of the monastery, which tended, they said, to the enlargement of divine worship, and deserved the assent of every Christian; but still security ought to be given against any future diminution of the portion of the vicarage, or the pension due thence to the chapter itself.⁵ Then the bishop, it seems, applied to the apostolic see to be permitted to comply in the matter; and this necessarily caused some delay. The king, therefore, wrote again to the bishop, January 28th, 1345-6, urging his consent; and the bishop, February 3rd, returned a favourable reply, with the stipulation of indemnity for the parish church against all detriment, and the conservation of episcopal rights. On March 1st following, the king solicited the pope to allow him to carry into effect such a monastery as queen Eleanor and Edward II had contemplated, for their souls and the souls of his predecessors, and of all the faithful departed; sending the petition by the hand of Master John de Thorstan.⁶ But the brief of John XXII, in 1321, was found sufficient, and was acted on.⁷

Having thus secured the pontifical and episcopal licenses for his work of piety, Edward III set about the foundation in earnest. He granted a royal mortmain licence, June 29th, 1349, to William Clapitus, to assign two messuages and ten acres of land in Dertford, "*dilectis nobis in Christo Sororibus domûs quam de Ordine Predicatorum in eâdem villâ de novo fundare ordinamus.*"⁸ This land was most probably the site on

¹ Bullarium Ord. Præd.

² Pat. 18th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 26.

³ Thorpe's Registrum Roffense, p. 312.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 313.

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ Rot. Rom. 20th Edw. III, m. 2.

⁷ Bullar. Ord. Præd.

⁸ Pat. 23rd Edw. III, p. 2, m. 22.

which the habitation and church were soon erected. On November 2nd 1350, the Sisters had a royal licence to acquire lands and rents (not held of the crown in capite) to the value of one hundred marks a-year, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain.¹ The house, with all the goods belonging, was committed, January 6th following, to the custody of William de Carleton, to administer and dispose for its benefit.² William de Thorp and Carleton were also joined in a commission, March 18th, 1351-2, to superintend the house, and to enquire what lands, goods, and chattels had been left to it for the weal of *their* souls, by some who had died of the late plague and which had escheated to the crown, and had passed thence to others contrary to the will and intentions of the donors.³ Carleton was summoned to give in his accounts as receiver into the exchequer, in Hilary term, 1352-3, but as he did not then appear, the sheriff of London was ordered to distrain him to attend on the morrow of the close of Easter (April 1st), which he probably did.⁴

The Sisterhood was established, and its religious services conducted and controlled by a staff of Friar-Preachers from Kings-Langley, to whose priory this house was made subject. These friars had a pension of 20*l.* a year granted them, June 16th, 1351, which was paid them half-yearly (for the first time December 2nd, by the hand of F. Richard, a friar of Oxford) and was continued for several years.⁵ The king also provided a dwelling for them, which cost 192*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, of which sum was paid to F. John de Woderowe, the king's confessor, November 9th, 1352, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and Feb. 27th following, 126*l.*⁶

This F. John de Woderowe was a man of no small consideration in his time, and took a very active part in founding the Priory of Dartford. He became the confessor of Edward III in the spring of 1349, and on his commencing D.D. at Cambridge in that year, the king bestowed on him, July 8th, a gift of 20*l.*⁷ In 1353 he accompanied the Archbishop of Canterbury, Duke of Lancaster, and other magnates in the embassy to the King of France, receiving for his expenses, November 9th, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and January 25th following, 11*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*⁸ Next year he went to the Roman court with the Bishop-elect of London, Sir Guy Bryan, and others, for the confirmation of peace between the English king and the French, for which he had, July 7th, an advance of two hundred marks for the journey;⁹ whilst he was at the papal court, December 8th, 100*l.* was sent to him, and February 23rd, through his brother Richard, a further sum of one hundred marks;¹⁰ and after his return he had, May 5th, 8*l.* for his wages, and 38*l.* for his safe-conduct, passage and repassage of his men and horses, and other necessities. This journey occupied him from May 25th to March 29th.¹¹ In the autumn of 1356 he was again at Rome, and carried with him royal letters, dated November 12th, containing the king's oft-repeated solicitation for the renewal of the privileges

¹ Pat. 24th Edw. III, p. 3, m. 13.

² Fin. 24th Edw. III, m. 5.

³ Pat. 26th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 16 d.

⁴ L. T. R. Memoranda Roll. 27th Edw. III.

⁵ Pat. 25th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 26. Exit. Scac. Mich. 26th Edw. III, m. 19, et 7 annis seq.

⁶ Exit. Scac. Mich. 27th Edw. III, m. p. 21.

⁷ Exit. Scac. Pasch. 23rd Edw. III, m. 19.

⁸ Exit. Scac. Mich. 28th Edw. III, m. 8, 18.

⁹ Exit. Scac. Pasch. 26th Edw. III, m. 14.

¹⁰ Exit. Scac. Mich. 29th Edw. III, m. 18, 27.

¹¹ Exit. Scac. Pasch. 26th Edw. III, m. 8.

of some colleges of canons, who had lost the original documents.¹ A pension of forty marks a-year was granted him May 24th, 1355,² the payment of which was changed, May 13th, 1358, from the exchequer, to 20*l.* out of the farm-rent of Nottingham, the remaining ten marks continuing out of the exchequer.³ But this pension was superseded, August 26th, 1372, by his appointment to the office of chirographer of the common bench.⁴ Moreover, he had a royal grant, June 26th, 1360, of 69*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* a-year for the support of himself and his companion at the court, four grooms serving him in the royal household, four horses and one hack, including 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* for the wages of these men, at 1½*d.* a-day each, who attended to his horses, and 116*s.* for small necessities;⁵ and this payment was transferred, October 1st, 1362, from the royal household to the exchequer.⁶ He lent twenty marks to Jane, queen of Scotland, which after her death was paid, November 30th, 1362, out of the English exchequer.⁷ According to the custom with the royal confessors, he and his companion had every Christmas and Pentecost the black and white cloth for their habits, table napery, and bed clothes provided from the king's wardrobe; all which were continued to him even after he had given up the charge of the royal conscience.⁸ He had given him by the king, in 1366, two casks of Gascony wine,⁹ in 1371 a pipe of Rhenish wine, and in 1373 another cask of Gascony wine;¹⁰ all probably for celebrating mass. And August 18th, 1371, a messenger from the king was paid 13*s.* 4*d.* for going to him from Marlborough to Dartford.¹¹ On his retiring from the court, in 1376, he had a royal pardon, July 15th, for all offences, including debts to the exchequer.¹² He died not long after, for in October, 1380, his office of chirographer was bestowed on a succeeding confessor.¹³

Woderowe was appointed to superintend the works of the friars' and sisters' house, and received 40*l.*, January 25th, 1353-4, for his expenses in staying at Dartford.¹⁴ Through him the king lent 100*s.*, February 10th, to the friars, to be repaid at will.¹⁵

F. John de Norhampton was also an overseer of the works of the house of his brethren here, and March 12th had a tally for 100*l.* on the Prior of Spalding, in aid of them;¹⁶ as had Woderowe, on the 26th, 20*l.* from the keeper of the royal exchange in the Tower of London;¹⁷ and October 2nd, the king made a royal gift of 6*l.* for the same purpose.¹⁸

The king, June 12th, 1355, committed all the lands in England and Wales which had belonged for life to Roger Bavent, and by his death had escheated to the crown, to William de Keynes, that the issues and profits, under the supervision of William de Thorp, Woderowe, and

¹ Rot. Rom. 26-31st Edw. III, m. 1.

² Pat. 29th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 21.

³ Pat. 32nd Edw. III, p. 1, m. 13.

⁴ Pat. 46th Edw. III, m. 23.

⁵ Pat. 34th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 28.

⁶ Pat. 36th Edward III, p. 2, m. 23.

⁷ Exit. Scac. Mich. 37th Edw. III, m. 18.

⁸ Rot. liberat. pannorum etc. 34-35th Edw. III.

⁹ Lib. Garder. de Will. Manton, 40-41st Edw. III.

¹⁰ Lib. Comp. Hen. de Wakefeld, cust. Garder. Hosp. Reg. 45-47th Edw. III.

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² Pat. 50th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 8.

¹³ Pat. 4th Rich. II, p. 1, m. 6.

¹⁴ Exit. Scac. Mich. 28th Edw. III, m. 18.

¹⁵ Ibidem, m. 21.

¹⁶ Ibidem, m. 26.

¹⁷ Ibidem, m. 28.

¹⁸ Exit. Scac. Mich. 29th Edw. III, m. 1.

Thomas de Keynes, royal almoner, might go for the construction and work of the Sisters' house.¹ So too the king, October 25th, 1356, granted the custody of the manor of Braundeston Halle, Suffolk, which he had by gift of Roger Bavent, knt., to Woderowe and William de Nesseford to apply the issues and profits "*circa operationes domus monialium de Dertford*;"² and the same day the escheator had a precept to give the manor over to Woderowe.³

Some houses belonging to Augustin Waleys, in London, had escheated, and the king, September 16th, 1356, ordered the sheriffs of London to pay the issues and rents to Woderowe, "*ad opus domus novi operis monialium predicantricum de Derteford*."⁴ And October 28th following, John de Arden, prior of the Order of St. Augustin, being the chief executor of Matilda, widow of this Augustin, in compliance with her will, granted all the tenements, rents and services (except a tenement at the corner of Lymstret, Cornhulle) to the king, for the same purpose.⁵

The building of the conventual residence was so far advanced, if not completed, in 1356, that a community of Sisters could now take possession and commence religious observance under the friars already there. Previously the friars seem to have represented and acted for the Sisterhood, for all legal purposes. Four Sisters were brought over from France (probably from Poissy), for whose expenses Woderowe received, October 7th, 20l.;⁶ and one of them, now known as simply Sister Matilda, was appointed the first prioress. With the addition of ten other ladies, a competent band was soon formed. To them, November 19th, the king made the formal grant of the house or monastery, with its buildings, cloisters, and enclosures, dedicated to God, and to the virgin Mother of our Lord, and to the blessed virgin Margaret, for the weal of his soul, and the souls of queen Eleanor and Edward II, of all his ancestors and successors, and all the faithful departed. The Priory was constituted of a Prioress and thirty-nine Sisters, "*de Ordine Predicatorum, sub regulâ et habitu Sti. Augustini*," who were subject in spirituals to the Friar Preachers of Kings-Langley, whose prior was to appoint the friars here: and the Sisters had the pension of 100l. a-year out of the exchequer, till a royal endowment of the same amount was made for their maintenance, and that of the prior and fifty-nine friars at Kings-Langley, in food, clothing, and all necessities.⁷ On December 3rd, he granted a royal licence for them to acquire 300l. a-year in lands, tenements, advowsons, etc., notwithstanding the mortmain statute, for the forty sisters and sixty friars.⁸ And February 5th following, the Sisters were empowered to receive all letters-patent and writs in chancery on account of the 300l. free of fines and fees of seals.⁹

But the yearly pension of 100l. did not limit the liberality of the king. In aid of their maintenance, he made the Sisters a present of 40l., paid through Woderowe, in instalments of 23l. January 7th, 11l. January 18th, and 6l. February 4th, 1356-7; on January 27th, 20l.; in February

¹ Pat. 29th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 22.

² Rot. Fin. 30th Edw. III, m. 10.

³ Originalia, 30th Edw. III, ro. 14.

⁴ Claus. 30th Edw. III, m. 9.

⁵ Claus. 30th Edw. III, m. 6 d.

⁶ Exit. Scac. Mich. 31st Edw. III, p. 1, m. 2.

⁷ Cart. 30th Edw. III, no. 2.

⁸ Pat. 30th Edw. III, p. 3, m. 5.

⁹ Pat. 31st Edw. III, p. 1, m. 24.

another 40*l.*, partly paid on the 13th.¹ William de Nessefeld and Richard Caumbray were appointed, February 20th, to be auditors of the issues and profits which the Sisters received from their manors, etc.² The king, July 16th, appropriated to the Sisters the advowson of Whittlesey church, in Surrey.³ He gave them, September 1st, four casks of wine a-year, one each term, out of London port, for the celebration of mass and for their own use.⁴ Peter de Malolacu had to pay to Woderowe for them, October 30th, the 100*l.* in which he was fined for marrying Elizabeth, widow of John Darcy, without the royal licence.⁵ The king made over to them 850 marks, out of 1000 marks for which the manors of Wistneston, Asshehurst, Chiltyngton, Sloughtre, Hyen, and Yryngton, all acquired of Roger Bavent the son, were sold, November 1st, to Sir Peter Brewose, and Jane his wife, and their issue in fee-tail.⁶

Isabel, queen-dowager, made an offering of a diapered cloth of gold, October 21st, 1357, "*sororibus predicatoribus de Dertford*," and it was worth 53*s.* 4*d.*⁷

The conventual church of the Priory was not yet completed. Hastening on the royal works at Dartford, the king empowered John Cule, March 2nd, 1357-8, to take and select as many workmen (except those of the tithing of the church, or employed on other royal works) as were necessary for fully finishing all; and also such as were needed for carrying timber and stone.⁸ John de Norhampton continued to be "*supervisor operationum nostrarum apud domum per nos apud Dertford noviter fundatam*," and, April 10th, had a pension of ten marks towards his support assigned to him,⁹ which he enjoyed till his death, some time before May, 1362.¹⁰ The king gave casually to the Prioress and Sisters, May 9th, 1358, the sum of 40*s.*, being a rent in the town of Northampton;¹¹ and July 5th, a craier with its equipment, which John Godman of Dertford had forfeited to the crown.¹² On July 12th he assigned a pension of two hundred marks a-year (till otherwise provided for) for the support of the fourteen Sisters and six Friars, and their servants, to be paid out of the London port; but on the 14th the payment was transferred to the exchequer.¹³ On this latter day, "*ob affectionem gratam quam ad nunc Priorissam dicte domus et tres sorores, que cum eadem Priorissâ de partibus transmarinis in Angliam venerunt, gerimus et habemus*," he granted to each of the four an additional pension of five marks a-year in the exchequer.¹⁴ Towards the works he gave, September 24th, "*Priori et Sororibus de Ordine Predicatorum domus religiose de Dertford*" 200*l.*, being two hundred marks "*circa constructionem ecclesie dicte domus*," and one hundred marks for lead to cover the church and other buildings. This 200*l.* was the fine which Ralph de Middelneye, knt., had to pay for the pardon of a transgression.¹⁵ Woderowe exhibited the grant in the exche-

¹ Exit. Scac. Mich. 31st Edw. III, 6 to 10.

² Orig. 31st Edw. III, ro. 18.

³ Pat. 31st Edw. III, p. 2, m. 12.

⁴ Ibidem, m. 2.

⁵ Orig. 31st Edw. III, ro. 27.

⁶ Pat. 31st Edw. III, p. 3, m. 1.

⁷ Lib. recept. et liberat. hospitii regine, 31st Edw. III.

⁸ Pat. 32nd Edw. III, p. 1, m. 26.

⁹ Ibidem, m. 22.

¹⁰ Pat. 36th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 10.

¹¹ Exit. Scac. Pasch. 32nd Edw. III, m. 8.

¹² Pat. 32nd Edw. III, p. 1, m. 3.

¹³ Pat. 32nd Edw. III, p. 2, m. 31, 34.

¹⁴ Ibidem, m. 34.

¹⁵ Ibidem, m. 27.

quer, May 7th, 1359,¹ being paid gradually by tallies levied on the knight, October 15th, 1358; May 6th, October 31st, 1359; and May 8th, 1360.² John de Berland, November 29th, was appointed steward and overseer of all the lands, tenements, and rents belonging to the Sisters;³ for whose benefit, moreover, he had a precept, December 1st, to sell all the stock on the royal manor of Norton, in Wiltshire.⁴

The king, December 26th 1358, granted all the tenements in London acquired of the executor of Matilda Waleys, a rent of 10*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* from two messuages and three shops in Cordewanerstrete acquired of Margery de Weston, widow of Robert de Upton, and the manor of Shibbourn, in Kent, formerly the property of Roger Bavent, to William de Thorp and William del Peek, for their lives; with remainder to the Prioress and Sisters of Dartford, in aid of their maintenance.⁵ But litigation arose respecting Waley's property. John Turk, son of Margery, widow of John Malwayn, one of the daughters and heiresses of Matilda Waleys, established a right to the moiety, and Matilda, prioress of Dartford, had to release and quitclaim to him, November 30th, 1363, a tenement in Tower ward, one in Lymstrete ward, and another in Bruggestrete, opposite the Oystregate; whilst she retained a tenement with six shops in Alegatestrete, one in Tamstrete, and a messuage and four shops in Fletestrete. This division received the royal confirmation December 4th following.⁶

Amongst the possessions of Roger Bavent, the profits of which had been assigned to the Sisters, were the manors of Fifhide and Norton. On July 8th, 1359, the king ordered John Everard of Stratford to pull down and sell the buildings in Fifhide; John Edmund, John Russell and Robert Walebroun, to sell the wood there; and Thomas de Hungerford and Thomas atte Bergh, the buildings in Norton. All the proceeds were for the Sisters.⁷

In the spring of 1361, the masons' work appears to have been advancing towards completion. Simon Kegworth, Robert Baroun, and John Beer were appointed to gather in Kent as many carpenters, cementers and others as were necessary for the royal works of the Priory at Dartford, and also for carrying stone, timber, tiles, etc.; and a writ, of April 12th, required all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs and others to counsel and aid in the matter.⁸ The king granted, July 1st, to John Knyvet, Nicholas de Thornehull, clerk, John de Berland, William Tank, Simon de Kegworth, and Will. de Berkyng, goldsmith, all the lands and rents in Billyngesgate, Puddylnglane, and Bruggestrete acquired of John Jurdan, citizen; also a messuage, once Jurdan's, held by Alice, widow of Alan de Horwode, and remaining to the king; all to be held by them for life, with remainder to the Prioress and Sisters, towards the maintenance and support of the chantries, alms and other pious works established by him in the Priory, for his soul and the souls of his progenitors, and all the faithful dead.⁹ But within a short time the four surrendered the whole to the king, and, thereon, the Prioress and Convent, December 11th, 1363,

¹ L. T. R. Memorand. 32nd Edw. III, Pasch. ro. 1 d.

² Exit. Scac. Mich. 33rd Edw. III, m. 4; and three following rolls.

³ Pat. 32nd Edw. III, p. 2, m. 13.

⁴ Rot. fin. 32nd Edw. III, m. 5.

⁵ Pat. 32nd Edw. III, p. 2, m. 2.

⁶ Pat. 37th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 4.

⁷ Pat. 33rd Edw. III, p. 2, m. 19. And Orig. ro. 16.

⁸ Pat. 35th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 8.

⁹ Pat. 35th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 10.

quitclaimed all right, their acknowledgment being received on the part of the king, on the 14th, by Woderowe, in their Priory.¹ Hawise, widow of Roger de Bavent, knt., October 13th, 1361, released and quitclaimed to the king and to the Priory of Dartford all her right in the manors of Norton-Bavent, Fhifide, Emwelle, Billegh, Trowe, and Wythihull, in Wiltshire; Burton atte Nasse, in Dorsetshire; Pittefold and Hatchesham, in Surrey; Shibburn, in Kent; Braundeston and Combes, in Suffolk; and Colveston, in Glamorganshire: which grant she acknowledged, March 12th following, at Bylegh, in Essex, before the abbot there.² John Foxcote and Margaret, his wife, in April, 1363, conveyed the manor of Braundeston Halle, in Magna Waldyngfeld, to Matilda, prioress of the new works at Derteford, and her church of St. Margaret; in return for which they were to be admitted to all the benefits and prayers in the church for the future.³ On July 12th, Woderowe received ten marks to pay the debts of the four French Sisters, and for four marble stones for their tombs.⁴

By this time, all the buildings had been finished, and it only remained to complete the endowment of the house. On February 16th, 1365-6, William de Nessefeld was appointed steward and overseer of all the lands and rents either already given, or hereafter, by advice of the chancellor, lord privy seal, or by Woderowe, to be assigned by the king.⁵ On May 16th, 1366, the king granted, in pure and perpetual almoign, the manor of Portebriegg, and all other lands, tenements, rents, and services in Derteford, Wylmyngton, and Stone, and the advowson of the chapel or chantry of St. Edmund, king, in Derteford, which he had lately of John de Bykenore of Claveryng, kinsman and heir of Robert de Bykenore of Derteford.⁶

Bavent's manor of Combes in Suffolk had been leased, April 6th, 1357, to John de Wynewyk, William de Thorp, and William de Pek, for their lives, with reversion to this Priory; and the king recovered the rent of one mark in Illeye-combusta, as parcel of the manor, from Sir Ralph de Shelton, Knt. After the death of the three tenants, and the manor had passed to the Sisters, the Prioress petitioned for this rent, and a royal mandate issued to the barons of the exchequer, June 15th, 1366, transferred it to her with arrears.⁷

The king granted, November 20th, 1366, the underwood and wood-falls of the lands in Derteford, Wylmyngton, and Stone, which he had of the gift of John de Bikenore of Claving, Thomas Houchon, Roger Ball, and William Folleswych, all three of Derteford, at the royal pleasure, for sale or use.⁸ In 1367 he gave one thousand marks for buying lands and tenements, in full of the endowment of the house. This sum was paid by the exchequer, 200*l.*, February 22nd, through F. Walter Durant, and 466*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, May 3rd following.⁹ As a recluse, and unable personally to attend the pleas and other business connected with herself and house, the prioress Matilda obtained a royal licence, November 7th, 1368, to appoint general attorneys, and now attorned Mich. Skillyng and Walter Perle, in her stead, for any court of England.¹⁰

¹ Claus. 37th Edw. III, m. 3 d.

² Claus. 36th Edw. III, m. 43 d.

³ Fin. Suffolk, 37th Edw. III, no. 208.

⁴ Exit. Scac. Pasch., 37th Edw. III, m. 36.

⁵ Pat. 40th Edward III, p. 1, m. 37.

⁶ Pat. 40th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 26.

⁷ Claus. 40th Edw. III, m. 16.

⁸ Pat. 40th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 10.

⁹ Exit. Scac. Mich., 41st Edw. III, m. 30; and Pasch., m. 1.

¹⁰ Pat. 42nd Edw. III, p. 2, m. 21.

John Chipstede and John Walworth, June 19th, 1369, granted 16a. of land in Dertford to the king, "ad opus domûs de Dertford de ordine predicatorum." The grant was enrolled in chancery July 12th following.¹

The manors of Norton and Fifhide had been held by Sir Roger Bavant, of John, bishop of Exeter, by military service and the rent of 60s. a-year, which service and rent the bishop had granted to John de Montagu and his heirs for ever. By the royal gift of the manors to Dartford Priory, in frank-almoign, Montagu had suffered disinherison. In 1371 he petitioned the king and council in parliament that the grant might be revoked, and another one issued restoring his four knights'-fees and rent. An inquisition was therefore ordered June 18th, which was accordingly taken July 19th following at New Sarum, when it was found that the manors were held by the service of *three* knights'-fees and the rent, and that the bishop had never relaxed them to Bavant or the Prioress.²

The possessions of the Sisters were now considerable, and it became advisable to include them all under one royal grant. Matilda the prioress therefore surrendered to the king, April 6th, 1371, all lands and tenements of the concession of John Brond, chaplain, and which had belonged to William Claptes and Jane his wife, in Dertford, Stone, Wilmyngton, and Suthflete; messuage given by John de Cherteseye in Dertford, and three messuages in Dertford once Roger Folkes'; 2a. of land in Dertford given by Simon Kegworth; tenement in London once Robert Bourton's and John de Legyton's, executors of Robert de Hauwode late citizen and merchant of London; all the tenements once Augustin Waley's; all rents and services of the two messuages and three shops in Cordewanerstrete, now held by James Andrewe for life; the manor of Shibbourn, with all rents and services in Mallynge; the manor of Hecchesham, in Surrey and Kent; all lands and tenements, with rents and services, in Putfold, Surrey; the manors of Braundeston and Combes in Suffolk; the manors of Norton and Fifhide, with all rents and services in Billegh, Emewell, Trowe, Westwythyhull, Weremonstre, Bourton-atte-Nasshe, Wilton, Gerardeston, Rolveston, and Purbik, in Wilts and Dorset; the manors of Colwenston and Molteston in Wales; the manor of Magna-Belstede with the church of Wasshebrouk and Velchurch; and the advowsons of the churches of Alfreton, Wasshebrouk and Velchurch. Michael Skylling, Roger de Wolfreton, Nicholas Heryng, Simon Kegworth and Thomas Tye were appointed, December 12th, to receive the seisin;³ and the acknowledgment of the surrender, was made at Dertford, on the 19th, before Thomas de Lodelowe and Robert Bealknap.⁴

Alice de Perers, by charter dated at Dertford, December 10th, 1371, conveyed to the king all the lands and tenements in Dertford, Wilmyngton, Stone, Southflete, and Merrsh, in Kent, which she had of the gift of Nicholas de Holbourn, citizen of London; also the two messuages,

¹ Claus. 43rd Edw. III, m. 16 d.

² Inquis. post mort., 45th Edw. III (2nd Nos.), No. 52.

³ Pat. 45th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 6. Thomas Bridport, at his death, Dec. 8th, 1372, held conjointly with his wife Eleanor the manor of Bradele in Purbyk,

valued at 100s., by service of the eighth part of a fief, as of the manor of Fyfhide. Thomas, his son and heir, was ten years old. *Inquis. p. mortem*, 47th Edw. III (1st Nos.), No. 4.

⁴ Claus. 45th Edw. III, m. 6 d.

with gardens and curtilages, which she had of Thomas de Beere, rector of St. Michael's, Paternosterchirche, London, and John de Brewod, rector of Fotescreye, in the same county.¹ Kegworth and Heryng were deputed the same day to receive the seisin.² With these lands, of the yearly value of 40*l.*, the king intended to endow Dartford Priory; on the following day he gave Alice Pereres the manor of Wendovre in exchange.³

Edward III now made the royal gift of the Priory and all its possessions to the community. By letters patent dated July 20th, 1372, he granted to Matilda, prioress, and to the Sisters, the monastery, mansion and site where they now dwelt; the manors of Shipbourne and Porteburgh, in Kent; the advowson of the chapel of St. Edmund in Dertford, and all the lands and tenements of the concession of John Bronde, chaplain, in Dertford, Stone, Wilmynton, and Suthfleete; messuage, once John de Cherteseye's in Dertford; three messuages there, once Roger Folks'; two acres of land there, once Simon Kegworth's; one messuage, one dovecote, 30*a.* of land, 3*a.* of meadow, 15*a.* of pasture, and 20*s.* rent there, once Robert Mount's; 34*a.* of land, 5*a.* of meadow, and 6*s.* rent in Dertford and Wilmynton, once William de Wilmynton's; 7 messuages, 2 tofts, 4 gardens, 128½*a.* of land, 4*a.* of meadow, 30*a.* of pasture, 12*a.* of marsh, and 20*s.* rent, and the reversion of a messuage and 8½*a.* of land (held by Margery Michel for life) in Dertford, once William Newport's, citizen and fishmonger of London; a messuage and 7*s.* rent in Dertford, once Nicholas Crofton's; two messuages and a garden in Dertford, once Alexander Folks'; a messuage there, once John Lambyn's; 3*r.* of meadow and pasture for two oxen there, once John Michel's; 16*a.* of land there, once John Chepstede's and John Walworth's, citizens of London; 30*a.* of land in Wilmynton, once John Pikman's; two messuages, and all the lands, tenements, rents, and services, once Alice Perers', in Dertford, Wilmynton, Stone, Suthfleete and Merssh, and a plot of land called le Castelplace in Dertford, also 5*s.* 3*d.* rent there, once William Moraunt's; a messuage or tenement in London, once Robert de Barton's and John de Letton's, executors of Robert de Hauwode, late citizen and merchant of London; all the tenements in the city, once Augustin Waleys's; the rents and services of two messuages and three shops in Cordwanerstrete, with the reversion of them, and 66*s.* 8*d.* rent in Tannersfeld and in Westchep, London, belonging to the manor of Porteburgh, once Robert Bikenore's; the manor of Belstede Magna, with the churches of Wasshebroke and Velechurche, the advowson of the church of Alferton, in Suffolk; the manor of Braundeston, with all pertaining in Herkestele, in the same county; and in Goffeld, Essex; the manor of Combes, with the site of a chapel there, in Suffolk; the manor of Hecchesham, in Surrey and Kent, and all the king's lands and tenements in Putford, Surrey, with the church of Wytelee and the chapel of Thoresle; the manor of Norton, with the advowsons of the church and of a chantry therein, and certain members belonging to the manor, viz., Billegh, Emewell, Trowe and Westwithihille, also with rents and services of the king's tenants in Weremenstre, Rolveston, and Madlyngton, in Wilts, and all the king's rents and services in Burton-atte-Nasshe and atte More, with all other appurtenances of the manor of Norton, in Dorset; the

¹ Orig. 45th Edw. III, ro. 30.

² Ibid. ro. 34.

³ Pat. 45th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 7.

manor of Fifhide, with all pertaining in Gerardeston, Wilton, Dighampton, Fouleston, and Parva Derneford, in Wilts, and all lands, &c. in Purbik, Dorset, pertaining to Fifhide, and the advowsons of the church of Fifhide, and of St. Michael in Westrete, Wilton; and the manor of Colwenston, in Glamorganshire, also all lands and tenements in Moldeston, in Herefordshire, with all fiefs, &c. pertaining to the manor of Colwenston. All were to be held in dowery and foundation of the monastery, in free, pure, and perpetual almoign.¹

And for the tranquillity and quiet of the Prioress and convent, the king, August 12th following, exempted them from all royal taxes, and dues, and public contributions, gave them all manorial rights, freed their monastery from forced hospitality towards any magnates or ministers of the crown contrary to the will of the Prioress; received it and all their goods into the royal protection against the king's purveyors, freed it from corrodies, and granted them free-warren in all their lands.² A royal licence of April 18th, 1373, enabled the community to lease for life, or in fee-simple, all the manors and lands which they had received of the royal gift.³ On July 5th, they had the king's grant of the advowson of the church of Childermelangele (Kings-Langley), and leave to appropriate the church;⁴ on the 11th, they had licence to appropriate the church of Norton Skydemour, the advowson of which already belonged to them;⁵ and on the same day, William de Huntyngheld had a licence to assign to them the advowson of the church of Rokesworth, held of the crown *in capite*.⁶ The papal brief of Gregory XI, sanctioning the appropriation of the church of Langley Regis, had been granted December 16th previous, on the plea that the means of the Sisters were so slender that they could not fittingly maintain themselves, and support the burdens incumbent on them.⁷

Sir John Daunteseve chr., November 11th, 1373, acknowledged in chancery his debt of 1000 marks to the Prioress of Dartford, and bound himself to pay half at the next Michaelmas and the rest at the Michaelmas following.⁸ This knight released to the prior and friars of Dertford his inheritance of Baventre, for which they gave him 300 marks. This sum was restored to them by the king, who paid to F. Thomas Walssh, prior of Kings-Langley, December 16th, 1374, 100 marks,⁹ and to the Prioress and Sisters, through F. Walter Durant, October 15th following, 100 marks,¹⁰ and November 26th, 1376, the remainder.¹¹

F. Thomas Walssh, being, by the king's foundation, "Prior tam Fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum in manerio nostro de Chilterne Langele habitantium quam domus Sororum Ordinis Predicatorum per nos apud Dertford fundate" had a yearly pension of ten marks granted him, April 3rd, 1374, out of the Sisters' revenues, for his necessities and labours, as long as he remained in the office.¹²

The two messuages and three shops in Corlewanerstrete, returned to the crown (as the Sisters had surrendered all their right to the king) when

¹ Pat. 46th Edw. III, m. 28.

² Cart. 46th Edw. III, m. 2.

³ Pat. 47th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 7.

⁴ Pat. 47th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 34.

⁵ Ibid. m. 32.

⁶ Ibid. m. 30.

⁷ Reg. Buckingham, vol. 1, p. 305.
Clutterbuck's *Herefordsh.*, vol. i, p. 435.

⁸ Claus. 47th Edw. III, m. 12 d.

⁹ Exit. Scac. Mich. 49th Edw. III, m. 8.

¹⁰ Exit. Scac. Mich. 50th Edw. III, m. 4.

¹¹ Exit. Scac. Mich. 51st Edw. III, m. 18.

¹² Pat. 48th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 21.

the life-tenant, James Andreu died, in 1375, and the occupant, John Vine, citizen-draper, early in May, gave them up.¹ On the 19th, a royal precept was directed to the sheriffs of London to seize the whole into the king's hand, and make an inquisition of waste and estrepements under the last tenant.² The royal grant of the messuages and shops was made to the Sisters, June 28th, with all issues from the time of Andreu's death.³

Edward III died in June, 1377. Within a few years of that time, the French prioress Matilda ceased from her office, and probably went to rest under the marble stone which he had prepared for her. She was succeeded in the government of the community by Sister Jane, whose family name was Barwe.⁴

So great was the munificence of Richard II towards the Sisters, that he was entitled to be ranked as their second founder. He confirmed, April 20th, 1380, the royal grants of August 12th, 1372, and July 5th and 11th, 1373, and gave licence to carry out those grants, which had not yet been done.⁵ And July 15th following, he also confirmed the grants of July 20th, 1372; July 16th, 1357; April 18th, 1373; September 1st, 1357; and January 27th, 1365-6, being a grant of four marks a-year to the parson of Chilterne-Langleye out of the issues of the manor; and June 28th, 1375.⁶ For these confirmations a fine of five marks each was paid.⁷

On account of his devotion, "ad monasterium Sororum Predicatissarum de Dertford," the king granted them, September 3rd, 1384, the manor of Massyngham and the reversion of the manor of West Wrotham, both in Norfolk, to find a chaplain for celebrating mass daily in the chapel lately built in the infirmary of the monastery, in relief and maintenance of sick Sisters and Friars there, and for praying continually for the good estate of the king in and after life, for the souls of the founders and benefactors, and of all the faithful. The manor of Massyngham had gone to the crown by the feoffment of John Daventre, parson of Brom; Walter Barker, vicar of Kymberle; John Cranhous, Edmund Lakyngeth, and Richard Nooth. The manor of West Wrotham, with its appurtenances in Est Wrotham and Elryngton, had been granted in reversion by John Bacon, Henry Boghay, Thomas Godelak, and John Appulton, after the death of the five tenants, to whom they had let it for the term of the life of Katherine Breouse and for one year after her decease.⁸ This Katherine Breous or Brews was daughter of Sir Thomas de Norwich, and widow of — Brews of Salle, in Norfolk. As heiress of her second cousin, Sir John de Norwich, who died January 1st, 1373-4, she inherited the lordship of Sculthorpe; but becoming a nun at Dartford, she resigned all her right and claim, May 18th, 1378, to that manor.⁹

In 1384, John Norhampton, draper, to whom the Sisters had let the two messuages and three shops in Cordewanestrete, for forty years from Michaelmas, 1375, was convicted of high treason at Reading, September 19th, and forfeited all his possessions. On the petition of the Sisters, the king, October 7th, ordered the mayor to restore the houses to them, together with 23*l.* 8*s.* 8½*d.*, three half-years' rents still due, to be levied out of the tenant's goods.¹⁰

¹ Claus. 49th Edw. III, m. 32 d.

² Ibid. m. 34.

³ Pat. 49th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 3.

⁴ L. T. R. Memoranda Rolls, 9th Hen.

V, Mich. ro. 9. in reference to *ann.* 22 *Rich. II.*

⁵ Cart. 3rd Rich. II, m. 1.

⁶ Pat. 4th Rich. II, p. 2, m. 29.

⁷ Rot. fin. 4th Rich. II, m. 2.

⁸ Pat. 8th Rich. II, p. 1, m. 25.

⁹ Bloomfield's Hist. of Norfolk (1807) vol. vii, p. 173.

¹⁰ Claus. 8th Rich. II, m. 38.

Assembled in their chapter-house, Jane, prioress, and the Sisters, July 25th, 1385, unanimously granted an annuity of 18*l.* to William de Ganesburgh, or Geynesburgh, to be paid quarterly in the church of St. Mary de Arcubus.¹ He was parson of Norton-Bavent. For the payment of the annuity they gave a bond, January 22nd following, in the sum of 50*l.*, which was accepted, on the 25th, by the parties, and, February 10th, was enrolled in Chancery. On the 22nd he acknowledged his debt of forty marks to the Prioress and convent, and engaged to pay it on Midsummer day, which he accordingly did.² He got a royal confirmation of the annuity, May 4th, 1386,³ for which he paid the fine of half a mark.⁴

On account of being a recluse, Jane, prioress, obtained the royal license, February 4th, 1390-1, to appoint attorneys in all pleas and complaints anywhere in England, and she now attorned Will. Durant and William Makenade.⁵

The king acquired of Walter atte Water of Derteford four messuages, one toft, four gardens, 48*a.* of land, 2*a.* of pasture, and 12*s.* 3½*d.* rent in Derteford, and a tenement built at le Haywharf near the Thames, in London. He appointed William Makenade and John Appelton to receive the seizin, and then, July 17th, 1392, granted the whole to the Prioress and convent, in pure and perpetual almoign.⁶

Pope Boniface IX, November 1st, 1395, granted the pontifical permission for the appropriation of the parish churches of Norton-Bavent and Wittelee. He also approved and confirmed the concession of John XXII, in 1321, in favour of the then projected foundation.⁷ It was probably now that Jane, prioress, and the Sisters set their seal to the appropriation of the church of Wyttelee; which was an act remarkably delayed. The church was really given to them by Queen Philippa, to whom the patronage belonged. On their petition for the execution of the gift, the Bishop of Winchester referred the matter to his chapter in 1356, and knowing their straitened circumstance and strict and devout lives, gave his assent, December 15th, 1358, followed by that of his chapter.⁸

In 1396, John Symond, warden of St. Edmund's chapel in Derteford, received the royal ratification, May 18th, of his possession of the chapel.⁹ Hence there seems to be some error, probably of date, when it is said that Jane the prioress, together with her convent, presented him to that chantry or chaplaincy in 1399. In 1396, the principal resident friar was F. John Sill, whose name occurs in conjunction with Robert Grape, vicar of Dartford, and others, as one of the commissioners appointed by the Bishop of Rochester to receive the resignation of John Staundon, chaplain of St. Mary, Stampit, and to appoint his successor.¹⁰

The design of endowing the priory of Kings-Langley through the medium of the Sisters of Dartford was, at last, fully carried out. The Sisters received from the king, February 12th, 1393-4, the advowson of the church of Wylve, near Baldok, in Hertfordshire, and on the same

¹ Claus. 9th Rich. II, m. 21 d.

² Ibid. m. 18 d., 21 d.

³ Pat. 9th Rich. II, p. 2, m. 22.

⁴ Orig. 9th Rich. II, ro. 36.

⁵ Pat. 14th Rich. II, p. 2, m. 36.

⁶ Pat. 16th Rich. II, p. 2, m. 31.

⁷ Bullar. Ord. Præd.

⁸ Reg. Will. de Edynde, tom. ii, fol. 38; tom. i, fol. 98.

⁹ Pat. 19th Rich. II, p. 2, m. 3.

¹⁰ Dunkin's History of Dartford.

day the royal license was given for the Bishop of Sarum and Warin Waldegrave, esq., to grant to them the advowson of Magna Gaddesden, in the same county: all for the use and benefit of the friars of Childer Langeleye.¹ Edward III, in 1376, placed the manors of Preston near Wingham, Elmstone, Overland in the parish of Ash, Woodling or Wadling, Ham or Kings-ham, Westgate in the Isle of Thanet, Goodneston, Wadeslade, Harrietsham, Byrupper or Beaurepaire, and Packmanstone, all in Kent, in the hands of ten trustees for the friars; and Richard II now granted them, April 24th, 1399, in perpetuity to the Prioress and Sisters, for the maintenance of the sixty religious there, whose house had not been sufficiently built nor properly endowed.²

Soon after Henry IV had established himself on the throne, he hastened to extend his royal favour to the Priory of Dartford. On February 11th, 1399-1400, he confirmed by letters patent the grants of July 15th, 1380, June 29th, 1349, September 3rd, 1384, and July 17th, 1392;³ and by charter the grant of April 20th, 1380.⁴ On the same day too, he ordered the chief butler to deliver to the Sisters all the arrears of the four casks of wine yearly which Edward III had granted to them in 1357.⁵ The Prioress had licence again, November 17th, 1403, to appoint attorneys for all pleas and complaints during three years.⁶

In compliance with the king's writ dated October 24th, 1404, an inquisition was taken at Derteford November 9th following, as to whether William Makenade and William Cave might assign to the Prioress and convent, without detriment, three messuages, $13\frac{1}{2}a.$ and $\frac{1}{2}r.$ of wood in Bexhille and Dertford, in aid of their support. It was found that one messuage was held of the Prioress by fealty and the service of 12*d.* a-year; another, of the heirs of Thomas de Grauntsone, by fealty and 16*d.* a-year; the third, of John Lokewyk, by fealty and 2*s.* 4*d.* a-year; and the wood, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, by fealty and the rent of $1\frac{3}{4}d.$ for every acre. The whole was worth 13*s.* 4*d.* a-year, besides reprises.⁷ In consequence of the favourable return, a mortmain licence was granted, January 28th, to make over all to the Sisters;⁸ and for the licence Makenade and Cave paid the fine of five marks.⁹ By common recovery, November 3rd, 1405, the Prioress received for her church from William Baret of Dikilburgh and Jane his wife (as of her inheritance) three tofts, a dovecote, 104*a.* of land, 1*a.* of meadow, 15*d.* rent, and the liberty of three folds in Estwrotham, Westwrotham, and Elyngton, for which she paid twenty marks of silver.¹⁰ In the autumn of 1406 Makenade and Cave had another licence, October 18th, to assign to the Sisters, two tofts, 66*a.* of land, 12*a.* of bruery, 22*d.* rent, and the liberty of three folds in West Wrotham; all to be held as of the value of 100*s.* in part satisfaction of the hundred marks which they were allowed to acquire.¹¹ The inquisition taken July 14th previously (by writ of June 20th) at Hokham, Norfolk, declared that all were held of

¹ Pat. 17th Rich. II. p. 2, m. 35.

² Pat. 22nd Rich II, p. 3, m. 15.

³ Pat. 1st Hen. IV, p. 5, m. 2.

⁴ Cart. 1st Hen. IV, p. 2, m. 36.

⁵ Claus. 1st Hen. IV, p. 2, m. 14.

⁶ Pat. 5th Hen. IV, p. 1, m. 29.

⁷ Inquis. ad quod damp. 6th Hen. IV, No. 33.

⁸ Pat. 6th Hen. IV, p. 1, m. 15.

⁹ Rot. Fin. 6th Hen. IV. m. ...

¹⁰ Ped. Fin. Norf. 7th Hen. IV, No. 61.

¹¹ Pat. 8th Hen. IV. p. 1, m. 29.

the countess of Warren, as of her manor of Sahm, and were worth four marks a-year in all issues.¹

By writ dated February 1st, 1406-7, an inquisition was taken, February 19th, at Derteford, when it was found that, in part satisfaction of the hundred marks, there might be assigned to the Sisters, by William Makenade, William Cave, John Depyng, Thomas atte Coton, and William Spencer, 2 messuages, 3 tofts, 2 gardens, 150*a.* of land, 3*a.* of pasture, 13*a.* of wood, and 3½*d.* rent in Sutton atte Hone; and by John Martyn, Thomas atte Cote, and the same William Cave, 20*s.* rent in Derteford. One messuage called Gyldenhill, and a toft called Williames-tenement atte Hill, 7*a.* of land, a garden, and ½*a.* of wood were held of John Weston and Richard Foster of London, by fealty and 15½*d.*, as of their manor of Rowhill; the other messuage called Fyndares-tenement, a toft called Frankleynes-tenement, a garden, 80*a.* of land, 3*a.* of pasture, 7*a.* and ½*a.* of wood in la Bampic....., Betonesgrove, and Alverichgrove, and the tenement whence issued the rent of 3½*d.* were held of the prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England, as of his manor of Sutton atte Hone, by fealty, suit of court, and the service of 19*s.* 6*d.*; 4*a.* (*sic*) were held of John Frenyngham by a dry rent of; 60*a.* of land in Hallefeld, and 5*a.* of wood there called Waryneswode were held of the heirs of Thomas Grauntsone, by a dry and quit rent of 10*s.* 10*d.*; the third toft was held of William Alverich by 1½*d.* a-year, and the tenement whence the rent of 20*s.* issued in Derteford, called Crowchefelde, was held of the same heirs of Grauntsone, by a yearly dry and quit rent of 6*s.* ...*d.* All together (excluding the rent) were of the yearly value of 20*s.*, besides reprises.² The mortmain licence was given April 26th.³

On May 9th, 1407, the Sisters had the royal grant of May 16th, 1366, exemplified.⁴ Henry V, July 18th, 1413, confirmed the letters-patent and the charter of February 11th, 1399-1400;⁵ for which the Sisters paid the fine of 20*s.*⁶

About this time, a serious difference arose between the Sisters of Dartford and the Friars of Kings-Langley, from whose jurisdiction they desired to emancipate themselves. In 1415, the provincial of the order determined to make a visitation at Dartford "in augmentationem lapse religionis et reformationem obedientie debite, ac in roborationem foundationis ejusdem domus seu monasterii;" in which light he would regard canonical slight of his own authority. In order to carry out his intention with full effect, he sought the help of the king, who, July 20th, commissioned Master John Aylmere and Master Richard Alkyrton to assist him in his enquiry "de quibuscunque defectibus, excessibus, et transgressionibus infra domum sive monasterium predictum contra formam religionis, obedientie et foundationis," to chastize and punish, and to bring the Sisters one and all to live according to the statutes of their religion and the intentions of the first founders, according to the tenor of the apostolic bulls and Edward III's letters patent of November 1356.⁷ The matter was referred to the apostolic see; and the decision of Martin V, given July 16th, 1418, went wholly in the favour of the

¹ Inquis. ad quod damp. 7th Hen. IV, No. 11.

² Inquis. ad quod dam. 8th Hen. IV, No. 24.

³ Pat. 8th Hen. IV, p. 2, m. 14.

⁴ Ibidem, m. 15.

⁵ Cart. 1st Hen. V, p. 1, m. 8.

⁶ Rot. fin. 1st Henry V, m. ...

⁷ Pat. 3rd Hen. V, p. 2, m. 36.

provincial and the prior of Kings-Langley, to whose obedience the Sisters were enforced by ecclesiastical censures.¹ It is not improbable that the dispute had arisen concerning the election of a prioress, when S. Rose succeeded S. Jane in the superintendence of the community : at all events, after the authoritative decision of the holy see, the friendly relations between Dartford and Kings-Langley were fully and permanently established. An inquisition was taken, October 8th, 1421, at Estry, in Kent, by which it was returned that the term of forty years for which the friars of Childrynlangele had the manors of Preston, Elmeston, Overlonde, Hamme, and Wodelynge, had expired, and that they had taken the issues and profits for four years longer, by what right the jurors were entirely ignorant. On the statements of this faulty inquisition, the manors were seized into the crown. But Rose, prioress of Dartford, appeared by attorney in the Court of Exchequer, November 3rd, and by producing the royal grant of 1399 and confirmations, established the right of Dartford and Kings-Langley.²

Such, then, is the history of the foundation of the Dominican Sisters' Priory at Dartford, which became one of the most celebrated schools in the kingdom, "to which the best and noblest families of the country sent their relatives both for education and as Nuns."³ It is a narrative full of interest, for it illustrates the erection of a house of forty religious by the sole aid of royalty. The difficulties of the undertaking are well portrayed in the prolonged negotiations for the first establishment, the length of time occupied in building, and the shifts to which even kingly munificence had to resort to provide a sufficient endowment. Edward II intended to endow the priory of Kings-Langley for one hundred friars, and to found a house of Sisters : Edward III, under the great vow with which he bound his conscience, as he recorded in his last will, made provision for sixty friars and forty nuns, and still left the work to be completed by his successors. The subsequent history of Dartford and its final destruction remain to be detailed.

In 1422, the Prioress and convent, December 4th, presented John Blice to the perpetual chaplaincy of the chantry of St. Edmund.⁴ Henry VI had now ascended the throne, and it became necessary to obtain royal confirmation of the grants of previous kings. On February 18th, 1422-3, the charter of July 18th, 1413, and October 15th, 1424, that of November 19th, 1356, were fully ratified.⁵ In 1432, Rose the prioress and her convent presented John Derby to St. Edmund's, and he was instituted May 10th.⁶

By writ dated February 8th, 1435-6, an inquisition was taken at Derteford, November 5th following, as to whether, without detriment, there might be assigned to the Prioress and Sisters, by John Martyn, William Rotheley, and William Gronchurst, 11*ac.* of wood and bruery in Dertford; and by the same Martyn and Rotheley, a messuage and 6½*ac.* of land in Derteford; and by Martyn 7*ac.* of wood in Byxele, in part satisfaction of the hundred marks a-year, for certain charges and other works

¹ Bullarium Ord. Præd.

² L.T. R. Memoranda Rolls, 9th Hen. V, Mich. ro. 9. A full account of the "Friar-Preachers of Kings-Langley" has appeared in the 18th volume of the *Reliquary*.

³ Dugdale's Mon. Angl. (edit. 1830), vol. vi, p. 537.

⁴ Dunkin.

⁵ Pat. 1st Hen. VI, p. 5, m. 32. Pat. 3rd Hen. VI, p. 1, m. 13.

⁶ Dunkin.

of piety to be obtained by the three grantors. A satisfactory answer was returned: the wood and bruary were worth 3*s.* 8*d.* a-year; the messuage and land, 3*s.* 4*d.* a-year; and the wood, 3*s.* 4*d.* a-year.¹ Another inquisition (by writ of November 8th) taken November 13th at the Guyhald of London, favourably returned that Thomas Osborn, mercer, and John Selby, citizens of London, might assign two messuages and the moiety of twenty messuages in London to the Sisters, in further satisfaction of the hundred marks, for certain charges and works of piety. The two messuages in St. Alban's parish, Crepulgate ward, were valued at 16*s.* 8*d.* a-year; six of the moieties in the same parish and ward, at 15*s.* a-year; and of fourteen moieties in Bradstrete ward, six were valued at 26*s.* 8*d.*, six at 10*s.*, and two at 6*s.* 8*d.*² The mortmain licence for the grant of all contained in the two inquisitions was made November 1st, 1437,³ for which a fine of twenty-six marks was paid.⁴

William, bishop of Rochester, June 19th, 1441, on receipt of 20*l.* sterling, gave the Prioress and convent an acquittance for the "manor and demaynes" of the rectory of Dertford, which they now held of him to farm, in full payment of all rents and fines, from Easter to the Nativity of St. John Baptist. And February 11th, 1442 (1442-3), they paid the bishop a further sum of 10*l.*, and received another acquittance for the "rectory-farm and lordship" of Dertford, from the Nativity.⁵

About this time S. Margaret Beaumont became prioress. She was daughter of Henry Lord Beaumont and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of William Lord Willoughby. Her brother, John Lord Beaumont, a distinguished warrior, was created earl of Bolome (Boulogne) July 27th, 1436, four years afterwards was advanced to the dignity of viscount, being the first that bore that title in England, and was slain, July 10th, 1459, in the battle of Northampton.

An inquisition, by writ of May 20th, 1446, was taken at the Guyhald of London, Sept. 30th, and it was found that Edmund Langford, Esq., might assign to Margaret Beaumont, prioress, and her convent all his pourparty in Wodestrete and Bradstrete, near the Augustinian Friars, which was once Anne Bardolf's, in part satisfaction of the hundred marks. The pourparty, consisting of lands, tenements, rents, and when let was worth 3*l.* a-year.⁶

Margaret de Bellomont (Beaumont) prioress, and her convent, October 6th, 1446, presented Thomas de Ingesdell, or Ingledew, to the perpetual chaplaincy of St. Edmund's, on the death of brother William Crowland. Agnes, wife of Richard Fagg of Dertford, by will dated January 22nd, 1451 (1451-2), directed her body to be buried in the cemetery of the Blessed Mary and Margaret, virgins, of *Bellomont*. In 1453 died Richard Miles of Stoneham, husbandman to the Priory; he gave by will 6*s.* towards repairing the parish church of Dartford. Richard Bolton of Dertford, by will dated February 3rd, 1456 (1456-7), directed his body to be buried within the Monastery of Dertford, or in whatsoever place it should please God, and bequeathed to the Prioress and convent 20*s.*, and to the same community, for exequies and masses, 12*d.*⁷

¹ Inquis. ad quod damp. 15th Hen. VI, No. 3.

² Inquis. ad quod damp. 15th Henry VI, No. 2.

³ Pat. 16th Hen. VI, p. 2, m. 30.

⁴ Rot. Fin. 16th Hen. VI.

⁵ Dunkin.

⁶ Inquis. ad quod dampn. 25th Hen. VI, No. 12.

⁷ Dunkin.

Pressed by poverty and pecuniary straits, Margaret Beaumont and her convent obtained the royal licence, November 20th, 1458, to sell a messuage adjoining the churchyard of St. Mary de Arcubus to Isabel widow of John Rych, Thomas Urswyk, Richard Ryche, John Pulter, John Alburgh, and William Duraunt and others, or to any other person.¹ Accordingly the same Prioress and convent, with the unanimous consent of their whole chapter, sold the messuage, April 12th following, to the six parties named, for a competent sum "in magnâ presenti necessitate nostrâ soluta," say the Sisters, "et in relevamine nostrorum grandium custuum et onerum, que nuper diversimode subivimus et supportavimus;" and, June 12th, their deed was enrolled in chancery.²

Margaret de Beaumont the prioress dying, was buried within her monastery, and was succeeded by S. Alice Branthwait. Of the latter, a very interesting memorial is still preserved in the British Museum. It is a theological work in small folio, beautifully written on vellum, with the first page illuminated, thus entitled after its conclusion: "The Treetis that is kallid Pricking of Love made by a Frere Menour Bonaventure that was Cardynal of the Courte of Rome," with another work imperfect at the beginning, with a like title after its conclusion. On the first spare leaf at the beginning are the following notes:

"Thys boyk longyth to Da' alys braintwath } Jhu mercy."
the Worchypfull p'oras of Dartford

"Orate pro anima Dominae Elizabith Rede, hujus loci——"

"Orate pro anima Joanne Newmarche."

At the bottom of folio 1 are the arms of Shirley and Briwes (or Brewes) quartered.³ Rede and Newmarche were probably nuns.

In 1461, the prioress Lady Alice Branswaite and her convent presented John Wells, chaplain, to the chaplaincy of St. Edmund's, July 4th, on the death of Thomas Yngledew. John Millman of Dertford, by will dated April 21st, 1462, directed his body to be buried in the church of the B. Mary and St. Margaret, and on the day of his funeral, 3s. 4d. to be given in doles and 12d. to the clerk.⁴

Edward IV showed great attachment to the Dominican Sisters of Dartford. He confirmed, November 20th, 1461, the royal grants of July 15th, 1380; September 3rd, 1384; July 17th, 1392; June 29th, 1349; February 5th, 1356-7; December 26th, 1358; July 11th, 1375; and August 12th, 1372; for which a fine of five marks was paid.⁵ Another royal confirmation was given December 16th, 1467, of the same eight grants, and also those of December 3rd, 1356, and November 2nd, 1350; and at the same time, on the supplication of Alice prioress and the Sisters, certain legal difficulties arising from the obscure and diffuse wording of those grants, which threatened disturbance and vexation of the community and even its desolation, were remedied by incorporating the Sisters "per nomen Priorisse Monasterii sancte Marie et sancte Margarete, virginum, de Dertford, et ejusdem loci Conventûs Sororum Ordinis sancti Augustini secundum instituta et sub curâ fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum viventium;" empowering them as such to plead and be mpleaded in all courts, the Prioress as a recluse to appoint attorneys

¹ Pat. 37th Hen. VI, p. 1, m. 18.

² Claus. 37th Hen. VI, m. 7 d.

³ Harl. MSS., cod. 2254.

⁴ Dunkin.

⁵ Pat. 1st Edward IV, p. 7, m. 16.

for all pleas, suits, etc.; amply setting forth the privileges accorded to them by Edward III in 1372 and 1356-7; and giving them a pardon in mortmain for what they had already acquired.¹

Roger Rothley of Dertford, by will dated May 6th, 1468, gave to the Prioress and convent ten marks, upon the condition, that they and their successors should perform in the said Monastery a yearly service (mass), for the repose of his soul, for ten years after his decease. *ROGER PITT* of Dertford, by will of July 4th, 1470, gave to the Prioress and convent 13*s.* 4*d.*, to pray for her soul; to *JONE STOKTON*, in the Abbey, 20*d.*; to *JONE MORES* in the same place, 20*d.* and a candlestick; and in a sort of codicil, she said, "Also I wolle that the p'oress and co'vent have xiijs. iiij*d.*, to pray for me."²

Jane, daughter of Lord Scrope of Bolton, was elected prioress somewhere about this time. At her death, she was buried in her cloister.³

By two writs dated March 2nd, 1471-2, on the supplication of Jane now prioress and the convent, in order that the permissions to acquire to the value of 100 marks and 300*l.* might be further completed, two inquisitions were taken, November 9th following, at Dertford. By the first, it was found that, towards the 100 marks, Sir Thomas Ursewyk, chief-baron of the exchequer, Henry Spelman, Richard Nedeham, and John Colard might assign to the Convent, the manor of Crokenhille in the parish of Eynesforth, Kent, valued at five marks a-year; a croft of 6*a.* of arable land in Eynesforth, at 6*d.* a-year; a croft of 2½*a.* of arable land called Dobyschaugh in Lullyngstane, at 2*d.* a-year; a croft called Begardyscroft of 3*a.* in Lullyngstane, at 6*d.* a-year; a croft called Pukcroft of 2*a.* in Lullyngstane, at 6*d.* a-year; a tenement called Isberghis in the parish of Frendesbury, at five marks a-year; a salt-marsh of pasture called Blachepole, at 6*s.* 8*d.*; a croft called Wellecroft, at 20*d.*; parcels of land of 20*a.* in the parish of Frendesbury and Halghsto in Hoo, at 8*s.*; 1*a.* of wood in the parish of Bexle juxta Danston, in Cleygrove, at 6*d.* a-year; and the rent of 20*s.* out of an inn called le Hole Bole, of old called Whalesbone, in Dertford. By the second inquisition, it was found that, towards the 300*l.*, Ursewyk, Spelman, Nedeham, and Colard, might assign, the manor called Pettescourt, in the parishes of Bakehilde and Lynstede, Kent, and 1*a.* of arable land in Bakehilde in a croft called Burtonshawe, valued, the manor at 100*s.*, and the land at 6*d.* a-year.⁴

Thomas Taylor of Dartford, February 16th, 1476 (1476-7), bequeathed to the Prioress and convent 20*s.* John Joyner of Dartford, July 18th, 1478, bequeathed "unto or lady light in the abbay iiij*d.*; unto the prioress and convent in the abbay of Darford aforesaid, my grete bras potte."⁵

An inquisition taken at Peñne, Bucks, January 28th, 1479-80 (by writ of October 19th previous), found that John Hunden, late bishop of Llandaff, and Sir Thomas Montgomere, knt., might assign to the Prioress and convent, in part of the hundred marks, 5*l.* yearly rent in Isnehamstede Chene.⁶ Another inquisition at Dertford November 10th,

¹ Cart. 5th, 6th, 7th Edward V, m. 5.

⁵ Dunkin.

² Dunkin.

⁶ Inquis. post mortem, 19th Edward IV, no. 80.

³ Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 128.

⁴ Inquis. post mortem, 11th Edward IV, no. 65.

1481 (by writ of November 22nd, 1479) found that Sir Thomas Bryan, knt., for the same purpose, might similarly assign, five messuages and 60*a.* of land in Dertford; 80*a.* of land, 10*a.* of pasture, and 56*a.* of wood, in Northcray; 2 messuages, 60*a.* of land, 16*a.* of meadow, 10*a.* of pasture, 20*a.* of wood, and 40*a.* of bruery in Dertford; 20*a.* of land, 4*a.* of wood, 30*a.* of bruery, in Garde; 60*a.* of land, 40*a.* of wood, 30*a.* of bruery, and 13*s.* rent in Wilmyngton; and 20*a.* of land in Dertford, valued altogether at 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a-year.¹

About this time S. Alice was the Prioress, but her family name does not appear; she ceased, probably by death, in 1488.

Sir Guy Fairfax, knt., justice of common pleas, and Martin Bere, November 28th, 1487, granted to Margery Crofton, widow and executrix of William Crofton, Thomas Mawdishla, sac. pag. prof., Edmund Pykeryng and John Porter, gents., the yearly rent of 30*s.*, which the Sisters of Dertford paid for two messuages in Wodestrete, London.² Alice prioress and the sisters obtained Henry VII's confirmation, December 7th, 1487, of the royal grant of December 16th, 1467;³ for which they paid a fine of five marks.⁴

In 1488, S. Elizabeth Cresner became Prioress, and after governing her community for fifty years, in prosperity and adversity, died in extreme old age, in the midst of the troubles of the Reformation.

Bridget Plantagenet, seventh and youngest daughter of Edward IV by his queen Elizabeth Wydville, was placed, at the age of ten years, in Dartford Priory, in 1490, on the withdrawal of her mother from the royal court to the nunnery of Bermondsey. This princess was born November 10th, 1480, at the palace of Eltham, where next day she was baptised by the bishop of Chichester, and from her infancy she was dedicated by her mother to the cloister. At the usurpation of the throne by her uncle Richard, she was carried by her mother, with the rest of the children, from the Tower to Westminster, May 3rd, 1483, and remained in sanctuary for ten months, but some time was lying sick at the king's wardrobe, and in consequence there were delivered for her use, out of the royal stores (in July), two long pillows of fustian stuffed with down, and two pillowbears of holland cloth.⁵ She attended her mother on her death-bed at Bermondsey, and was present at her obsequies, June 12th, 1492, at Windsor, making her offering at the mass.⁶ Her grandmother, Cecily, duchess of York, by will dated April 1st and proved August 27th, 1495, bequeathed to her "the boke of *Legenda Aurea* in velem, a boke of the life of Saint Kateryn of Sene, a boke of Saint Matilde." It was about this time, it is supposed, that she took the veil. Her sister, queen Elizabeth of York, contributed a pension of twenty marks a-year out of her privy purse, towards her maintenance, paying it in quarterly sums of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and September 28th, 1502, she gave a messenger 2*s.* "for his costes riding from Windsor to Dartford to my Lady Brigget by the space of twoo dayes at 12*d.*

¹ Ibidem.

² Cart. Miscellan. Cur. Augment, vol. iv, no. 249

³ Rot. Confirm. 3rd Henry VII, p. 2, m. 13.

⁴ Originalia. 3rd Henry VII, ro. 68.

⁵ Antiquarian Repertory, vol. i, p. 51. Hence Walpole concludes that this child

was not then in sanctuary with her mother; but Sir N. H. Nicolas thinks these articles might have been delivered before her mother sought shelter there.

⁶ Arundel MSS., cod. 26, fol. 29 b.

⁷ Nichols' and Bruce's Wills from Doctors-Commons (Camden Society) p. 1.

the day."¹ Princess Bridget spent her days in the seclusion and tranquillity of her convent, never attaining any higher rank than that of a common nun, until her death which occurred about the year 1517, when she was thirty seven years of age, and she was buried within her cloister.²

The rental of the Priory of Dartford, taken between November 20th, 1507, and November 1st, 1508, is still preserved in the British Museum, and gives the situation, extent, tenancy, and rent of all their lands, tenements and houses, with great minuteness.³

The confirmation of the letters-patent of September 3rd, 1384, was given under Henry VIII, January 25th, 1509-10; with a re-grant of the advowson of the priory or hospital of Massyngham to Elizabeth prioress and the convent, in order to remove a doubt or ambiguity in the original gift wherein the advowson had not been at all specified.⁴

The four casks of wine first granted by Edward III to the community, and continued by all the subsequent kings, at last became very irregularly supplied, for the citizens of London claimed to be exonerated of the prise of wine by royal charters; and the war with France formed an additional obstacle. In lieu of the wine, the king therefore granted to Elizabeth Cressener, prioress, and the Sisters, June 8th (or 28th), 1516, 16*l.* a-year to be received out of the small customs of the port of London, at Easter and Michaelmas.⁵

F. Robert Mylys, s.t.p., provincial of the Friar-Preachers, and also prior of Langley Regis, with Elizabeth, prioress of Dertford, presented Thomas Bartlatt to the church of Elmesden; and he was admitted November 26th, 1522.⁶ Hugh le Serle of Dertford, by will, October 20th, 1523, gave, after the decease of Alice his wife, to the Prioress and convent of Dertford, the half of the rents of two tenements in Overy street in the said town, and the other half yearly to be bestowed about the repair of St. Edmund's chapel for ever.⁷

Dame Catharine, widow of Sir Maurice Berkeley, late governor of Calais, by her will made September 5th, and proved September 25th, 1526, desired to be buried in the Chapel of our Lady in the Monastery of Dertford, and that a tomb, price 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, should be constructed there to her memory; she gave to the Monastery a suit of vestments, price 20*l.*; and willed that a priest should be found to sing mass there for her soul for four years, for which she gave 32*l.*, being 8*l.* per annum. She was the daughter of Sir William Berkley of Stoke Gifford, co. Gloucester; and dying September 6th, was buried there.⁸ William

¹ Ant. Rep.

² Nicolas' Privy Purse expenses of Elizabeth of York, p. xxix. Weever.

³ Arundell MSS., cod. 61.

⁴ Pat. 1st Henry VIII, p. 2, m. 20 (15).

⁵ Pat. 8th Hen. VIII, p. 2, m. 10; also p. 1, m. 8.

⁶ Lansdowne MSS. cod. 947, fol. 74 b.

⁷ Dunkin.

Cole in his extracts from a MS. account of the Nunnery of St. Monica, founded in 1609 at Louvain (*Additional MSS. Cod.* 5813, p. 51), gives the following: "Sister Elizabeth Woodford, an English Religious of y^e Monastery of Dartford in Kent, of y^e Order of St. Augustine.

Canoness Regular, professed there Dec. 8, 1519. In 1540, Religious Houses being overthrown in England, she came to St. Ursula's in Lovain, & ob. 25 Oct., 1572, having been 53 years professed, 24 of which she lived at St. Ursula's." There is evidently some mistake. Dartford had nothing to do with the Canonesses Regular of St. Augustin, and the name of Woodford does not appear at the suppression. Eleanor Wodde, or Wood, pensioned in 1539, and still alive in 1556, was a lay-sister, not a choir-nun.

⁸ Jacob's *Complete Peerage*, vol. i, p. 596. Weever.

Maykins of Dertford, April 2nd, 1530, bequeathed 16*l.* to one of the friars of this Monastery.¹ Sir John Rudstone, knight, citizen and alderman of London, by his will dated August 16th, 1530, made the following bequests: "Item, I biquethe towards the amendmentt of the Walles abowtt the monastery of the nynes at Derttford in the Cowntie of Kennt, to thentent that the coventt of the same will haue my sowle recomendyd in th^r devowtt prayers, Twenty pownds st'lyng. Item, I biquethe vnto my lady p'oresse of Dertford aforesayd, a white abbytt of v^a eu'y yard theroff. Item, I biquethe vnfo Elizabethhe Cresner p'fessyd Nun'e of Dartford aforesayd, an habbytt clothe of whyte, the valewe of vj^a viij^d eu'y yard therof. Item, I biquethe vnto eu'ych of Beatryce M'shall, Margarett Mownteney, & Felyce, sometyme gentillwomen to my lady of Salysbury, now nones in the said monast'y, a whyte abbytt of v^a st' eu'y yard therof."² Agnes Parker, widow, and second wife of William Parker of Dertford, innholder, August 27th, 1535, bequeathed to the friars of the Abbey 3*s.*, and to mother Bolton a frock.³

Elizabeth Cressener, prioress, and the convent granted, November 20th, 1529, to William Roper, Esq., an annuity of 40*s.* for past and future services as steward of the manorial court of Colwynston in Wales. They also leased, June 8th, 1533, to Robert Dove of Darteford, husbandman, their capital house in Stoneham and many pieces of land, for thirteen years, at the rent of 20*l.* 14*s.* a-year; and September 1st, 1534, to George Tusser of Darteforde their manor of Bignours, their two water mills, called the Wheate Myll and Maltemyll, and several other premises, for twenty-one years, at 12*l.* a-year.⁴

The storm had now gathered, which soon swept away this community in the flood of the Reformation. In 1534 a statute of parliament declared Henry VIII to be the spiritual head of the Church of England, and abolished the authority of the pope. The Priory of Dartford fell under the jurisdiction of Hilsey and Ingworth, two of the staunchest promoters of the royal will. F. John Hilsey was appointed provincial of the Friar Preachers by the king, and April 13th, in the same year, received a royal commission along with F. George Browne, provincial of the Augustinian Friars, to visit and reform the five Orders of Mendicant Friars, and reduce them to the supremacy; soon after was made master-general of his order in England, and prior of the Blackfriars of London; and at last September 18th, 1535, Bishop of Rochester. F. Richard Ingworth, prior of Kings-Langley, was rewarded for his services, December 9th, 1537, with the title of Suffragan Bishop of Dover, and the next year suppressed almost all the houses of the Mendicants throughout the land. Browne and Hilsey soon made their visitation of Dartford Priory; and May 14th, 1534, "*priorissa et conventus de Derteforde ordinis Sancti Dominici, uno ore et voce, atque unanimi omnium et singularum consensu et assensu,*" assembled in their chapter-house, in the presence of the commissioners, affixed the seal of the Convent to their acknowledgment of the supremacy of the king, and the validity of his marriage with Lady Anne Boleyn.⁵ The seal attached to this acknowledgment is still entire, though much

¹ Dunkin.

² Harl. MSS. cod. 1231, fol. 1. Elizabeth Cresner was most probably a niece of the Prioress.

³ Dunkin.

⁴ Miscellaneous Books of Court of Augm. vol. xcvi, fol. 173 b., vol. ccxvii, fol. 77, 143.

⁵ Original Acknowledgments of the Royal Supremacy, No. 39.

defaced. It is in red wax and vesica-shaped, 3 in. by 2 in. In the middle, under a groined canopy, the standing figure of St. Margaret crowned, holding a cross in the right hand. Below, under an arch, a king crowned, with the model of a church in his hands. On each side of the chief figure a shield pendent on a tree, with the arms of England and France quarterly. The lettering seems to be *sigillum soror' ordinis predicatoru' de dertforde*. Cole gives a rough drawing of another seal attached to a deed of 1446, of the same shape but slightly larger; and he thus quaintly describes it: "2 female Saints in the middle Compartment, sitting under a double or divided Canopy of spiral work (crockets), both crowned, and one having a Globe on her knee, the other praying; in two Niches under Canopies on either side of them, is first a Person crowned, holding a Book in his right Hand, a Cross in the other; the 2^d is a B^p mitred, holding a Crosier. Below in an Arch is a man in Armour on his knees holding a Church, and below it on the ground a Crown. On the sides is written, s. *causaru' priorisse et conventus monasterii de dertford*." ¹

In 1535 the tenth of the revenues of all ecclesiastical and religious establishments was annexed to the crown for ever. The abstract of the yearly value of "*Monasteriu' b^{te} Marie et S^ce Katherine*" at Dertforde runs as follows. Rents in Dertford, Wilmyngton, Sutton-at-Hone, Crayford, Bexley, Northcraye, and Southflete, Kent, 102*l.* 11*s.* 0½*d.*; reprises 32*l.* 16*s.* 3½*d.*, including 100*s.* for a chaplain celebrating mass in the Monastery for the souls of John Chertsey and his parents, 4*l.* for the yearly obit of the same John, 100*s.* 10*d.* in land, with 60*s.* 10*d.* for a chaplain celebrating for the soul of Will. Sedley, with 40*s.* for his yearly obit, 40*s.* for a mass twice a-week for the soul of John Millett, and 4*l.* expenses about the obit of John Nedams and other charitable gifts; leaving clear 69*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*; manors and lands in Kent, Dorset, Wilts, Surrey, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Wales, 292*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.*; reprises 37*l.* 3*s.* 4½*d.* including 10*l.* out of the manor of Massyngham and Thorphall for two chaplains celebrating mass in the Monastery for the soul of Richard II, and 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* out of the manors of Pettiscourte and Parva Belstede for two obits in the Monastery for the soul of John Reynards: leaving clear 255*l.* 11*s.* 0½*d.*; tenements within the city of London, 50*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*, reprises 10*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*, including 20*s.* for the yearly obit of Master John Exmewe: leaving clear 40*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.* In Bexley and Swaynescombe, 42*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* Total revenue 408*l.* 12*s.* 4½*d.* There were allowed 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the fee of Robert Dymmock, high steward of the Monastery; 8*l.* for the fee of Martin Sidley, overseer of all the manors; 11*l.*, with 60*s.* for the fee of Thomas Sidley, auditor, and 8*l.* for the fee of John Sidnam, understeward; 15*l.* paid to three friars in the Monastery celebrating mass daily, of the ancient concession of the founder; 112*l.* 8*d.* for maintenance and in alms given twice a-week to thirteen poor, by ancient custom of the Monastery; and 6*l.* 10*d.* a-year paid weekly to five poor, out of lands in Swanescombe and Bexley, left for the purpose by William Millett. Remaining clear, 380*l.* 9*s.* 0½*d.*: the tenth, 38*l.* 10½*d.* ²

About the following year Sir John Dymmock resigned the high

¹ Cole's MSS. : Additional MSS. cod. 846, p. 389.

² Valor Ecclesiasticus, vol. i, p. 119. The totals do not tally.

stewardship, whereon Cromwell wrote to the Prioress for a servant of his, one Mr. Palmer, to have the office. The Prioress remonstrated, stating that no one had ever occupied that place except one of the king's council, as Sir Reginald Bray, Sir John Shaw, Mr. Hugh Denys, Sir John Heron, and now Sir John Dymmock. Therefore she begged that Cromwell himself would accept the gift of it, and she sought his charitable assistance that none of any other religion might be received into her Monastery, for all there were of that profession and habit, of which none others were within this realm, and it would be very troublesome to have any others than those brought up after her own order and fashion.¹ The stewardship remained vacant for a considerable time.

Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, having taken up his quarters at the Blackfriars of London, could not live peaceably with the prior, F. Robert Stroddel, and therefore, getting his priorship *in commendam*, dispatched him off to Dartford. Stroddel took upon himself the office of president of the Monastery, and after a time purchased a royal appointment to it. The Prioress wrote to Cromwell, remonstrating against the bishop's unjust and unkind treatment in the matter. Hitherto she had governed the house for forty-nine years with great quiet, but Stroddel, of whom she had too far experience, had put her far from it. Moreover, her ghostly father, an ancient doctor, obtained at her great instance and labour, for her soul's health and quiet in her old age, and who was president, would go from her, to her great pain and desolation, unless Cromwell's most gracious aid and comfort interposed. A second earnest appeal of hers to Cromwell brought no remedy against Stroddel's importunate suit with him that he might continue at Dartford.²

Elizabeth Cressener, prioress, and the convent granted to Thomas Maykyn (clerk) their overseer, for life, Jan. 20th 1536-7, an annual rent of five marks issuing out of a *selhu* in West Chepe, London, also a tenement in the salt-marsh of Dertford, with some land there and in Stone, and a messuage at Dertford, to celebrate mass in St. Edmund's chapel (or elsewhere as the Sisters chose) for King Edward and Queen Philippa, King Edward and Queen Eleanor, Edward, late Prince of Wales, Stephen, and Constantine, for the progenitors of the founders, and benefactors of the Sisters, and for all the faithful dead. Elizabeth Cressener, prioress, and the convent, October 22nd following, granted to William Hastyngs, gent., an annuity of five marks out of the manor of Belstede Magna, for the natural life of Elizabeth Cressener, subprioress of the Monastery.³

Shortly after the aged and venerable Prioress lay on her death-bed. Very late at night she sent notice of her state to the Bishop of Rochester and to the provincial (F. John Hodgkin), that by their advice she should resign her office to one of the Sisters, or in case of her death they should fall to the election of another prioress. The bishop immediately counselled Cromwell to stay all proceedings till he made his mind known; and he recommended S. Jane Fane to be preferred, as she was of good virtue and religion, and although there were many older than she was, yet none were better learned nor more discreet, she being above thirty years of age. Within a few days the Prioress died, and the bishop

¹ Miscellaneous Letters, temp. Hen VIII, 2nd series, vol. viii, No. 44.

² Ibid, Nos. 43, 45.

³ Miscellaneous Books of Court of Augm., vol. civ, fol. 136; vol. cii, fol. 187 b.

informing Cromwell of the event, again became suitor for "that good and vertuows woman Jone Fane," to prefer whom would be doing "a ryght merytoryows deade to the honor off God," and forewarned him that the provincial, who did not bear his mind towards her, was going to present himself to his lordship to obtain the confirmation of the election into his own hands.¹ Cromwell sent Sir William Petre to Dartford to control the choice of a Prioress, and December 17th Petre informed him that he had the same day taken a compromise for the election under the convent seal, and had also taken "the state of the hows and a p'fect Inventarye."²

Jane Fane, who was thus appointed Prioress, was probably a daughter of Humfrey Fane of Hildon near Tunbridge, and sister of Ralph Fane of Hadlow. Plainly foreseeing that the end was at hand, during her short tenure of office, she and her convent diligently provided for her friends and officials by granting, within a year and a week, three offices, three leases, eleven annuities, and one grant of church presentation, whereof the fees of office, stipends and annuities soon became sinecures enduring as long as the grants ran. The offices, all granted for life, were, June 16th, 1538, William Sydenham, gent., to be overseer and receiver-general of all lands, &c., with an annuity of ten marks, potherbs for himself and servant, and the usual overseer's chamber within the precincts of the Monastery; November 1st, William Sedley and John his son to be auditor of all their manors, with an annuity of 3*l.*; January 1st, 1538-9, Thomas Lord Cromwell and Gregory his son to be high-stewards of the Monastery, with the fee of 20*l.* a-year. The leases were, January 2nd, 1537-8, to Ralph Fane, Esq., the manor of Shypbourne, and lands, pastures, woods, &c., in Shipbourne, Wrotham, Ley, and Iteham, for 99 years, at 5*l.* a-year; January 3rd, to the same Ralph Fane, of Hadlowe, Esq., the stable-room which he now held within the site of the Monastery for six horses, hay, litter and provender for the horses, lodging within the chamber in which his two servants now lay, with sufficient meat and drink for two men for keeping the horses; for his life, with forfeiture of 3*s.* for every day that any part of the grant was not fulfilled; July 15th, 1538, to Sir John Gresham, Knt., the manor of Ravent Combes, for 80 years, at 4*l.* a-year; the annuities were, May 4th, 1538, 53*s.* 4*d.* to Thomas Golde, gent., for counsel to the Monastery; September 29th, 26*s.* 8*d.* to John Hollingworth, servant, for services; October 1st, 40*s.* to Richard Fyssher, for labours, services and diligence in the affairs of the Monastery; October 8th, 5*l.* to F. Robert Stroudell, s. t. prof., for services; October 8th, 40*s.* to Robert Walpull, servant, for services; October 10th, 40*s.* to William Waller of Gray's Inn, gent., for counsel; November 1st, 4*l.* to John Frere, M.D., for gratuitous benefits; November 1st, 26*s.* 8*d.* to Thomas Upton, servant, for services; November 1st, 20*s.* to William Lycorys the elder, servant, for services; November 30th, 40*s.* to John Wyseman of London, gent., for counsel; and January 10th, 1538-9, 3*l.* to John Richardson, clerk, for services in collecting and paying the rents in the city of London, and in other matters. And August 4th, 1538, the next presentation to the parish church of

¹ Miscellaneous Letters, temp. Hen. VIII, 2nd series, vol. xxxv, fos. 108, 119.

² Ibidem, vol. xxxii, fo. 292.

Alpheton, Sussex, was granted to Matthew Greston, of London, notary public, also to Richard Myrthe and William Stewardle of the city.¹

There was a postulant, or unprofessed member of the community, named Bridget Browning, for the delivery or giving up of whom Cromwell wrote a "gentle and loving letter" to the Prioress. In her reply, September 9th, 1538, the Prioress declared that this Bridget had been brought to the Monastery a long time ago, only at the earnest request of her mother to the late Prioress, and had not been detained against her friends' wishes, but being fixed in her mind, and it would seem in her heart too, had refused to depart. So the Prioress begged his lordship to allow the same Bridget to present herself to him, that the effects of her heart and mind might be tenderly accepted and heard, so that she might be remitted as appeared good to his great wisdom and authority.²

During the latter half of the year 1538 and the following winter quarter all the communities of the Friar-Preachers in England and Wales had been dissolved and their houses abandoned to secular uses, mainly by the exertions of the suffragan of Dover. This bishop wrote to Cromwell, April 1st, 1539, giving an account of his receiving the surrender of all the houses of the friars in the north; and he prayed his lordship to let him have the receiving of Dartford too, with his instructions for the same.³ The inconveniences to noble and gentle families by a breaking up of the large and important ladies' school attached to the Priory probably arrested the blow of destruction for some time. At last the end of this venerable foundation came, and the religious community was dispersed. Pensions for life were assigned, October 18th, 1539, to each of the disbanded nuns, payment to begin from the previous Michaelmas: Jane Fane, prioress, 100 marks; Elizabeth Cressenor, 106*s.* 8*d.*; Beatrice Marchall, Katharine Cloffylde, Jane Drylond, Katharine Effelyn Margaret Cooke, Alice Davy, and Anne Lago, 100*s.* each; Agnes Rooper, 6*l.*; Elizabeth Whyte, Mary Bentham, Dorothy Sydley, Margaret Warren, Matilda Frior, Elizabeth Exmewe, Margaret Okeley, and Anne Bowson, 100*s.* each; Mary Stoney, 53*s.* 4*d.*; Elizabeth Saygood, Ellen Bostocke, Eleanor Woode, Alice Grensmyth, and Katharine Garrett, 40*s.* each; Mary Blower, and Mary Kitson, 4*l.* each; and every nun had also a single gift equal to her half-year's pension.⁴

Those who held leases, offices, and stipends, exhibited their claims in the court of augmentations, so that between October 11th, 1539, and the end of the year, eight grants were enrolled and allowed, eight more in 1540, and the remaining five at later dates within five years; Sydenham, October 20th, 1539, having an annuity of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* instead of his ten marks, potherbs, and chamber; and Fane, April 20th, 1540, an annuity of 20*l.* for his stabling, etc.⁵

¹ Miscellaneous Books of the Court of Augm., vol. xciv, fol. 132, 201; vol. xcv, fol. 54, 64, 133, 179 b; vol. xcvi, fol. 7, 56 b, 115, 146, 153 b, 197 b, 209; vol. xcviii, fol. 118; vol. cii, fol. 17, 75; vol. civ, fol. 39 (2nd Nos.); vol. ccxii, fol. 200.

² Miscellaneous Letters, temp. Hen. VIII, 2nd series, vol. viii, No. 46.

³ Ibidem, No. 115.

⁴ Miscellaneous Books of Court of Augm., vol. ccxxxiv, fol. 8. In the *Book of Pensions* (Misc. Books, vol. ccxlv, fol. 197) the five pensioned with 40*s.* are styled "Susters," or lay-sisters.

⁵ Miscellaneous Books *locis citatis*.

The late Priory of Dartford now appertained to the crown, along with its possessions, which for the most part were speedily sold, though some remained on hand till the old leases had run out. Henry VIII converted the conventual dwelling and buildings into a hunting seat, appointed Sir Richard Longe, knt., August 18th, 1540, to the office of keeper of the site and edifices, with the fee of 8*l.* a day reckoned from the previous Michaelmas, and every year half an acre of wood appointed to him for fuel.¹ The following were the principal purchasers of the possessions within the period of twenty-five years. *Sir Percival Harte*, knight, February 6th, 1539-40, the manors of Greate Belstede, Litle Belestede, and Braundeston, the rectory of Wasshebroke and the advowson of Velechurche;² February 8th, 1540-1, messuages, lands, etc., in Aynesforde, the manor of Crokenhill, and a messuage and lands at Gyldonhill and Swanley in Sutton-at-Hone.³ *Sir Thomas Jermyn*, of Russhebroke, Suffolk, knt., Mar. 10th, 1539-40, the manor of Thorpe Halle, and messuages and lands in Westwrotham, Croxton and Illington.⁴ *Martin Bowes*, citizen and alderman of London, April 16th, 1540, a messuage called Blake Ferme and lands in Bexley and Wellinge, and in Creyforde.⁵ *Sir Edward Carne*, knt., August 24th, 1543, the manor of Colwynston.⁶ *George Ludlowe*, of Hull Deverell, Wilts, gent., April 18th, 1544, manor of Fyfelde, with the members in Wilts and Dorset, and manor of Trowe, advowson of Fyfelde, and all in Fyfelde, Trowe, Wilton, Sarrarleston, and Bridemere and in the isle of Purbeck.⁷ *Sir Richard Gresham*, knt., April 18th, 1544, manor of Bavant Combes.⁸ *Thomas Jones*, king's sergeant, May 11th, 1544, rectory of Wytteley.⁹ *John Lambard*, July 5th, 1544, a tenement called le Dyehouse in Thamystret, London.¹⁰ *John Coke*, esq., August 18th, 1544, a tenement called le Bulhedde, lands, and a messuage called le Forge, all in Dertford.¹¹ *George Chalderote*, of Querleston, Dorset, esq., August 22nd, 1544, the manor of Bylley, in the parish of Tysbery, Wilts.¹² *Henry Cooke*, merchant-tailor of London, August 27th, 1544, house called le Tile Kill, messuage, and land in Bexley, and lands in Northeraue, and a wood in Dertford, Wylmyngton, Bexley, Craye, Creyforde, and Sutton.¹³ *Christopher Campion*, mercer of London, and *John Rollesley*, of London, gent., September 8th, 1544, eight messuages in Woodstrete, Hosyar Lane in the parish of St. Mary Bow, and Thamys Strete.¹⁴ *Thomas Bochier*, of London, gent., September 23rd, 1544, a tenement called le Checker, in the parish of St. Peter the Poor.¹⁵ *John Wrothe*, gent., September 24th, 1544, lands in Welmyngton.¹⁶ *Thomas Babyngham*, of Dethycke, co. Derby, esq., October 15th, 1544, land in Southflete.¹⁷ *John Beer*, esq., and *Henry Laurence*, gent., November 8th, 1544, numerous messuages, lands, gardens, etc., in

¹ Miscellaneous Books of the Court of Augm., vol. ccxxxv, fol. 45.

² Pat. 31st Henry VIII, p. 4, m. 46 (9).

³ Pat. 32nd Henry VIII, p. 5, m. 53 (4).

⁴ Pat. 31st Henry VIII, p. 6, m. 26 (13).

⁵ Pat. 31st Henry VIII, p. 5, m. 34 (9).

⁶ Pat. 35th Henry VIII, p. 9, m. 36 (4).

⁷ Pat. 35th Henry VIII, p. 15, m. 10 (34).

⁸ Ibidem, m. 20 (24).

⁹ Pat. 36th Henry VIII, p. 27, m. 32 (19).

¹⁰ Pat. 36th Henry VIII, p. 1, m. 15 (34).

¹¹ Pat. 36th Henry VIII, p. 9, m. 24 (20).

¹² Originalia, 26th Hen. VIII, p. 4, m. 99.

¹³ Pat. 36th Hen. VIII, p. 18, m. 34 (9).

¹⁴ Pat. 36th Hen. VIII, p. 13, m. 11 (26).

¹⁵ Pat. 36th Hen. VIII, p. 6, m. 29 (11).

¹⁶ Ibidem, m. 17 (22).

¹⁷ Pat. 36th Hen. VIII, p. 5, m. 14 (24).

Dertford, Wylmyngton, and Stone.¹ *Sir Ralph Fane*, knt., and *Anthony Tutesham*, gent. (his trustee), February 20th, 1544-5, manor of Shypbourne.² *William lord Grey* of Wilton and *John Bannaster*, of London, esq. (his trustee), July 19th, 1549, lands in Selwood, Norton Bavent.³ *Sir Thomas Cheyne*, k.g., treasurer of the royal household, and warden of the Cinque Ports, June 20th, 1553, tenement called Pettescourte, in Bacchilde, Kent.⁴ *John Elyott*, mercer of London, and *Alexander Chesenall*, June 8th, 1557, manor of Massyngham, alias Ladyes Manor.⁵ *John Whyte*, alderman of London, and *Thomas Kyrtton*, merchant of the staple, April 22nd, 1562, the manor of Pytford Dertford, alias Highepitford, Surrey.⁶ *Edward Darbysheire*, of Gravessende, and *John Beure*, of Swannescombe, yeomen, July 21st, 1563, a place called Ingrice Marshe.⁷ *Robert Frecke* (of ern Courtney, Dorset) gent., and *John Walker*, servant to Bartholomew Brookesby, scrivener, January 29th, 1563-4, saltmarsh called Howmershe, near Rochester.⁸ Several royal leases were also granted.

After the death of Henry VIII the Priory of Dartford ceased to serve the purposes of the royal huntsman. In exchange for Richmond palace, Lady Anne of Cleves obtained the grant of this house, June 27th, 1548, with the manor Dertforde and considerable land there for her life and as long as she remained in England;⁹ and here Henry's repudiated wife resided. At the dissolution of their house the Sisters probably returned for the most part into their own families. Agnes Roper (who was daughter of John Roper of Eltham, Attorney-general of Henry VIII, by Jane, daughter and coheirress of Sir John Fineux, Lord Chief Justice) is mentioned as "late nun at Dartford" in the will of her mother, proved January 29th, 1544(-5)¹⁰ The pensions were very irregularly paid; in 1547 Katharine Clovell received the arrears for three years, Margaret Okeley for two years, and Mary Kytson for one year.¹¹ Before the end of the year 1555 Beatrice Marchall, Jane Drylond, Margaret Cooke, Margaret Okeley, Mary Stoney, and Mary Kitson had closed their lives. Cardinal Pole, after he had reconciled the Church of England with the Roman See, ordained that the fees, annuities, and pensions for Dartford Priory should be renewed, and February 24th, 1555-6, he re-established them as follows: fees, John Richardson 60s., William Sydley, auditor, 60s.; annuities, Elizabeth, widow of Ralph Fane, 20l., John Wiseman 40s., Thomas Golde 53s. 4d., Thomas Makyn 33s. 4d., Richard Fysshier 40s., Robert Whalepole 40s., William Lycorus 20s., John Hollingworth 26s. 8d., John Kettle 40s., John Feyer 4l.; pensions, Jane Fane 66l. 13s. 4d., Eleanor Wood 40s., Elizabeth Cresnor 106s. 8d., Mary Blower 4l., Elizabeth White 100s., Mary Bentham 100s., Katharine Eflyn 100s., Dorothy Sydley 100s., Alice Grenesmyth 40s., Elizabeth Exmewe 100s., Elizabeth Seygood 40s., Matilda Fryer 100s., Katherine Garret 40s., Agnes Roper 6l., Anne Bosoms 100s., Alice Davye 100s., Alice Bostocke

¹ Pat. 36th Hen. VIII, p. 24, m. 31 (11).^{*}

² Pat. 36th Hen. VIII, p. 23, m. 26 (15).

³ Pat. 3rd Edw. VI, p. 9, m. 2.

⁴ Pat. 7th Edw. VI, p. 6, m. 38.

⁵ Pat. 3rd, 4th, Phil. and Mary, p. 9, m. 3.

⁶ Pat. 4th Elizabeth, p. 4, m. 50.

⁷ Pat. 5th Elizabeth, p. 5, m. 26.

⁸ Pat. 6th Elizabeth, p. 10, m. 3.

⁹ Miscellaneous Books of the Court of Augm, vol. ccxix, fol. 87.

¹⁰ Nicolas' *Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. ii, p. 712.

¹¹ Rot. Comp. Thesaur. Cur. Aug. 36th Hen. VIII usque 1st Edw. VI, No. 5, m. 3.

40s., Margaret Warner 100s., Agnes Lego 100s., Katharine Clovell 100s.; annuities for the late house of Friars, Robert Strode 100s., William Hastynge during the life of Elizabeth Cressenor 66s. 8d.¹ Seven of the Sisters banded together petitioned King Philip and Queen Mary that they might be restored to conventual and religious life according to their profession. At the request of the king and queen, Cardinal Pole canonically erected the late priory of Kings-Langley into a monastery of Nuns or Sisters of St. Dominic, and appointed Elizabeth Cressener to be Prioress, and Katharine Clovyle, Katharine Efflin, Elizabeth White, Mary Benson, Elizabeth Exmen, and Magdalen Frere to form the community. Thereupon letters-patent were granted, June 25th, 1557, incorporating the Prioress and convent into a legal body, and bestowing on them the house and lands attached, together with the land called Courte Wike, and the buildings within the Olde Manner, near the palings of the royal park, which had belonged to the old priory of Kings-Langley.² Here then these Sisters resumed their ascetic life; and whilst they were at Kings-Langley they had a bequest from Sir John Hastings, knight, second son of George, first earl of Huntingdon, who by his will dated March 28th, 1558, left them 40s.³

Lady Anne of Cleves dying the Priory of Dartford reverted to the crown. Thereupon Philip and Mary granted to Elizabeth Cressener, prioress of Langley-Regis, September 8th, 1558, the late Monastery of Durteforde, with all buildings, gardens, orchards, etc., attached, and all the useful household furniture and utensils found in it, together with many pieces of lands, some in reversion as a lease expired, and some direct from the crown.⁴ Hither the Sisters speedily removed from Kings-Langley. But the death of Queen Mary, November 17th following, destroyed all their bright hopes of restoring their ancient house. Queen Elizabeth revived the Reformation, with the royal supremacy; the act of uniformity of Common Prayer, and the suppression of the newly-established religious establishments. The supremacy and Book of Common Prayer were enforced from June 24th 1559, and three visitors were chosen out of the privy council to put down all existing convents. At Dartford Priory the visitors summoned before them F. Richard Hargrave, vicar-general of the English Dominicans, and confessor to the Sisters, and tendered the oath of supremacy and Common Prayer to him and to another priest who lived with him, with great promises of dignities and favours if they would conform. Then they had the Prioress and Sisters each alone before them. But when they found that persuasions were unavailing, the visitors forthwith sold off the goods of the Convent at the lowest rate, paid the debts of the house, divided the little money over amongst the Sisters, carried off the common seal and letters-patent of possession, and commanded the Sisters to quit within twenty-four hours. The Sisters accordingly departed, taking their books and best clothing, and four days after, along with the fugitive Bridgettin Nuns of Sion House, in a vessel prepared at king Philip's expense, crossed over into Belgium. The band of Dominican exiles consisted of the two priests, the Prioress with four choir-nuns and four lay-sisters, and a young

¹ "Card. Pole's Pension Book:" Miscellaneous Books of the Exchequer, vol. 32, fol. 1.

² Pat. 3rd and 4th Phil. and Mary, p. 7, m. 10.

³ Nicolas, vol. ii, p. 750.

⁴ Pat. 5th and 6th, Phil. and Mary, p. 3, m. 20.

girl who had not yet received the religious habit. The nuns were all aged, the youngest being fifty, and three of them eighty years old. One of them was a half sister of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who suffered on the scaffold. The Sisters went first to Antwerp, and thence to Dendermond, where they lived for two months in a hospital. Then the provincial of Belgium, who was their only comforter, found them a refuge in the Convent of Leliendael, near Zierikzee, capital of Schowen, one of the islands of Zeeland, the house being in a barren place almost without fresh water, and nearly in ruins. Being friendless strangers they were compelled to ask the leave of the master-general of the order for disposing of their few goods to procure the necessaries of life, and they petitioned the Duchess of Parma to extend her charitable aid to them.¹ Resources failed, and as the Convent of Leliendael could not support so great a burden on its means, the English Sisters, in two months, returned to Antwerp, where they lived on casual alms. The iconoclastic outbreak of 1566, drove them from that city, and they fled to Bergen-op-Zoom. During all these times of hardship and suffering Elizabeth Cresner continued to be their prioress, and they maintained all the religious observances of their order. Death gradually reduced their numbers, so that when the master-general made his visitation about the end of December, 1573, only the Prioress and three Sisters were still alive : and he assigned them to the Convent of Engelendael, outside Bruges. There they were kindly received, spent their few remaining years in peace, and closed their eventful lives.²

¹ Hargrave's letter to the master general, dated October 1st 1559, in Pio, *Delle Vite de gli Huomini de S. Dominico* (1607) p. 377.

² Jonghe : *Desolata Bararia Domine-*

cana. The English Dominican Sisters were re-established, in 1660, in Belgium. Driven out of Brussels, in 1794, they came into England, and are now flourishing in the Isle of Wight.

Original Documents.

NOTES ON A COLLECTION OF EIGHT EARLY DOCUMENTS RELATING TO YORKSHIRE, EXHIBITED AT THE MONTHLY MEETING OF THE ROYAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN MARCH, 1879, BY MR. D. BROWN, Q.C.

By Joseph Bain, F.S.A. Scot.

I. ROGER DE MOUBRAY.

Grant by Roger de Mubrai to Roger, son of Haldanus de Berlai, and his heirs, whereby the granter confirms the "confirmation donation and relaxation" which Ricardus de Morevilla made to him (illi), viz., of the "tenura" which he holds in "Wudehusum," &c., viz., 3 carrucates of land in Wudehusum, for as much foreign service as pertains to the 8th part of a knight's fee. The witnesses are Robert the chaplain of Roger de Mubrai, Robert de Mubrai, Richard de Morcuilla, Ralf de Beiaueir the steward of Roger de Mubrai, Hamund Beler, Robert Beiaschamp, Adam Luvel, Robert le Norreis, Robert de Trehamtun, William de Tikehil, Ranulf de Rigetun, Edward de Tikehil, Peter the clerk of Roger de Mubrai, Adam de Corneure and Robert his brother, Berard the son of Lewin, the son of Colling, Thomas son of Berarl, Robert de Cundi.

This document is finely written. A fragment of the large equestrian seal in red wax remains, shewing the granter, with sword in his right hand and shield on his breast. The helmet, shield, and surcoat, the last reaching to the ground, are covered with crosses. The forepart of the horse and legs of the rider are gone. " . . . Molbrai," is all that remains of the inscription.

There is, however, a perfect seal of Roger de Mubrai among those exhibited in the British Museum, attributed to Stephen's reign, evidently from the same matrix as that now described.

II. NIGEL DE MOUBRAY.

"Nigellus de Mubrai," to all his men "Francis et Anglis," greeting. Has restored to John, son of Robert de Daivila, all the land which was his father's, as freely as ever Robert, his father, held it of the granter's father, performing the service to the granter as contained in his father's charter. The witnesses are Roger de Saint Martin, Ralph de C'mavel, . . . , Ralph de Bealveer, Nicholas de Beelun, Adam Luvel, Robert de Chast . . . , Richard Bacun, Walter de Daivila, Hugo de Munfort, Nicholas de Daivila, Eudo de Daivila, Roger de Daivila, William de Daivila, William Malerbe, and many others, clerks and laics.

This is a very small document, 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches by 3 inches.

The equestrian seal, in yellow wax, is perfect. A warrior riding to the

sinister side, in chain mail apparently. The shield and saddle (or saddle-cloth, for it is not large enough for a housing) seem charged with frets. The horse has a breast-plate. *Legend* :—" + Sigillum Nigelli de Molbrai."

According to Sir H. Nicolas (Courthope's *Hist. Peerage*), Nigel was the son and heir of Roger de Mowbray, and died in 1191. This family were great benefactors to the abbey of Byland, Roger, indeed, being its founder, in 1140. (Burton, *Monasticon Ebor.*) The families of Malebisse, Davila, de Riparia, named as witnesses in these deeds, were also benefactors.

III. ROBERT LUVEL

"Robertus Luvel filius Ade Luvel de Broctun," to all the sons of Holy Mother Church, greeting. Has released and quitclaimed to William Engeram and his heirs all his right in the land of "Dale," and has sworn touching the holy relics (tactis sacrosanctis) and taken (interposui) his oath. The witnesses are Adam the parson of Ellerc', Walter, Hugo, Adam, chaplains, Robert de Eueringham, William Salvain, Walter de Grimest', William de Galmet', Ricolf his brother, Geoffry Malcovenant, Walter de Camera, Walter de Sourebi, Richard de Riparia, Richard de Grimestun, Simon de Blancansop, Roger de Bollebi, Bobel, and many others.

This is also a small document, about 4½ inches each way, and in fine preservation. The seal, a small round one, in red wax, appended to four silk tags, is tolerably perfect. A warrior galloping to the sinister, with sword drawn. The boss of the shield distinct. His surcoat is fretty, or it may be simply chain mail. *Legend* :—"✠ SIGILL. . . OBERTI. LWEL."

IV. WALTER ABBOT OF BYLAND.

"Walterus Abbas de Bellalanda et Conventus" to all sons of Christ, greeting. Have quitclaimed and confirmed to William Eng'ram and his heirs these two bovates of land which the granters have in Dale of the gift of Richard Malebisse, which charter they have restored to William. The witnesses are Thomas then prior of Bella landa, Gib' the cellerar, Adam the "socius" of the cellerar, Ingeler the "custos" of the work of the church, Gilebert the master of the "conversi," Henry Redeman sheriff of York, Hugo de Magnebi, Henry de Siltone, Robert clerk of the sheriff, and others.

Size, 6½ by 2¾ inches. Clearly written. Small seal of purple wax, vesica-shape, representing an ecclesiastic in cope, standing, with pastoral staff in his right hand and a book in his left. *Legend* :—"✠ Sigillum Abb . . . Bel . . . Land . . ."

V. INDENTURE BETWEEN WILLIAM ABBOTT, OF KIRKSTALL, AND WILLIAM DE BERLAY. (1343.)

An indenture between William Abbot of Kyrkestall and his Convent, on one part, and William de Berlay son and heir of Sir Richard de Berlay knight, on the other part. The Abbot and Convent quit claim to William and his heirs all their right and claim in the service "unius precarie"¹ of twenty-three men, which precaria the said William and his

¹ Precaria, a service so called because compulsory on the tenant.

men of Wodosme are wont to find and do to the said Abbot and Convent at their manor of [Co]mpton annually in autumn—also their right to pasture 300 sheep in the common pasture of Wodosme—William de Berlay and his heirs on the other hand renouncing to the Abbey all his right in the common pasture of Compton londe for his oxen of his manor of Wodosme, and in the fields of Compton and Rigton, and in Mydelwod and Lange Wode. He also grants to the Abbot and Convent and their successors for ever, one “chyminum” of road, 40 feet in breadth, on the west part of Compton londe, vizt. from Monkesflatt on the north as far as Gamelthwayt legges on the south, for the purpose of driving out and back all their beasts and their carriages and doing their other business &c. with power to them to enclose the road with hedges or ditches as seems best. (The deed is here a little worn and illegible. The witnesses are not persons of note.) “Walterus de Haukesword, Willielmus de Laysingcroft,” and one or two others, can be read. Dated at Compton “in festo Sancti Marci Evangli, Anno Dñi Miltio Regis Eduardi tercii post conquestum septimo decimo.”¹

One seal in green wax attached, that of the Abbey; obverse, round; the Virgin crowned, with the Holy Child on her knee, seated under a canopy. The legend gone, all save a letter or two. “. . . De Ky . . .” Reverse, vesica shape, an ecclesiastic with pastoral staff in right hand, enclosed in foliage. . . . “Kykstall” appears on the margin.

The Berlays do not appear among the benefactors of Kirkstall in Burton, orac. *Mon. Eb.*, but are among those of the Priory of Drax.

VI. WILL (IN THE FORM OF ENDENTURE) OF SIR JOHN COLVILL OF THE DALE KNIGHT “Y^t DYED IN NORMANDYE.”

This is an interesting document. It is an endenture in Norman-French, between Sir John Colvill of Dale Knight, and his uncle, Thomas Fulthorp, son of William Fulthorp, “Chivaler,” and seems to be a will and entail of lands by Colvill. He grants to the two Fulthorps, Johan Bannastre, chaplain, Welsale, clerk, Thomas Crathorne, Esquier; and others, the manors of Erynclyff and Hesterton, co. York. On the narrative that he has devised and granted to Sir Robert Ogle, Sir Alexander Lound, Thomas Newsome, and Thomas Robeis, the manors of Bodell and Spyndilstoun, co. Northumberland, he declares his will thus: “If he dies without heir begotten of his body, then his ‘enfeffez’ of Erynclyff and Hesterton shall establish a chantry in the Parish Church of Erynclyff, and mortify 10 marks of land or rent out of said manors, to pay a priest to chaunt daily for ever there, for his soul & that of Isabell his wife and his ancestors & heirs and all Christians; and that by advice of James Strangways, William & Thomas Fulthorp, and Christoffer Boynton; and for the ‘costages & expensez’ attending this, & for payment of his debts, his said ‘enfeffez’ in Erynclyff & Hesterton shall take the rents & profits thereof for 3 years after his death. After which they shall make a settlement of said manors on the younger son of John de Wandeforde Esquire, on the condition that he use & take the ‘surnoun’ of Colvill to him & the heirs male of his body issuing; And if he refuse to take the surname of Colvill, the estate shall be settled on John Colvill, son of William Colvill, son of ‘Monsieur Philip Colvill

¹ The land of “Wodosun” is probably the same as “Wudhusum” in the first charter. There is still a Woodhouse near Leeds in the neighbourhood of Kirkstall.

Chivaler' to him & the heirs male of his body begotten, and failing issue male of the said John Colvill son of William, & the younger son of Wandeforde abovesaid, Eryncliff & Hesterton to return to the granter's right heirs for ever."

The granter also seeing he had leased (?)¹ to John Schypley, Esquire, all his rights in the manors of Thymmylby, Syggeston and Romigeton, yet after certain preliminaries, ordains his executors to give "estat arer-mayn" thereof to Schypley and Alice his wife, to have and hold to them and their assigns for Alice's life; the testator's will being that if he dies before his return "all hostell," (to his house) the manors of Siggeston and Romigeton after Alice's death shall return to his right heirs; and Thymmylby, in like manner, shall revert to Thomas Fulthorp, his uncle, and his heirs for ever. And his 'enfeffez' in the manors of Bodell and Spyndilston aforesaid shall make estate thereof to Isabell, his wife, for her life. The testator and Thomas Fulthorp affix their seals, 27th of April, 6th of Henry V (1418).

One seal, a round one, in red wax attached to the tag. The shield couché has three roundels in chief and a plain fesse. The crest seems to be a dragon with two legs. From its mouth depends a scroll, "Droit d(ieu?)." "S. Johis Coluyll. de Dale. Milit:" is the legend round the shield. The will is much faded and difficult to decypher. On the back is marked—

"Will of S John Coluyll
"y^t died in Normandye."

"Colvile of the Dale" is a familiar figure to us in the historic play of Shakespeare (*Henry IV, 2nd part, Act iv, Sc. iii*), as the famous rebel who surrendered to Falstaff in Gaultrees Forest, and was ordered to York for execution with his confederates by Prince John of Lancaster, according to the poet. This would seem, however, to be a figment of the poet's fancy, for Sir John, like his more famous fellow-soldier Falstaff, would appear to have been in Henry V's service in the French wars, and died there.

In the *Esch. Rolls. Inq. p.m.*, printed in Hodgson's *Northumberland*, vol. i, part iii, p. 54. A^o 30 Edw. I, in this entry; "Robertus de Colevill. Spindlestan unum messuag' v-xx et xviii acr terre xv bondag' &c. Botel vi bondag' &c." In the *Testa de Nevill* (ib. p. 210) under the Barony of Vescy, Philip de la Ley and William de Colevill hold equal halves of Spinlistan and Bodhill. The family was thus of old standing in that county. Spindleston I take to be the scene of the ballad of the "Laidley Worm" of Bamborough, which had its dwelling in Spindleston Crag. Bodell, now Budle, is opposite Holy Island.

VII. ADMISSION BY THE PRIOR OF MOUNT GRACE, OF JOHANNA BIGOD AND HER HUSBAND TO THE BENEFITS OF THAT RELIGIOUS HOUSE.

Brother John, the most humble prior² of the House of the Assumption of the most blessed Mary the Virgin "in Monte Gracie" of the Cistercian Order, Diocese of York, and the Convent, to their beloved in Christ Johanna Bigod. Grant her in life and death full participation in all the

¹ The word is partly illegible from a blot.

² Wilson according to Burton, (*Mon. Eborac*).

benefits of their house, viz., in masses, prayers, contemplacions, fasts, vigils, abstinences, alms, sacred meditations, and spiritual exercises whatsoever. That on her death being notified to the Chapter, the "beneficium" customary for brothers and friends of the house shall be said for the safety of her soul. Moreover, they graciose admit the soul of John Bigod her husband to the same benefits. Done in the Chapter House under their common seal, 15th July, 1520."

The seal in red wax, considerably mutilated, remains. The upper compartment, vesica-shaped, represents the B. V. Mary crowned, standing in the attitude of prayer, her hands clasped on her bosom. Four angels, two on each side, have once supported the compartment, two of whom are entire, and the fragment of another. In the compartment below, a bishop seated, with mitre and pastoral staff, appears in the act of benediction. The inscription gone, except a few letters.

VIII. INDENTURE BETWEEN JOHN PRIOR OF MOUNT GRACE AND ARTHUR PRESTON OF FYLBURGH FOR LEASE OF LANDS IN YORK CITY.

An indenture (in vernacular) made the 20th December, 30th of Henry VIII, "in erth the supreme heyd of the Churche of Englund," by which John, Prior of the Monastery of the Assumption of our Lady of Mount Grace and the Convent, "lets and dymyseth to Arthure Preston of Fylburgh in the Countie of the Citie of York Esquyer" all their messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions and services with appurtenances in Filburgh Candwath, Helaygh and Catterton in the Countie of the Citie aforesaid, from the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady next following the date thereof for the term of 21 years; for the rent of £9 3s. 4d. sterling. There is a provision for the Prior and Convent to distrain if the rent shall be unpaid at any of the terms of payment, the Feasts of Saint Michael the Archangel and the Annunciation of our Lady. And if it shall remain unpaid for four months after either of the said "Fests," the Prior and Convent to have power to re-enter "and possei'd and enjoy as in their former estate." They append their seal to the part of said "indenturez remanyng with the said Arthure."

The same seal as in last, in green wax, the upper part more perfect, is affixed. On the back is a smaller oblong seal—an ecclesiastic seated under a canopy, with pastoral staff in left hand, in the act of benediction.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 3, 1879.

The Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The Rev. C. F. R. PALMER sent the concluding portion of his paper on "The History of the Priory of Dartford in Kent," which was read by Mr. Hartshorne.

Sir CHARLES ANDERSON sent the following communication on the recent discovery of Roman remains in Lincoln, which was read by the Chairman :—

"A great discovery has been made in digging for the new drainage in the Exchequer gate, at about 8 or 9 ft. below the surface of the street. A large Roman pavement, tessellated with the usual interlacing and *à la grecque* borders in black, red, yellow, and white, also several of the walls of the rooms of the house to the height of 2 or 3 ft., covered with stucco, with coloured patterns in stripes and imitations of marble; the whole shewing it to have been the house of a wealthy person. The pavement, as far as it can be bared, is being taken up in pieces, and put together by the Minster master mason, so as to be preserved. The walls of the rooms, such as they are, cannot be preserved, and will have to be covered in, the street being at this moment impassable. The level, at which this pavement and house have been found, is the same as that on which the pillars of stone were discovered last year in the Bail adjoining the Exchequer gate, and of the tessellated pavement found many years ago in the area of the Minster cloisters; and in digging below a remarkable Norman arch under the north-west tower of the Minster, a Roman floor was found, at the same depth; the Norman arch having evidently been thrown over Roman work, which was thought not secure for the foundation of Remigius's tower.

"All these discoveries, to which may be added another tessellated pavement found in digging the foundations of the prison within the castle, shew very clearly that the Roman city now lies from 6 to 8 ft. below the present buildings, and that the accumulation of earth and stones, &c. above it, have been caused by the destruction probably of the Roman work and Brito-Roman habitations, by the Saxons and Danes, and by the burnings and ravages which took place between the period when the Romans left Britain and the Norman Conquest.

"What is curious also is that in digging below the present High Street below Hill, between the Stonebow gateway and the Gowt's bridge, the Roman road (in some places with the marks of wheels upon it) was found about the same depth below the present street as the Roman remains on

the top of the hill, which, when one has every reason to believe that the tide flowed up to Lincoln from Boston in the Middle Ages, is somewhat puzzling, unless the Romans had some barrier or bank which would preserve their way from flood at a level so low. I am told that lately in the Bail some bases of pillars were found somewhat similar to those which are preserved for the inspection of the curious, over the way; from which we may gather that these were buildings with an arcade of some sort on each side of the street, leading to Newport arch, which is the north gate of the military city. Coloured drawings of the tessellated pavement, &c., are being made, and photographs taken, some of which I hope some day to shew at the Institute."

Mr. G. T. CLARK, in the course of some general remarks upon the early remains at Lincoln, showed that each dynasty was well represented there. The late discoveries strongly corroborated what was already known.

A vote of thanks having been passed to Mr. Palmer and Sir Charles Anderson, the following "Notes on a pair of Postilion's Boots of the 18th Century, found at Bagshot House in 1846," communicated by Mr. Wentworth Huyshe, were read by Mr. Hartshorne:—

"I have the honour of exhibiting to the Institute one of a pair of postilion's boots of the last century. My attention was first directed to them by an article in a recent number of *Notes and Queries* (5th ser. xi, p. 24), by Mr. H. W. Henfrey, in which, under the heading of 'An ancient pair of Boots,' he wrote as follows:—'It may interest some of the readers of "*N. & Q.*" to learn that in a shop nearly opposite the Liverpool Street Station may be seen a huge pair of cavalry boots, I believe of the seventeenth century, and perhaps of the period of the civil wars. The boots are in the most excellent preservation, and are made of the thickest hide (lined and padded), with very thick soles, and large rowelled spurs attached by steel chains. The upper portions are of rounded leather, to cover the knees and most of the thighs. The boots bear the maker's name, and the place "Paris," and seem scarcely to have been worn at all. They are said to weigh ten pounds each. I suspect that they are unique in this country for their age and complete state of preservation. It was stated erroneously in a newspaper last year that these boots were discovered in an old house at Clerkenwell. Their true history is as follows: Upon opening a walled-up cupboard in the ancient building of Bagshot Park, Surrey, about the year 1837, there was found in it a large quantity of old armour and accoutrements. Among them were these boots, which were given to the steward of the estate, a Mr. Ravenscroft. They were carefully kept by his family, and are now owned by his son. I am indebted to the present Mr. Ravenscroft for allowing me to examine the boots and for this history of them.'

"In a subsequent number of *Notes and Queries* there appeared the following further paragraph, by 'A. H.,' on the subject:—'These boots are, no doubt, cavalry boots of the extreme end of the seventeenth century. The effigy of John Clobery in Winchester Cathedral, who died 1687, represents him in such a pair, and the full-length portrait of Charles XII of Sweden, who died 1718, preserved in the British Museum, exhibits him in boots of the same kind. At Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, is a similar pair of boots in excellent condition.'

"With some difficulty I found out the owner of the boots, and pre-

vailed upon him to lend them to me for exhibition to the Royal Archaeological Institute.

"It will, I think, be at once apparent that, in the first place, they are certainly not cavalry boots at all; and, secondly, that they cannot be assigned to the period of the civil war. The boots used at that time and down to nearly the end of the seventeenth century were of buff leather, and, when worn with armour, came up over the thighs, the tasset strapping over them at the knee. More frequently they were turned down, to display the stocking and the double lining of the boot, which was often of lace.

"The boot now exhibited is of black 'jacked' leather, very hard and rigid, and of great thickness. The soles and heels are extraordinarily stout and massive, and the 'top' is lined with quilted leather. The form of the top, the rigid, cylindrical leg, and the shape of the enormous spur-guard, enable us immediately to assign the boot to the very end of the seventeenth or the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and, although identical in form and character with the trooper's jack-boot of the period, they are too large and too (unnecessarily) stout and massive to have been used for cavalry purposes. They are, I think, without doubt, postilion's boots. In the 'Musée d'Artillerie,' at Paris, are two pairs precisely similar, but I am not aware of any in English museums, those at the Tower and in the Guildhall Museum being cavalry boots proper.

"It will be observed that the boot is French. The front of the guard is embellished with an ornamental design stitched in strong thread, on each side is a fleur de lys stippled on the leather, and above are the words—

DUSAUSOY	DECADET
BOTTIER	A LION

i.e., Dusaussoy Decadet, Bootmaker, at Lyons.

The spurs, necessarily of vast spread in the shank, are of iron, as are the buckles and chains. The weight of each boot is 10 lbs., and an examination of the inside of the top will reveal the broken end of a strap firmly sewn on. This strap served to hang the boot to the saddle, so that when the postilion dismounted he also stepped out of his boots.

"Mr. Ravenscroft has given me the following memorandum about these curious relics:—'They were found,' he says, 'in 1846, in an old cupboard which had been bricked up for many years, at Bagshot House, the residence of the late Duke of Gloucester, now demolished, and were given by the then proprietor to William Baker, who was employed on the estate, and kept the "Sun" Inn, at Windlesham. They were purchased by Mr. Samuel Ravenscroft, of Reading, and are now the property of his widow.'

"Mrs. Ravenscroft, I have reason to believe, would sell them, and they should find a place in the national collection at the Tower. This, however, is scarcely likely, and I have thought it right to bring them to the notice of the Institute before they are lost sight of."

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Huyshe for his paper.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. HUYSHÉ.—A pair of postilion's boots. Mr. Clark said that a pair was unusual; and that formerly in France a single boot was commonly to be met with. Fifty years ago, such a pair hung up at Tattersall's.

By Sir HENRY DRYDEN, Bt.—A pair of jack-boots, of the end of the seventeenth century. These exhibited the characteristic square toes, and spur rest at the heels, so often seen in battle pictures of the period, and admirably exemplified in the effigy of John Clobery, in Winchester Cathedral, and in those marble figures of famous Dutchmen, in the churches of Holland. These strong jacked leather boots succeeded to the thin, flimsy, yellow leather boots of the time of Charles I and early part of Charles II, which were quite in harmony with the lace with which they were decorated. The dignified picture of Charles I, by Vandyck (engraved by R. Strange in 1782), "*in Pinacoteca regis Christianissimi conservata*," gives as fine an example as any of the boots which preceded the sturdy leg-gear of the eighteenth century.

Postilions' boots belong to another class, and are less boots than powerful cylinders for the protection of the legs. These were finally abandoned, except in certain parts of France, for the more simple leg guards, almost within living memory. It must be borne in mind that the form and strength of a postilion's boot was modified with improvements in road making and, consequently, in coach building. Gambadoes, or leg guards, for protection against mud and brambles in narrow ways, were used only by travellers on horseback, and were frequently to be met with, up to thirty years ago, in the West of England.

By Mr. H. HIPPISEY.—A portrait in oil, said to be of Wycliff, formerly in the rectory at Lutterworth. This picture, in a coeval black frame, represents the reformer in the costume usually, and wrongly, assigned to him, viz., a black gown and a black flat cap, carrying a staff, and wearing a full and long white beard and moustache.¹

A considerable discussion took place, in which Mr. Hippisey, Mr. Whalley, Mr. Clark, and many others spoke. It was clearly shown that Wycliff could never have worn such a beard, as an ecclesiastic of the time in which he lived; and it was suggested, and generally allowed, that

¹ See Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural Society, vol. ii, part 1, 1866, Article by Mr. M. H. Bloxam.

the portrait was either an ideal likeness, painted in the time of Elizabeth, or a representation of a totally different individual.

By Mr. W. DELISLE POWLES.—A collection of vessels, &c., of pottery, from ancient Indian graves in Columbia (see p. 183). Among the most noticeable of these objects were—

A figure of an armadillo, worshipped as a god; hollow, 11 in. long by 7 in. wide.

An oval-shaped bowl, $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. and 7 in. in height, with rude representations of the human face in relief lines on either side.

A circular vessel, without bottom, in shape like a napkin ring, decorated with zigzag and similar patterns in red and brown. Two figures of frogs appear on the upper rim. This animal was an object of veneration. The vessel is 6 in. in diameter and $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. high.

A circular vase, in dark pottery, like Romano-British ware, with loops for suspension by a string; $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. The upper part is decorated with deeply incised Maltese crosses.

A flat circular box, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, pierced with round holes, and containing pebbles or portions of clay; said to be a rattle for a child.

By Mr. J. HILTON.—A badge, in brass, of Notre Dame de Liesse, Aisne. (A full account of the miraculous foundation of this sanctuary may be found in *Trésor du pieux pèlerin aux sanctuaires de l'auguste Mère de Dieu*. Par un Père, S. J. à Riom, chez Jouvot, 1873.)

By Mr. H. S. HARLAND.—A bedesman's brass badge, bearing a quartered coat of the Earl of Rochford; a stone celt and a flint celt, found built up in the wall of a farm building, at least 150 years old, at Broughton, near Malton; possibly, as "lucky stones," a custom thus alluded to in *Hudibras* :—

"Chase evil spirits away by dint
Of sickle, horse shoe, hollow flint."

May 1, 1879.

The Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. M. H. BLOXAM read a paper "On the Sepulchral Effigy of a Roman Citizen, found at Caerleon, Isca Silurum, clad in the Tunica, Clavus, and Pænula, prototypes of the ancient Ecclesiastical Vestments, the Alb, the Stole, and the Chesible."

Mr. J. H. PARKER and Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE took part in a discussion which followed, upon the origin of the names of ecclesiastical vestments.

The Rev. PRECENTOR VENABLES sent the following communication "On a Roman Milliarium discovered at Lincoln, April 2, 1879" :—

"The progress of the underground drainage works which have been turning up the streets of Lincoln for the last eighteen months has brought to light a considerable number of Roman remains of very high interest. Of these I hope to be allowed on a future occasion to lay a detailed account before the Institute. They throw great light on the alignment of the *viæ* of the Roman city, and are interesting from many points of view. Briefly stated, the excavations during the period named have revealed to us the base of a Roman portico (the discovery of which,

however, was not connected with the drainage works) of more architectural pretensions than any hitherto discovered in England, with the exception of those at Bath, of which an account has been laid before the Institute by Mr. F. C. Penrose. A row of brick piers forming the frontage of a building on the other side of the Roman *via*, nearly opposite this portico; the Mosaic pavements and frescoed walls of a sumptuous mansion; tessellated floors of plainer design; portions of the Roman sewer, a quadrangular trough 4 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 4 in., running down the centre of the *vici*, with side drains from the houses; and other relics of the Roman occupation of *Lindun Colonia*, deserving a full and particular record. But all these must be passed over for the present that I may offer some account of the most recent antiquarian treasure which has been unearthed by the pickaxe and spade of the navy—a Roman milliarium in a perfect state of preservation.

“The spot where this prize was discovered was the very centre of the Roman city, where the *cardo* or line running north and south, here coinciding with the Ermine street, intersected the line running east and west, opposite the Lion and Snake Inn, on the east side of the street known as Bailgate. Its place is marked on a very careful plan, for which, as well as for other drawings, I am indebted to Mr. Michael Drury, architect of Lincoln, who has followed up the navvies’ work with the keen eye of one who combines archæological and geological knowledge with that belonging more specially to his profession. From the place where the mile stone was found, the Roman *vici* ran in the direction of the four cardinal points, to the four Roman gateways, of which the northern or *Newport arch* still stands, and portions of the jambs of the southern gate are visible. Of the eastern gate, the foundations were laid bare during the drainage works, and that to the west was disinterred from the Castle earthworks about forty years’ since, but unfortunately allowed to tumble down for want of a little conservative repair.

“The milliarium is a quadrangular block of Lincoln stone, with the angles slightly chamfered, 7 ft. 4 in. high, by 4 ft. 3 in. in circumference. The face measures 1 ft. 4 in. across. We are told that Roman millaria were usually cylindrical. This would appear to be an exception to the general rule.

“When the stone was first disinterred, the inscription looked very hopeless. A letter here and there could be traced, but it seemed scarcely to be anticipated that the whole could be deciphered. By a fortunate coincidence, the Rev. Prebendary Wordsworth was on a visit to his father, the Bishop of Lincoln, and at once brought his practised eye and skilled hand to the task. Before long the whole inscription, with the exception of one or two doubtful letters, was made clear. As a rule, the *millaria* of the Romans bear the names of the reigning emperors. Thus, as the late Mr. Thomas Wright has observed, (*Celt, Roman and Saxon*, p. 421), “they are historically important as showing us the interest which the people of a distant province took in all the changes and movements of the Roman Empire. We find now and then an inscription to an emperor, whose reign was so short and insignificant that we could hardly suppose the influence of his name would have been felt then.” The Lincoln *milliarium* is an example of the truth of Mr. Wright’s words. It bears the name of the Emperor Marcus Piavonius Victorinus, one of the so-called “thirty tyrants” of Trebellius Pollio, *i.e.*, the rebellious generals, who

were saluted by their armies as emperor, and exercised imperial power in their respective provinces on the accession of the debauched and effeminate Gallienus, after the defeat and death of his father Valerian, in his campaign against Sapor, King of Persia, A.D. 260. Victorinus was a very able general, the son of a woman of masculine mind, named Aurelia Victorina, who attained so much influence with the troops that she was hailed by them as "*Augusta*," and surnamed "*Mater Castorum*." By her influence, her son Victorinus seems to have obtained advancement. He was at first chosen as colleague by *Postumus*, the usurping master of the Gallic or western quarter of the empire, which included Britain and Spain, as well as the provinces usually called 'Gaul.' On the death of Postumus at Mentz, in 267, at the hand of his soldiers, indignant at being prohibited from sacking the town, Victorinus became his successor. His reign was a very short one, lasting less than two years, even including the time he shared the power with Postumus; and it is not surprising that monuments bearing his name are of the greatest rarity. Only one other inscription of Victorinus is, I believe, known in this island. This was found at Pyle, between *Nidum* (Neath) in S. Wales, and *Berium*, and is preserved in the Royal Institution at Swansea, and figured at p. 275 of vol. iii of our Journal. Prebendary Wordsworth remarks that the occurrence of Victorinus' name at Lincoln shews that he was accepted as their rightful lord by the soldiers of the east as well as by those of the west of Britain. Victorinus was a man of licentious life, and he was assassinated at Cologne by a civilian, in revenge for his wife's outraged honour, A.D. 267. The inscription, of which I send a squeeze, is thus read by Prebendary Wordsworth. The letters in italics are almost effaced. The words are filled up, the supplements being bracketed:—

IMP. CAES
MARCO
PIAVONIO
VICTORI
NO. P. FEL. INV.
AVG. PONT. MAX.
TR. P. P. P.
A. L. S. M.
P. XIII.

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Marco Piavonio Victori(no) p(io) fel(ici) inv(icto) Aug(usto) pont(ifici) Max(imo) tr(ibunicia) p(oteste) p(atre) p(atriciae) ab S(egeloco) M(ilia) p(assum) XIII.

"Segelocum, which is identified with the station of Littleborough on Trent, on the Nottinghamshire bank of the river, appears in the Itinerary of Antoninus, (Iter. v) as fourteen Roman miles from Lincoln, between it and Doncaster, on the great line of Roman road leading from London to Luguwallum on the Roman wall; and also in (Iter. viii) under the name Agelocum, on the road from York to London, through Lincoln, at the same distance. We also find it in Richard of Cirencester (Iter. iv, *a Lindo ad Vallum*), under the Argolicum form. Littleborough is reached from Lincoln by an old Roman road known as Till Bridge Lane, which branches off from the Ermine Street, between North Carlton and Scampton.

"The rarity of perfect examples of Roman milestones in England—I

believe only one is known, that in the Museum at Leicester, set up by Hadrian two miles from *Rutæ*—throws great interest round the recent discovery, and will, I trust, be an excuse for bringing it before the Institute. I am happy to be able to conclude by stating that the *Milliarium* has found safe shelter in the cloisters of the Cathedral until the Municipality claim it for their long-looked for and much-needed museum in connection with the new Guildhall."

Thanks were returned to the authors of these papers.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. M. H. BLOXAM.—Photograph of a sepulchral effigy of a Roman citizen, found at Caerleon; and of a Roman soldier, found in the city of London.

By the Rev. CANON VENABLES.—Photograph of a *Milliarium*, found at Lincoln, and plans of recent excavations.

By the Rev. PREBENDARY WORDSWORTH.—Squeeze of the inscription from the *Milliarium*.

By the Rev. G. W. BRAIKENRIDGE.—A mazer bowl of great size, with a silver rim, Hall marked, 1554-5; and mounted upon a fine Elizabethan tazza, reversed to form a foot, and Hall marked, 1571. Round the rim of the bowl is the following inscription, in Lombardic letters:—"Be yow mere and glade and so the masters tokerys do hyed." It is probable that this fine bowl was made for a certain Fullers' or Tuckers' (Tokerys) company.

By LADY VANE.—Various objects of antiquity of a fragmentary character, such as portions of leather, either parts of a military baudric or of an early stamped leather case for a piece of plate; a remarkable piece of glass of different colours, and other small remains; all these were found built up, with human remains and rubbish, in a recess of a formerly outside wall of the old part of the house at Hutton, in the Forest, Cumberland, which subsequent discussion tended to show was originally a Peel tower.

By Mr. A. NESBITT.—Photograph of a book cover, belonging to the Duc d'Arenberg, at Brussels, to which is affixed, in addition to antique cameos, small reliefs in mother-of-pearl, &c.; a seated figure, about six inches high, of St. James of Compostella, carved in jet. (See p. 33).

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—The blade of a scramasax, from the Thames, and a modern Afghan knife, showing the remarkable similarity of the two weapons.

Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1878.

RECEIPTS.

To Balance at Bank, 1st January, 1878	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
" " in Petty Cash	-	116	5	10	-	-
" " " "	-	79	13	9	-	-
Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments in advance.	-	-	-	145	19	7
" " " "	-	544	19	0	-	-
" " " "	-	37	16	0	-	-
" " " "	-	31	9	0	-	-
" " " "	-	142	15	0	-	-
" " " "	-	90	0	2	-	-
" " " "	-	-	-	806	19	2
Miscellaneous Receipts:						
Dividend on Investment in New 3 per cent. Consols	£	6	9	11		
Balance of Account of Northampton Meeting	-	55	7	9		
Memo.—Cash received	-	90	3	3		
Less Cash paid, July 2nd 26 0 0						
Ditto Dec. 31st 9 15 5				34	15	6
Balance	-	55	7	9		
Messrs. Conitts' Loan to the Institute on 31st May 1878	-	-	-	61	17	8
				200	0	0

To Investment Account:
Amount invested in £200 New 3 per Cent. Consols
(brought forward from last year) 200 0 0

£1,394 16 5

EXPENDITURE.

By Publication Account:	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Engraving, &c. for Journal	-	122	17	2		
Bradbury & Agnew (printing)	-	259	3	9		
W. Pollard (printing)	-	151	7	10		
Editing Journal	-	50	0	0		
Editing General Index	-	75	0	0		
				658	3	4
Hous						
o year	-	150	0	0		
"	-	120	0	0		
"	-	17	9	9		
"	-	6	18	8		
rtisement	-	2	10	0		
"	-	5	0	0		
"	-	1	0	0		
Sundries	-	22	2	5		
				207	3	5
Petty Cash Account:						
Office expenses, messenger, &c.	-	71	10	19		
Postage stamps and delivery of Journal, &c.	-	07	2	9		
Gas	-	1	1	6		
Cabs, omnibuses, portage, &c.	-	4	0	10		
"	-	7	1	6		
"	-	4	7	0		
				145	4	2
Cash to Balance, Hereford Meeting Accounts	-	-	-	27	11	3
Memo.—Meeting in 1877, Cash 21 February, 1878.						
Balance at Bank 31st December, 1878	-	192	4	6		
" Ditto Petty Cash	-	24	9	6		
				146	14	2
				21,294	16	5

Audited and found correct, } W. J. BERNHARD SMITH } Audi-
July 18th 1879, } JOHN N. FOSTER } tors.

Presented to the Meeting of Members at Taunton, August 7th, 1879. Approved and passed.

(Signed)

TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, Chairman

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

LECTURES ON THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIAEVAL ARCHITECTURE. Delivered at the Royal Academy by Sir GILBERT SCOTT, R.A., F.S.A., LL.D., etc. 2 vols. London : John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1879.

No member of the Archaeological Institute needs to be reminded of the merits of Sir Gilbert Scott, nor of his singular modesty and affability. He was our leader for several years in the study of Architectural History, after we had lost Professor Willis, who may almost be said to have been the founder of that study, by his lecture at the first meeting of the Institute at Canterbury. Scott always acknowledged himself a pupil of Willis, and, after we had lost him, he ably supplied his place in enabling us to understand the architectural history of each of the cathedrals or fine churches that we visited in our annual excursions. After the loss of Willis, no-one more thoroughly understood their true history, or more highly appreciated their value, than Scott.

These lectures are admirably suited for the purpose for which they were intended, that is, for the instruction of young architects. They were given at the Royal Academy in successive years, always to a large class of students, by whom they were most highly valued, and for whose use they were printed for private circulation in each succeeding year. The first volume of the present publication is therefore, to a great extent, a reprint of those separate lectures, and not strictly a consecutive series; but they were collected and published by Sir Gilbert himself, with short notes here and there, in 1878; and the publication was not quite finished at his sudden and deplorable death, as is stated at the end of the preface by Mr. Weatherley, who completed the work, and who states that many of the illustrations were prepared by himself for the lectures ten years ago. Our space compels us to be brief, and to pass over some of the lectures by merely stating their subject: it is needless to say that all of them are ably treated, and therefore, still less to repeat that in each instance. The first lecture is upon "The Claims of Mediaeval Architecture upon our Study," an able, general sketch of the subject, how it should be undertaken and pursued, and the practical object for which it should be followed up. The second is the sketch of the rise of Mediaeval Architecture, to which the same remarks would apply, and which points out the influence which vaulted roofs necessarily had on the use of the pointed arch. The third is on the Transition, another admirable sketch, but in which, as I have said in my paper on S. Denis, p. 231, he seems to follow too much the Parisian view of Suger being "the inventor of the Gothic style." He could not really mean this, as no one knew better than Scott did its very gradual development during the last half of the 12th century. The only part of his work which is not quite satisfactory is his account of Suger and S. Denis. He gives a woodcut of the choir, as if it was really the work of Suger in 1140, because the *foundations were laid* at that time. Yet Scott shews that the same feature, the commencement of the use of the pointed arch, that is found in Suger's work, is found also in Fountains Abbey at the same time; and he gives a view of part of the nave, shewing this feature (in No. 59), and relates the date of it to be from 1140-1150, precisely the date of Suger's work. I have shewn that the part that really is of that time is the crypt under the choir. The choir itself was raised and much altered a century afterwards, to make it correspond with the nave, which was much more lofty than the original choir. The proof of this, is the column introduced in eth

crypt, cutting through Suger's vault, in order to support another column in the choir above when a vault was added to that also, and when two of the small narrow arches of the original choir were thrown into one; thereby adding greatly to the weight that would have to be carried on that vault to support the new vault above, which is of very different character, and which also had to be supported on the exterior by flying buttresses, a feature never found in Romanesque styles. This oversight is the only blemish in the book, but it was necessary to point it out, because it is "one of the turning points in the history of architecture," and no *Gothic* church was ever built anywhere until half a century after 1140. Any one who would censure some of the early restorations of Scott must remember that the zeal of the zealous young clergy at the time that the Oxford movement began, and of the members of the Cambridge Cambrian Society at the same period, compelled the architects to set about *restorations* before either they or their employers had studied the subject sufficiently to know how to set about it, even the workmen had to be taught the *reality* of Gothic work, and that the *shams* to which they had so long been accustomed could no longer be tolerated, although these had seemed to them a necessary part of the Georgian style miscalled Italian, or which may perhaps be called Anglo-Italian, in which they had been educated.

But it is time to let Scott speak for himself in his own words, and we had better go at once to Canterbury, and to the work of William the Englishman, which is certainly more *GOTHIC* than that of his master, William of Sens.

"William the Englishman discarded the Byzantine foliage, and adopted, almost exclusively, the Nôtre Dame type and the capital *à crochet*, which he carried out with extreme beauty. His work is far more beautiful than that of his master, though from the resemblance of the plan to that of Sens, and from the use of doubled columns, it must have been laid down by the French William. I know no work of the age finer than those of these two architects. One thing I will remark about the second architect, that he made his crypt, in which he worked unfettered by the designs of another, more English than the superstructure, using there (as he did also in one or two other places) the round abacus, subsequently so characteristic of *English* work. The influence of the French work thus introduced into England is distinctly marked, and there is no difficulty in tracing it wherever it exists; but it is by no means such as to supersede the national type." Vol. i, p. 113.

Unfortunately, there is the same general misunderstanding about the church of Sens that there is about S. Denis. The part of Sens that really resembles Canterbury so closely that the same working drawings might almost have served for both, is the *nave* and not the choir. The roof of the choir was burnt, and that part of the building much damaged, much in the same manner that the choir at Canterbury had been, soon after the return of William from Canterbury to Sens, and the choir of Sens was then restored much in the same manner as the choir of Canterbury has been. Along with a new roof, a new vault and a new clerestorey were put on the choir. The clerestorey-wall almost necessarily goes with the roof. This material alteration, or restoration (?), was pointed out to me on the spot by Mr. Viollet Leduc, whom I had accompanied from Paris to Sens on purpose to see that church with him. He had then a real work of restoration going on there under his direction.

SIR GILBERT SCOTT'S LECTURES.

Fountains Abbey.—View across Nave, 1140—1154. See page 238.

SIR GILBERT SCOTT'S LECTURES.

St. Mary's Abbey, York.—Vestibule of Chapter-House, 1164—1181. See page 908.

SIR GILBERT SCOTT'S LECTURES.

Choir of Ripon Minster,—part built by Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Évêque, 1154—1161.

SIR GILBERT SCOTT'S LECTURES.

Canterbury Cathedral.—Trinity Chapel, 1170—1184. See page 267.

SIR GILBERT SCOTT'S LECTURES.

Cathedral of Sens.—Havv. 1163 f. See page 287.

SIR GILBERT SCOTT'S LECTURES.

Temple Church, London.—View in Circular Aisle, A.D. 1185. See page 283.

SIR GILBERT SCOTT'S LECTURES.

St. Denis.—Interior of one of the Apical Chapels, 1144; rebuilt c. 1850, after the Fire.
See page 237.

SIR GILBERT SCOTT'S LECTURES.

My Cathedral.—Salisbury Porch, 1105—1214. See page 209.

and kindly shewed me all parts of the building. Scott does not seem to have been aware of this partial restoration of the choir of Sens, after a fire in 1184 (the present vault and clerestory are subsequent to that date), at the time the third lecture was written. But let us again return to his own words. "Immediately after Canterbury, and probably in part contemporaneous with it, was the magnificent Abbey Church of Glastonbury. It appears to have been erected chiefly between 1180 and 1190, though finished a little later.¹ This chapel is of exquisite beauty, and its details in the highest degree refined; indeed, nothing could exceed the studious care with which every feature and the profile of every moulding is carried out. The English type is adhered to in the retention, in an exceedingly refined form, and in great variety of decorations founded in the chevron, and in the use of intersecting arcades. The external buttresses assume a form of peculiar elegance and originality; the base moulds are of noble form, wholly differing from those in France." (Vol. i, p. 116.)

"It is exceedingly vexatious that the dates of buildings of this period are so difficult to be ascertained. Even where we know by whom they were erected, their founders were often so long-lived as to render the information perfectly indefinite. Thus, Pudsey presided over the see of Durham for forty years, Roger over York for nearly thirty years, and Henry de Blois over Winchester forty-two years; and Walkelin de Ferrers, who built the hall at Oakham Castle, held the manor from 1161 to 1201. Among the later works of the transition may be mentioned the eastern part of Chichester Cathedral." Vol. i, p. 120.

"To attempt, however, an enumeration of English examples would be an endless task. So far from being a mere exotic, the country appears to have been absolutely saturated with transitional buildings; and these, so far from shewing any of that inaptitude which would accompany the use of a mere imported style, actually evince a degree of originality and a revelry (if I may use such a term) in the new art which is perfectly charming, and display beauties wholly different from any I have seen in other countries. Not only is this the case in works on a grand scale, but in the smallest village churches, in which we find the style reduced to its simplest elements, yet exhibiting a sense of beauty and a studious attention to detail which is quite surprising." P. 122.

This statement of Scott's of the genuine English character of our own earliest Gothic style is very satisfactory. It is justly called by Rickman the *Early English* style; it differs considerably from the Early French or from that of any foreign country. The English architects no doubt borrowed ideas from all quarters when they answered their purpose, and no doubt the Crusaders brought back many new ideas with them from the Byzantine and the imitations of Byzantine by the Saracens; but they Anglicised them all, or, as Scott calls it, "translated them into English." "We had, in fact, much more to be got rid of in our Romanesque than they had in and about the Isle of France.

¹ The dates are given in Professor Willis's excellent paper on the Abbey. They are from 1186 onwards. The older Abbey was burnt down in 1186. The chapel now known as that of St. Joseph, but which was really the Lady Chapel, was first rebuilt, and the church followed immediately afterwards. (G. G. S., 1878.)

² This work at Chichester was executed at the close of the century, after the fire of 1186; but Professor Willis has shewn that some Early Pointed work of a very marked character, which exists in the eastern part of the Lady Chapel, must have been erected previous to that event.

"The remarkable converse of this is, that at the close of our transition we had not only thrown off the excess of Romanesque characteristics, but had gone beyond the French in altering those of a less palpable kind, and introducing details distinct from those of the preceding style. Thus our arch mouldings became far more rich and more studied in their profile than those in France, which continued to be little more than the repetition of a roll between two hollows, while ours were composed of numerous and beautiful members; the proportions of our windows became much more graceful than those customarily used in France, and the basement mouldings are better. On the other hand, we were far less liberal in the use of sculpture, and we generated a purely moulded capital, which the French can scarcely be said to possess—thus, if I may say so, giving ourselves the choice of a *Doric* as well as a Corinthian variety in our columns; and, finally, we relinquished the square form of the abacus, and made our capitals for the most part round; so that, at the end of our transition, we had departed much more widely from our own Romanesque than the French had from theirs; and while the early French transitional works look more advanced than those of a corresponding stage in England, the case is reversed at its close, when the English examples appear more advanced than the French, as may be seen by comparing the interior of the Galilee at Ely with the western portals of Nôtre Dame, which are of some years' later date.

"I will close my outline of the English transition by referring to four examples which mark the limits of its duration, by showing how soon the true Early English attained its perfect development. The examples I cite for this purpose are the following:—

"1st. The choir and eastern transepts at Lincoln, which were completed by Bishop Hugh before the close of the twelfth century, and which, though of early character, are decidedly not transitional, but developed Early Pointed.

"2nd. The western portal at St. Alban's, built by William de Cella between the years 1195 and 1205.

"These are among the most beautiful Early English works in the kingdom, and have no Romanesque reminiscences, nor any French characteristics, except the *crochet* capital, which is magnificently developed beneath round abaci.

"3rd. The eastern chapels at Winchester, built by Bishop de Lucy about 1204. These have no striking feature, excepting that they are pure 'Early English,' and even shew suggestions of tracery.

"4th. The Galilee porch at Ely, built by Bishop Eustacius, who held the see from about 1195 to 1214, and which is one of the most magnificent specimens of fully-developed style in the country. It has the *crochet* capital gorgeously enriched, not with French, but English conventional foliage; whilst the arch mouldings are filled with the most exquisite foliage of pure Early English character.

"Thus we see that though the French preceded us in the commencement of this transition, our own was, with very trifling exceptions, equally national with this, and that it was not only completed as soon, but that it was carried through to a style more distinctive, and fully as national as the glorious Early Pointed of France.

" . . . Many as were the steps between the stages of the transition in both countries, and many more before we had developed out of it that Pointed style we know as the 'Early English,' with its lancet

windows and round abaci; the whole was, nevertheless, carried through within the period of *one life-time*. Not only were the transitions of France carried on to perfection under contemporary monarchs, but that queen who was present at the consecration of Suger's precocious monument, who caused that subsequent stagnation by her frivolity, and who perhaps witnessed the completion of St. Cross during her long captivity at Winchester, actually lived there long enough to have seen the fully-developed Early English of De Lucy's chapels in the neighbouring cathedral."—(pp. 125, 126).

Our extracts have been confined to the third lecture, because in that is traced in a remarkably clear manner the origin, or, rather, the development, of Gothic architecture, the most interesting subject of study for our members. The fourth lecture is on the "glorious thirteenth century," when architecture was in the highest perfection to which it has ever attained, owing probably to the real piety of that age, the age of chivalry also, when women were more highly respected and more honoured than in any other period in the history of the world. It was a time specially given to promoting the glory of God, when fine cathedrals were established, and before the errors of ignorance and the pious frauds of Rome had almost overlaid true religion. Scott saw this as clearly as any one, but it was not expedient to put it forward; he only gave such examples of the exquisite details of architecture of that glorious period, and shewed the simple but beautiful moulded capitals of the English style without foliage—a peculiarity of the English style. It is in vain to attempt to explain this without the admirable illustrations from Scott's own drawings, by which he has fully explained this peculiarity.

The fifth lecture is a continuation of the same important and interesting subject.

The sixth and seventh are on "The Rationale of Gothic Architecture," in which is shewn the true causes of its origin and the peculiar advantage of it, with a Digression concerning Windows, full of importance, and explaining tracery. Singularly enough, this is the one subject in which practically Scott failed to equal the old architects, as any one may see who looks over Mr. E. A. Freeman's wonderful series of old examples in his work on "Gothic Window Tracery," too much overlooked by the profession generally.

The eighth and ninth lectures are on "The Practical Study of Gothic or Mediæval Architecture," invaluable to the young architect. These complete the first volume.

The second volume is a second series of lectures, going over the same ground again, with more details and the results of longer experience, but perhaps less interesting than the first series on that account; but being more confined to England, these lectures were more popular than the former ones had been, and perhaps then the author attained a greater name, and much more importance was justly attached to his lectures.

The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth lectures are on "Early Architecture in Great Britain," to the end of the eleventh century. The thirteenth lecture takes up the subject at this point, and shews the "conditions necessary for an *arcuated* as distinguished from a *trabicated* style," going back to Grecian and Roman architecture to explain this. The fourteenth and fifteenth are on the principles of vaulting, the sixteenth and seventeenth on "the Dome," or "the Cupola," as it is called on the continent. He very clearly shows that this important feature is perfectly consistent

with the Mediæval or Gothic style. A great cupola can be quite as well supported by pointed arches as by semicircular ones, and in the few instances in which they have been combined the effect is wonderfully fine. The little intercourse that there was for a long period between the east and the west of Europe was the cause that the Byzantine style did not make its way in the west. The great importance that Scott himself attached to this union I happen to know from personal intercourse with him when he was in Rome, and he has shewn this by giving as the frontispiece to this volume his own design for the great central hall of the new Law Courts, which is a great cupola, supported on pointed arches; but this was too much in advance of his day, and was rejected. The next generation will probably see this fine union generally adopted for the new cathedrals that are now called for on all sides. I could have wished that it had been adopted at Truro, which in some respects is setting such good examples. We are evidently on the eve of great things in architecture.

J. H. P.

THE BRITISH BARROWS. By WILLIAM GREENWELL, M.A., F.S.A., and GEORGE ROLLESTON, M.D., F.R.S. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.

Continued.

We thoroughly agree with Canon Greenwell that the people, who erected the barrows, "had unquestionably long passed beyond the stage when the family is the only community, and that they were ruled by an order and constraint embracing wider bounds than those comprised within the authority of relationship in its more limited sense;"¹ and his reasoning in support of this position seems completely satisfactory.

Equally clear is it, that "these mounds must be regarded as the places of sepulture of chiefs of tribes, clans, and families, or of other people in authority allowed a position of respect, and of those who were nearly connected with them; as wives, children, and personal dependants."² The fact that no barrow contains so many dead as might be supposed to have fallen in a battle, may be owing to the chiefs only having been there buried.

In Mayfield, Staffordshire, there are terraces in the side of a very steep hill; they are flat at the top, and three or four yards wide. Their object had long been a puzzle to us, until passing through Dorsetshire we saw ploughing going on upon similar terraces, which seemed completely to explain the matter. In their natural state the hills are too steep to allow of ploughing, and if the ground were broken up in any other way, the rain would wash the soil away. But the formation of terraces obviated both these inconveniences. This seems to be a reasonable solution of the doubts respecting their object;³ and to show that corn was grown by the men of the time of the barrows, as it certainly was when Cæsar first landed in England.⁴ Throughout Palestine there are terraces carved out of the hill sides, or supported by retaining walls, on which vines were cultivated formerly.⁵

We quite agree with Canon Greenwell that "the barrows only give us a very imperfect, and at times but a doubtful outline with respect to some of the subjects" of the condition of the people. "That they lived

¹ Page 111.

² Page 112.

³ Page 114.

⁴ *B. G.*, iv, c. 31, 32.

⁵ Conder's *Tent Work in Palestine*, vol. ii, 323.

in an organized condition of society may be considered as quite certain ; and, as a necessity of such a state, they must have been under the government of a head, most probably the chief of a sept or clan."¹ "Within what may, perhaps, be designated as the larger federation, held together by a common origin and mutual interest, there were doubtless several smaller tribal divisions, ruled over by their respective chiefs, either independent, or more or less under the authority of the federal head."² "It is certain that the inhabitants of the wolds had advanced beyond the hunting stage ;"³ for "they possessed a variety of domesticated animals, upon the flesh of which to some extent they lived ;" and "it is probable that milk formed an important article of food."⁴ "It seems also certain that grain of some description was cultivated by them."⁵ "Woollen, and probably linen, fabrics were manufactured."⁶ "Their garments had made some considerable advance ; for vestments were to some extent fitted to the form of the wearer, and had been fashioned into shape with somewhat of sartorial skill."⁷ "The implements and weapons of bronze show that they had attained to a high perfection in the process of casting, and give evidence of no little progress in metallurgy."⁸ "The manner in which young children have been buried, either alone or in a way denoting much care, indicates that the family tie had much influence, and that the child of the chief or other person of distinction held an important position in the estimation of the tribe ; and perhaps indicates that something like an hereditary headship prevailed."⁹ In this view we entirely concur. The erection of a large barrow must have been the work of a great number of men, under the direction of some superintending authority ; and though in the case of a chief, it may well be supposed that that authority was the people,¹⁰ yet that cannot have been the case with a child. Its barrow must have been made through the influence of the parent ; and so honourable a funeral naturally leads to the inference that if that child had survived its parent, it would have succeeded to his position, whatever that might be.

The personal ornaments, though few in number, give indications of some artistic power, but in a simple fashion. They consist of necklaces of jet or other inferior lignite ; of buttons and rings of jet, in some cases tastefully decorated ; of earrings of bronze ; of beads of jet, bone, and other substances.¹¹

We are told¹² that "at the time when it was the custom to bury under round barrows, and when the body was interred both by inhumation and after cremation, the wolds were inhabited by two stocks of people, having characteristic features of the most distinctive kind ; the one being brachycephalic, the other dolichocephalic. The heads of the two types have been found in the barrows in about equal proportions." To us it seems clear that there were not two stocks, but one people, some of whom had the one kind of skull, some the other. A man must have taken little notice, who has not observed now-a-days in one and the same family,

¹ Page 111.² Ibid.³ Ibid.⁴ Page 115.⁵ Page 114.⁶ Page 116.⁷ Ibid.⁸ Page 117.⁹ Page 119.¹⁰ "Such honours Ilion to her Hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade."—Pope's *Iliad*.¹¹ Page 117.¹² Page 126.

heads differing very widely one from the other in these respects, and "*fortiori* amongst a multitude. The Canon even speaks of "an intermixture between the two peoples becoming common."¹

We most thoroughly disagree with Canon Greenwell, that "it can scarcely be questioned that it was the habit to slay at the funeral, and to bury with the dead man wives, children and others, probably slaves."

There is not a particle of evidence that any such slaying ever took place in England; all that the evidence amounts to in any case is that the dead persons were buried at the same time. Now there is no rule of reason more sound than, that if a state of facts be such as to be equally consistent with two or more suppositions, neither supposition can be said to be proven. We well remember that great man, Lord Abinger, using this rule in a criminal case at Gloucester, and urging forcibly that it especially applied where the one supposition was consistent with innocence, and the other led to the inference of criminality, and that reasoning well applies to this case; for the question is whether an unnatural killing had taken place, or there had been nothing censurable at all. It is said that "the frequent occurrence of several bodies, all certainly interred at the same time, the finding of a man and woman in adjoining graves, which must have been excavated together, or of two persons of different sexes in the same grave with the remains of children, or with deposits of burnt bones, are incidents difficult to interpret in any other way."² There not only is not a particle of difficulty in giving another solution, but several much better ones may be given, and unless such burials are attributed to some of the causes we shall suggest, the insuperable difficulty arises, that there were cases which must have frequently occurred from which such burials would naturally arise, and yet there is no evidence of them. Famines, which are very reasonably supposed to have been frequent,³ always cause simultaneous deaths. Plague, pestilence and all the tribe of infectious and contagious diseases do the same. You need only go to Eyam, and you will find by the Register that 260 persons of all ages and both sexes died there of the plague in a year, and 68 in the month of August alone. Every case mentioned in this work is exactly what would naturally take place in many diseases, especially where, as far as is known, medical aid might be wanting. In 1348 the pestilence, called "the black death," devastated the whole of Europe. Nowhere was it more fatal than in England; a single burial ground, the site of the Charterhouse, received 50,000 corpses. The Episcopal Registers of Lichfield afford appalling evidence of the pest. The number of incumbents in Derbyshire was at that time 108. The number of Institutions in 1348 was eight, but in 1349 the number leapt up to sixty-three, and in the following year (many of the vacant benefices not having been filled up) they numbered forty-one. Seventy-seven beneficed priests died in that one dread period. Eight Churches were twice emptied, and one thrice in the same year.⁴ Within three months Sir W. de Wakebridge lost his father, his wife, three brothers, two sisters, and a sister-in-law.⁵ Indeed

¹ Page 129.

² Page 119.

³ Page 120.

⁴ Page 662.

⁵ iv, Cox, *Derbyshire Churches*, Introduction.

⁶ Ibid. p. 42, see p. 99, note for five deaths in one family in the plague of 1593, between November 24th and December 9th.

if these sort of burials had not been found, it might have well been argued that the barrows existed before,

*Macies et nova februm
Terris incubuit cohors,¹*

or that Britain was indeed an island of the blessed.

Knowing that such devastating pestilences must have occurred in such ancient times, reason would teach that there must be found in the barrows, simultaneously buried,

*"Matres, atque viri, defunctaque corpora vitæ
Magnanimum heroum, pueri, innuptæque puellæ ;"*²

in fact all the members of a household. This is perfectly natural ; the immolation of wives and others is abhorrent to nature. Besides, the latter is only one cause, the former contains as many different causes as there are distinct diseases, &c., capable of producing such results.

Barrow xxi³ seems to us to afford an instance of many deaths about the same time, from some disease. In it there were the following interments :—a boy of above six years old, the bones of an adult, probably a woman, a child of less than six years of age, a young man about twenty-five years of age—the three last in one grave ; a woman past middle life, another woman about twenty years of age, a young man under twenty, another young man about twenty—these two were in the same grave ; two bodies facing each other, one a man about twenty, the other a woman about seventeen, clearly buried at the same time ; a very young child, another child about three, a third very young child—these three were in the same trench. There is nothing stated to show when the different bodies were buried in the different parts of the barrow, or that any body had been disturbed when another was buried. Now, is not the whole of this perfectly consistent with there having been some disease prevalent for a few months, during which the individuals died from time to time, and were buried accordingly ? And are not the three instances where two or three were buried together, just exactly what might be expected in such a case ? But it is said, "in this case we can have little hesitation in regarding the burial as that of a man and his wife, who, one in life, in death had not been divided," and that she had sacrificed herself.⁴ We would ask, did two of the three that were found in the same grave sacrifice themselves on the death of one ; or one of the two young men ; or one of the three children, who were buried in a similar way ? Every burial, except the one of the man and woman, is lost sight of ; and it is supposed that they "may, very probably, have been childless," notwithstanding all the children in the barrow.

Nor can we help thinking that every barrow which contains only a single interment, affords very cogent evidence that no such imaginary sacrifices ever took place in England. It cannot be doubted that many, probably all, so interred were persons of great eminence, in fact the very persons with whom slaves, &c., would naturally be expected to be found ; and the only reasonable solution of their not being found, is that no such custom existed. And the same reasoning applies to the absence of the bodies of wives in these cases, for the men cannot all of them have been unmarried.

¹ Hor. i., Car. iii, 30.

² Virg. *Geor.*, iv, 475.

³ Page 161.

⁴ Page 165.

The authorities referred to, do not include children, nor have we found any that does. Herodotus¹ only mentions one of the concubines of the king, and some of his ministerial officers. His words are :

τῶν παλλακέων μίην ἀποπνίζαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ τὸν οἰνοχόον, καὶ μάγειρον, καὶ ἵπποκόμον, καὶ διήκονον, καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον, καὶ ἵππους, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀπαρχὰς, καὶ φιάλας χρυσίας.

Homer² and Virgil³ speak only of captive enemies, and Boniface⁴ only applies to the wife, "ut mulier, viro proprio mortuo, vivere recuset." As to Suttee in India, it clearly only applies to wives, and only to the chief wife.⁵

Nothing, therefore, is to be found to extend the custom to children, and the strongest reasons are against it. To pay the highest honours to a chief, and, in doing so, to immolate his children is wholly incredible. Every case where a barrow contains only an infant⁶ is repugnant to any such custom ; for it is absurd to suppose that a child would be laid in a lordly tomb, if it died in its parent's lifetime, and sacrificed at his tomb if it survived him. Here then, we have another cogent reason against the supposed custom where children are found in a barrow, for the true explanation must be one which is consistent with all the facts.

We are pleased, however, to find that the conclusion of Dr. Rolleston is that "in the very large number of interments recorded in this book, we have never come upon any bony remains, bearing their evidence to the existence of a practice" of sacrificing any persons whatever at any funeral, as he is so very high an authority, and has had such full ocular demonstration of the facts.⁷ But we cannot agree with him, that this can be explained by the supposition that the other persons were buried so far apart from the chief person that their remains would not be found in the barrows. All the passages cited by him agree that, whilst the chief was deposited in the middle of the barrow, the rest were also deposited in the barrow, but in a different part of it, near the outside. The bones of Patroclus lay in the centre of the pyre ; those of the others away from them, but within the pyre ; all being burnt by one fire.

Ἐν μέσση γὰρ ἔκειτο πυρῇ, τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἀνευθιν
'Εσχατιῇ καίοντ' ἐπιμύξ.⁸

That is ἐσχατιῇ πυρῇ, in the outer part of the pyre. So, also, Herodotus says, they bury the victims ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ τῆς θήκης, and then raise as large a tomb as they can ; so that these burials were in some other part of the large tomb. And no doubt, the passage in Cæsar¹⁰ means the same. The fact, therefore, that there is no evidence of any such practice in any of the British barrows, is perfectly conclusive against it ; for if the practice had existed, there must have been some evidence of it discovered in such a great number of tombs. The supposition, also, that any persons were buried outside, but near to, any barrow is also purely imaginary ; for there is not a single instance of any

¹ iv, c, 71.

² *Il.*, xxiii, 175.

³ *Æn.* x, 619.

⁴ Cited p. 120.

⁵ *Ancient India*, by Mrs. Spier, 454.

⁶ Pages 261, 290.

⁷ Page 692.

⁸ *Il.* xxiii, 241.

⁹ *Lib.* iv, 71.

¹⁰ *B. G.* vi, 19.

such burial near any of the very numerous barrows noticed in this work, or in any other that we have seen.

Nothing need be said as to the perfect skeletons, or their remains, where it is plain that they were buried where they were found, or to those bones which have clearly been disturbed by subsequent interments; but some attention may well be directed to parts of skeletons and fractured bones, and other similar cases.

In Greece, the practice in very early times was to bury the chiefs that fell in war alone in barrows, as was done with Patroclus, Achilles, and Ajax; and this seems to have been done, generally, at the place where they died. But in the case of the common soldiers, the practice was to burn the bodies so far as to leave the bones in a state to be taken to their own countries at the end of the war.

Ἀτὰρ κατακόμεν αὐτοὺς
Τυτθὸν ἄπο πρὸ νεῶν, ὥς κ' ὅστέα παισὶν ἕκαστος
Οἴκαδ' ἄγρ' ὅταν αὐτὲ νεώμεθα πατρίδα γαῖαν.¹

In the time of the Peloponnesian War, a public funeral was had in the winter at Athens of those that had fallen in war, according to their ancient custom, which was to burn the dead where they fell, and take their bones home, place those of each tribe in a coffin of cypress wood, and bury all in the public tomb in front of the city, in which all that fell in war were buried, except those who fell at Marathon, who were buried there on account of their surpassing bravery. After they had been covered with earth, a funeral oration was pronounced over them.² At Troy it is said that the bones were first buried in a suitable tomb.³ But Thucydides is silent on this point, and also as to whether any distinction was made between the chiefs and common soldiers. Such a custom, however, would well account for the finding of numerous skeletons with partially burnt bones, for bones injured as they usually are in war, and for confused collections of bones, as well as for repeated burials in the same tomb.

From what Virgil says about the Romans who fell at Philippi, it may well be inferred that their usual custom was to bury the common soldiers without any mound, and very near the surface of the ground.

Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exest inveniet scabrâ rubigine pila,
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,
Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.⁴

But there is one very remarkable instance, where the bones of nearly all of the men of three Legions were buried together in one common tomb. Varus and the three Legions he commanded were almost all slain by the Germans, in the forest now called Teuteberg (Teutoburgiensi saltu), A.D. 10, and it was not until six years had elapsed that Germanicus discovered their remains, and buried them in a single barrow without burning.

The account given by Tacitus of this funeral,⁵ plainly shows in what a confused, dislocated, and broken state the bones of the thousands of the dead must have been.

¹ *Il.* vii, 333.

² *Thucyd.* ii, 34.

³ *Il.* vii, 336, 435.

⁴ *Georg.* i, 493. See also *Cæsar, B. G.*, lib. i, c, 26.

⁵ *Annal.* lib. i, 61. *Arch. Journal*, xxxvi, 38, "Cannibalism."

In a long barrow¹ "amongst the loose rubble were deposited at least fourteen bodies not laid in any order, but with the component bones broken, scattered, and lying in the most confused manner; half a jaw, for instance, upon part of a thigh bone, and a fragment of a skull amidst the bones of a foot, whilst other portions of apparently the same skull were found some distance apart." "There were the most certain indications that the bones had been originally deposited exactly as they were found," and after "the flesh had been removed." This is as strong an instance as any in the work of the confused mixture of bones, whether whole or broken, and it is nothing more in any respect than may be most completely accounted for by a battle between hostile tribes, in which one was vanquished and left its dead on the field, and did not obtain the opportunity to bury them until the bones were devoid of flesh. Though similar, it affords but a faint picture of the appearances that would present themselves, if the tomb of Varus' soldiers were opened. That there were different tribes in Britain is clear, and Tacitus divides the people into Caledonians, Silures, and those that were opposite to Gaul;² and there was such a want of concord amongst the tribes, that even two or three rarely met to oppose a common foe, so that each was conquered whilst fighting separately, *dum singuli pugnantes, universi vincuntur.*³ It might well be, then, that the general rule of raising barrows might prevail throughout, whilst the particular ceremonies might vary amongst different tribes, and thus possibly the variations found in the contents of barrows may be accounted for.

Interesting questions sometimes arise as to the manner in which implements and other articles were made by the Britons. Some years since, some jet beads, a flint saw and drill from Whitby were exhibited at the Royal Archaeological Institute; and it was suggested that the beads might have been made by means of the flint saw and drill. Our lamented friend, Mr. Albert Way, was of opinion that this was impossible. We, however, procured some jet from Whitby, and we found that it was practicable to cut the jet with the saw, and to bore it with the drill.⁴ These experiments quite satisfied Mr. Way. Several of the articles described in this book were evidently made in this manner.⁵ They had all been drilled from each side, which was made necessary by the shortness of the drill; and the holes in each were larger at the outside, and gradually lessened to the centre, which was caused by the impracticability of holding the drill so perfectly steady, whilst drilling, as to prevent it from rubbing against the side of the hole. Of course, with such rude tools, considerable time was found necessary to accomplish the work. The longer beads were, no doubt, bored by such long and thin bronze drills as are shown in this work.⁶

We entertain considerable doubt whether stone axe hammers were made for the purpose of war alone. It is said, that "having their edges rounded, they could not have been adapted for cutting wood, or, indeed, for any except an offensive use."⁷ Our experience is, that very blunt

¹ Page 486.

² *Agr.* ii.

³ *Ibid.* 12.

⁴ See *Archaeological Journal*, xxix, 283.

⁵ Pages 142, 223, 224, 248.

⁶ Pages 46, 187.

⁷ Page 159.

weapons will cut very clean holes. It is the force with which the blow is given, rather than the sharpness of the weapon that cuts. It is—

Viribus ensis adactus
Transadigit costas et mollia pectora rumpit.¹

And it may well be, that a heavy stone axe, wielded by a strong arm, would cut wood, though it was round at the edge. If the edge were sharp, it would soon be broken in use. Each weapon would, probably, be turned to every use of which it was capable.

The instance of a platform, on which a body was laid, is, probably, correctly supposed to have been to keep it out of the wet, which might be retained by the clay.² In the Gristhorpe oak coffin there was one hole, at least, in the bottom; and so, also, in a stone coffin at Darley, Derbyshire, and in many in Northamptonshire.³ There must have been some reason for preventing the body being subjected to wet; but that reason does not seem to be known. Where bodies are buried in ground that is full of water, they seem not to decay for many years. The body of a vicar of Ashbourne was found in a perfect state after more than forty years, the churchyard being very wet.

We have been forcibly impressed by the great similarity of the contents of some of the barrows, with the probability that they may have been made about the same time; and we find that Canon Greenwell says that certain "facts lead to the inference that no great length of time had elapsed between the burials in two barrows; and, possibly, one or more may be included in the same category."⁴ If this be so, it would strongly confirm our suggestion that the burials in these barrows were of persons who had died of some pestilence or disease that had spread through the district, or perhaps from some famine.

The occurrence of a flint knife and bronze dagger in conjunction is said to afford "a valuable, though by no means an uncommon illustration of the contemporaneous use of implements of bronze and stone."⁵ We question whether much too great stress has not been laid by some writers upon the supposed stone, bronze, and iron periods; and the recent discoveries at Hissarlik show, that the manufacture of neolithic weapons went on contemporaneously with the metallurgic art in all the prehistoric towns, although ever declining even in the youngest, and by far the rudest of the whole, and have unsettled the faith in the received archaeological theory of successive stone, bronze, and iron ages.⁶ It seems clear at all events, that there never can have been a sudden change from the use of the one to that of the other. Every day's experience shows that the most valuable inventions are only gradually adopted, and a change would take place much more slowly in the earliest times when inter-communication must have been so much less than at present. It is also very material to bear in mind, that some articles may continue useful for all times. Well do we remember a stone hammer, exactly similar to one figured in these pages, which was used for breaking up large lumps of coal, for which it was admirably adapted by its circular form at one end, and its narrower face at the other. The solemn Jewish rite of circumcision

¹ Virg. *Æn.*, ix, 482.

² Page 170.

³ *Archæological Journal*, xxxv, page 260.

⁴ Page 290 and see 314.

⁵ Page 360.

⁶ *Times*, April 18th, 1878.

300 NOTICES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

is, if we mistake not, performed even now with a flint. Particular occasions, too, may cause the use of the rudest weapons. Virgil's

cape saxa manu, cape robora, Pastor,

was as applicable to our soldiers at Inkerman, as to his Shepherd. Many articles resemble words,

Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est.¹

Since the foregoing passages went to press our views are much fortified by learning that in Egypt, whose history is the most ancient, and presents a people already highly civilized at the earliest period, there were no ages of stone, bronze and iron. This forms a standing witness against the supposition of a progressive spontaneous development from a savage state.²

In several instances it is stated, that the whole of a large number of bones had "certainly been deposited at one time, for there was no appearance of any disturbance of the mound ever having taken place."³

It appears to us, that this is putting the case too strongly. After so great a lapse of time as must have occurred since the latest deposit, any earth that had been then moved would have so coalesced and consolidated with the rest of the barrow, as to leave no marks of disturbance, and it would only be where, from the position of bones or other things, any alteration in the barrow would be apparent. Earth that has been dug out of a place will rarely, if ever, unite with the natural soil that has never been moved; but the contrary is the case where both have been moved previously.

The distribution of instruments in different parts of Britain is very remarkable. In Yorkshire, flint arrow-heads are almost innumerable, as well as axes, hammers, adzes, and other large implements. In Gloucestershire, the larger implements are almost entirely wanting, but arrow-heads, knives, and scrapers are present.⁴ Whilst in Kent and Sussex, and generally in the district south of the Thames arrow-heads are extremely rare.⁵ It seems impossible to suggest any satisfactory reason for these great differences, which would seem too marked to be accounted for by the mere existence of distinct tribes.

Dr. Rolleston says that "the consideration of distance in space, when we are dealing with a question of geographical distribution, is inseparably connected with the consideration of length of time, and the great interval of space which separates Spain from Great Britain should make us careful as to borrowing a name from the tribes of one of those countries and imposing it upon a tribe in another, without the most definite historical and archaeological reasons."⁶ But in this observation the most material consideration is omitted. It is not so much the distance as the means of traversing that distance, that is the question; and it seems to be assumed that there were no means of speedy transit from Spain to Britain, and that none but "small ships" had existed. We are, however, satisfied that this is a grave mistake.

¹ Hor. Ar. Po. 70.

² Article in the *Quarterly Review*, April 1879, p. 446, on Brugsch's *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*.

³ Page 410.

⁴ Page 443.

⁵ Page 444.

⁶ Page 633.

Dr. Rolleston enumerates "various physical peculiarities of an anatomical, to the exclusion of an archaeological, kind, which have, in spite of all the considerations just put forward, impressed me very deeply with a conviction of the immense distance which separates our time from that of the long barrows."¹ We place no reliance whatever upon any calculation of time that is founded upon any physical peculiarities of an anatomical kind. We are thorough sceptics as to all that Mr. Darwin has written respecting the descent of the human race. We most thoroughly agree with the author of the article on the Gipsies, in the *Edinburgh Review*, for July, 1878,² that "anthropological science is still in the empirical stage of its growth. The experiments of craniologists, for instance, although far from being either fruitless in the present or unpromising for the future, have not, hitherto, afforded any certain mode of identifying or classifying races. No rule of measurement has yet been devised subtle enough to enable them to distinguish between an abnormal specimen taken from one extreme section of the human family and an average example chosen from another. Nay, the types, themselves, are slowly modified from generation to generation, with the mixture of blood and change of conditions; while any interpretation, by which it has been attempted to translate skull-conformation into mental and moral attributes, remains little more than arbitrary and unsatisfactory guess-work."

Tacitus says that it has not been ascertained *for certain* (compertum) whether strangers or natives first inhabited Britain; but that their personal appearance varied, and from thence an argument might be drawn. The red hair and great limbs of the dwellers in Caledonia show a German origin. The dark faces and generally curled hair of the Silures and Spain being situated opposite (posita contra Hispania), testify that the ancient Iberians crossed over and occupied those seats. They that were nearest to the Gauls were also like them.³ Caesar⁴ helps to explain this. He says that one side of Britain tends towards Spain (vergit ad Hispaniam); and that the dwellers in Kent are by far the most civilized, and differ little from the Gauls.⁵ This supports the opinion of Dr. Rolleston,⁶ that Tacitus divided the Britons in three portions. Tacitus, indeed, deals with three points as to their origin—1, that it had not been ascertained for certain; 2, that their natural appearance led to the three divisions; 3, that, taking everything into consideration, it is credible that the Gauls took possession of the neighbouring land (in universum tamen aestimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse, credibile est).⁷ It seems quite clear, that by vicinum solum Tacitus meant the part of Britain nearest to Gaul, which he had described as held by those who were proximi Gallis.

Another writer expressly says that the Iberians occupied Britain.

Νῆσους θ' Ἑσπερίδας, τοῖσι κασσιτέροιο γενέθλη,
Ἀφνειοὶ ναίουσιν ἀγαυῶν παῖδες Ἰβήρων.⁸

Dr. Rolleston says that "a comparison of the skulls here dealt with

¹ Page 713.

² Page 136.

³ *Agric.* c. ii.

⁴ *B. G.* lib. v, c. xiii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, c. 14.

⁶ Page 634, note.

⁷ Prichard, *Phys. Hist.*, iii, 108, according to Dr. Rolleston, converts vicinum solum into vicinam insulam.

⁸ *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, cited *Camd.* Br. 1111.

from the stone and bronze periods, with those of the mediæval and modern tenants of these islands, coupled with other considerations, and carried on for a considerable number of years, has inclined me to hold that the two prehistoric races, though out-numbered greatly by Anglo-Saxons, are still represented in the population of Great Britain and Ireland."¹ In this view we thoroughly agree, and it appears to be utterly impossible for it to be otherwise, when it is borne in mind how considerable the population seems to have been at the earliest period, of which there is any evidence, how large the Island is, and what safe refuges its forests and wilds must have afforded. It is true that Tacitus makes Calgacus, or Galgacus, the Caledonian Chief, say that the Romans called it peace when they had made a desert. *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*² But they never made a desert of Britain, nor did any other invaders. No doubt, each successive immigration mingled with the then inhabitants, and a mixed race descended from them. And here a much more important question arises. What has been the effect upon the national character? That one people surpasses another in natural gifts can admit of no doubt, and where that people becomes intermixed with another less gifted by nature, may not the result be that the ascendancy of the superior people will disclose itself in the descendants of the two? Dr. Rolleston inclines to consider certain very large skulls of the bronze period as due to an intercrossing of the people of the stone and bronze ages.³ This tends to show that the intercrossing produces a race superior even to the better of the two. History, and that, too, the history of enemies, abounds in statements of the high qualities of the ancient Britons; in these respects, at least, they were a dominant race; and may it not well be that the like high qualities at the present day have descended from the men of the time of the barrows? William and his Normans conquered England; but the good old common law prevailed, in the course of time, over that which they introduced, and still endures amongst us.

The present state of Greenland throws a remarkable light upon this subject, and tends strongly to support these views.⁴

We are thoroughly convinced that the supposition that the original inhabitants of this island were savages is unfounded. The question in what state the inhabitants of a country were at a particular time, is to be determined by facts, and not to be taken for granted. Dr. Rolleston says, that "well shaped and capacious calvariae with orthognathous upper jaws do abound in the series from the stone and bronze ages," which bear "a comparison, not always to their own disadvantage, with modern specimens."⁵ And again, "it is true enough that powerful skeletons and very large skulls have been found by me in these British, as well as by many other investigators in many other interments of the same and of earlier ages. So generally accepted⁶ indeed is this, *a priori* surprising fact that we find writers, such as Virchow,⁷ speaking of the notion that savagery and inferiority are characteristics of the aboriginal population of Europe, as being simply an arbitrary preconception, der vorgefassten Meinung von

¹ Page 711.

² Agr. c, 30.

³ Page 681.

⁴ Rink's *Danish Greenland*, page 164, et seq.

⁵ Page 715.

⁶ British Association Report for 1875, p. 150.

⁷ Archiv. für Anthropologie, 1873, vi. p. 92.

der Wildheit und Inferiorität der europäischen Urbevölkerung," (the preconceived opinion of the savagery and inferiority of the European aborigines).¹ Surely this applies to Dr. Rolleston himself, for how could the fact be "*a priori* surprising" to him, unless he had assumed before hand that savagery existed? But Dr. Rolleston says that "the male skeletons in these tumuli, are the skeletons of men who were chiefs, and chiefs in times and under conditions, when such a position was held and kept only by men of force at once of character and physique."² Here again the times and conditions are assumed, neither of which is known, at least so far as to be a safe foundation to build a theory upon. But supposing it were otherwise, we are at a loss to see how the state of civilization in general is to be taken to be inferior because the chiefs of the people happen to be very superior to the rest, especially as we have no evidence as to those who were not buried in the barrows; nor are we at all convinced, that even under the supposed conditions, the chiefs would be the most civilized or large minded of the people. It is much more probable that they would owe their position to their bodily strength and energy. An Ajax or Achilles would be chosen as a chief in preference to a Ulysses; just as the Ajax and Achilles were stationed at each end of the camp, on account of their warlike qualities.

Τοί ρ' ἔσχατα νῆας εἴσας
Εἶρυσαν, ἠνορέη πίσυνοι καὶ κάρτεϊ χειρῶν,³

although others excelled them in the forum.

Ἀγορῇ δέ τ' ἀμείνονες εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι.⁴

Tacitus says the Germans elected their kings from their nobles, but their captains on account of their valour (*reges ex nobilitate; duces ex virtute sumunt*).⁵ One of the former would be the first of his state in race and nobility (*genere ac nobilitate suæ civitatis primus*).⁶

The second objection is, that in the same tombs "female skulls and female skeletons of disproportionate smallness" are found;⁷ and the third, that in the tumuli "there are not wanting 'ill-filled,' 'boat-shaped' crania."⁸ Now, all that this amounts to is that there were living, at the same time, persons who had these different peculiarities; and, as they were, doubtless, associating with each other, the inference is that their civilization was alike; and it is extremely difficult to understand in what way this proves that they were savages. We need only add, that until we have a very much greater number of representatives of all objects of comparison to place alongside each other, and until we have succeeded in bringing other evidence from archæology, philology, and, when available, history, to bear upon the question, it is most prudent to hesitate before drawing final conclusions.

It may well be questioned whether Cæsar ever entered so far into Britain as to be trusted when he speaks positively as to the non-existence

¹ Page 713.

² Page 714.

³ *Il.* viii, 225.

⁴ *Il.* xvii, 106.

⁵ *De Mor. Germ.*, c. 7.

⁶ Cicero pro S. Rose,

⁷ Page 714.

⁸ Page 714.

of anything in it. Pompey may well be supposed to have said, *per invidiam*, of Cæsar,

*Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.*¹

But when a grave historian like Tacitus says, *D. Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quanquam prosperâ pugnâ terruerit incolas, ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse:*² it may well be that Cæsar saw far too little of the country to be able to assert that a particular tree was not in it; and we entertain the gravest doubts as to Cæsar's statements respecting his own exploits, and fully concur with the note,³ *ex tertio libro qui proximus est, item ex aliquot aliorum scriptorum locis, constat multa in hoc desiderari, quæ, quia ad Cæsar's laudem minime pertinent, existimo ab ipso vel suppressa vel adeo tenuiter et leviter delibata, ut facile perierint.* Solet enim Cæsar ut scopulos ea loca declinare, unde nihil laudis, vel nonnihil dedecoris in se redundare prævideret. On the other hand, it may well be that Cæsar is trustworthy as to any favourable statements he makes respecting his adversaries, for he can have had no object to make any false representation in their favour, and we may be sure he would not excogitate anything which did not exist in their favour.

We have noticed numerous points in this interesting volume, and we could gladly have dealt with many more; for the work abounds with matter, and gives rise to many a question we have passed over. However much it may have been our lot to differ occasionally from the opinions of the authors, we have no hesitation in awarding to the work our highest approbation for the vast amount of information it contains, the clear lucidity with which it is written, and the very candid enunciation of the opinions entertained by its authors.

CHURCH WORK AND LIFE IN ENGLISH MINSTERS. By MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A., Precentor of Chichester, Author of "Traditions and Customs of English Cathedrals." London: Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly, 1879.

It would seem to be almost an impertinence to commend a work by the learned author of that before us, especially upon a subject which has been his favourite study for many years. The immense store of information which he has collected and arranged in these two small volumes is almost incredible, and exhibits a vast amount of labour and careful research among all kinds of trustworthy authorities, both printed and manuscript, in every branch of literature; of which he adds a list for the use of students. He has given an account of almost every monastic and collegiate church in England and Wales, whether in use or in ruins, and, to use his own words, he has "treated architecture under its highest form of beauty, namely, as expressive of devotional feeling." He says, "My view of the subject was limited to its popular and artistic side, the abstruse symbolism and ancient customs which explain the arrangements of the fabric and the buildings themselves, with their moving history and lively memories, which constitute their peculiar glory, the special creation and heirloom of the Old World, which the New will never rival, and can never

¹ *Lucan*, lib. ii, 572.

² *Agr.* c, 13.

³ *B. G.*, lib. ii, c, 44.

reproduce." Having, in this spirit, in mystic and eloquent language, described the structure and arrangements of our ancient minsters, he gives a living picture of the daily life of both seculars and conventuals, shewing wherein they agree and wherein they differ.

The secular clergy, or canons, were those who held cathedrals *not* conventual or regular. They were canons as devoted to the service of God, borne on the Church list (*canon*) and obeying the canon of the Fathers and Councils (*canones, regula*). They were secular as living in the world (*sæculum*) and uncloistered. They had a common revenue and they served a common Church. Unlike the monks they held cure of souls. They took no vows and retained their personal property, though they were provided with prebends (*prebenda, provender*, which at first were commons or rations) or a money allowance in lieu out of the common stock, and occupied their own houses, provided themselves with dress and food, maintaining separate households (*familie*), being always, moreover, clergy in the orders of priest, deacon, or subdeacon. In his account of the daily life of a secular canon Mr. Walcott gives us a clear insight into the multifarious duties of his class. Seven times a day the bells chimed for the services of the canonical hours, at one of which, either matins or vespers, every member resident within the close was required to attend, and he had also to be present at high mass; besides which each had his own special duties to perform. Each canon nominated and paid "stall wages" to a vicar, who was admitted by the Dean and Chapter, in order to maintain perpetual services in the choir, at every of which all the vicars were obliged to be present. It will thus be seen that there were as many vicars as there were resident canons, whom they served as assistants, not as deputies of absentees. They lived within the close (*clausum*), an enclosure wall surrounding the cathedral and canonical houses, which was fortified as well for the protection of the sacred edifice as for securing orderly conduct within the precincts during the dark hours of the night.

The monks and canons regular (and it is the Black or Augustinian Canons of Carlisle Cathedral to which Mr. Walcott especially alludes) were, both classes, called Religious and Regulars, as bound by a rule (*religio regula*). This rule consisted in the observance of a cloistered life of prayer and study, and of the three perpetual vows of poverty, continency, and obedience, called Substantials. The real difference between them lay in ceremonials, that is in dress or habit, meal times, food, ritual, conventual acts, services, and the like. At first all monastic establishments were essentially lay, and it was considered as savouring of pride if a monk sought to be admitted to Holy Orders; moreover by the early rules he was bound to manual labour, but these rules were, upon the establishment of *conversi*, or lay brothers, afterwards relaxed. But the canons were not so bound, they were priests and held the cure of souls, their churches being partly conventual and partly parochial.

Both the monks and canons regular had, however, many things in common. Both classes had a common dining-hall (*refectory*) and a common sleeping place (*dormitory*), and both passed their lives in the common seclusion of the cloister, which they never left without the permission of the Superior. Mr. Walcott says, "The name convent belonged to both orders, whilst monastery was peculiar to the home of monks." In this, however, we think him somewhat inexact for

"monasterium" is used by St. Augustine himself in his Rule¹ for the houses of his canons or clergy. Neither class held property as individuals, for upon profession they gave up all their personal estate and became dead to the world, living thenceforward in common with the rest of the community.

The space at our disposal will not allow of our following the author in his graphic description of the daily life of a conventual, suffice it to say that every hour was appropriated to some distinct occupation, varying only slightly according to the season. Some were employed in literary work, some in manual labour and in the exercise all kinds of crafts, for the rule of St. Benedict required a monastery to be complete in itself with workmen of every craft and industry. Prayer, labour, and study exhausted every hour, so that the opprobrious term "lazy, idle monks," so often applied to the religious orders, could have no place in a well ordered monastery.

Having treated of the classes of conventuals and the arrangements of a conventual cloister, Mr. Walcott proceeds to give an account of the English cathedrals of what are now called the Old and New Foundations, but which previously to the dissolution of the religious houses were known, the former as secular and the latter as regular or conventual. Of the first were Chichester, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, Lincoln, Lichfield, Hereford, St. Paul's, London, and York; and in Wales, St. David's, Llandaff, Bangor, and St. Asaph. Of the latter were Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester, Worcester, Norwich, Coventry, Bath, Ely, and Durham, and the canons regular of St. Augustine at Carlisle. King Henry VIII made no change in the constitution of the secular cathedrals, but the regular were re-founded, and to the then existing number he added six new sees, viz., two formed out of the churches of the Regular Augustinian Canons of Oxford and Bristol, and four out of the Benedictine churches of Peterborough, Gloucester, Chester, and Westminster. The latter, however, soon lost its newly created dignity. Within ten years its bishopric was abolished, and, retaining its Dean and Canons, it was left a simple collegiate church. Bath and Coventry were also suppressed as distinct sees; the former being annexed to Wells, and the latter to Lichfield, though they were permitted to retain the titular dignity of *cities*. The Church of Bath was made parochial, whilst the magnificent Cathedral of Coventry was ruthlessly destroyed. King Henry VIII proposed to create upwards of twenty additional sees, but it was never carried out, and no addition was made until the present reign.

A very concise, but at the same time comprehensive account is given of each of the cathedrals, noting—

1. Their distinctive features of decorative and architectural interest, or mechanical ingenuity.
2. Their historic monuments.
3. Their relics of ancient art, and the treasures in their libraries.
4. Their more eminent members.
5. Their dimensions.

¹ See Rule in St. Augustine's works, vol. i, p. 563, Paris, 1614, in which the word *monasterium* is used. See also Erath's *Commentarius in Regulam*, S.

Augustine, Vienna, 1689, pp. 55, 58, where the subject is discussed. Erath dwells on S. Augustine's own words: "*Monasterium Clericorum*."

6. The dates of their erection, forming a biographical pedigree of the building.

7. The claustral and other external buildings, and the close.

These descriptions are in many cases illustrated by ground-plans.

In the second volume Mr. Walcott describes the rise and growth of the monastic system in England from the Celtic period to mediæval times, shewing the chronological sequence of foundations and the choice of sites. With respect to the latter he says, the monks "accepted what was assigned to them by the founder," and he quotes a passage from Gerald du Barri, in which he says, "Give these monks a native moor or a wild wood, then let a few years pass away, and you will find not only beautiful churches but dwellings of men built around them." "This," Mr. Walcott adds, "is the true history of the roofless walls, ruined towers and ivied arches, hidden and withdrawn by kindly Nature in her pitying mood, amongst dense picturesque woods, in the midst of rich lawn and green pastures, by the side of the musical flow of winding rivers, or the silvery spray of rustling streams." Amongst the most eminent agriculturists and reclaimers of land were the Cistercians, and these "made choice of no fat pastures or rich lowlands; they reared their lowly home in undrained valleys, unreclaimed wastes, and amidst dense forests full of unhealthy influences, in order that, as St. Bernard says, they might have the thought of death ever before their eyes, and the hope of a better country to cheer their ascetic life."

Having specified the different orders of religion, Mr. Walcott describes the relations which existed between the monasteries and the bishop of the diocese, their relation to the parish churches, to the diocesan cathedral, to the people, to literature and education, to the collegiate system, to national taste, thought and temporal advantage; chapters which exhibit much thoughtful care, and which will be read with great interest. He then approaches the end, briefly relating the circumstances of the dissolution; and in conclusion he particularly desires to "make one important fact clear. The religious had acknowledged the royal supremacy. The dissolution of the greater houses took place by statute 31st Henry VIII, cap. 13, in May 1539; and by statute 31st Henry VIII, cap. 14, in June of the same year. the statute of the six articles was passed confirming the doctrine of the mass and celibacy of the clergy (*Parl. Hist.* i, 587). It was not until ten years later that the reconstruction of the devotional offices took effect. The Reformers, therefore, had no share in the reign of terror and cupidity, or its destructive consequences."

Under the title of "The English Students' Monasticon," Mr. Walcott adds a brief description of the least frequented churches and ruins. They are arranged alphabetically under their names, and consequently any building is easily referred to. He gives the dedication of each religious house, its order, its geographical position, its net income at the time of its dissolution, its founder, and its remains. In order to impart a human interest to bare statistics, monotonous details have been enlivened with an occasional architectural observation, pointing out features worthy of special note, historic incidents, customs, anecdotes illustrative of the times, or even a legend throwing light on popular sentiment.

It will be needless to say this little work is of more than ordinary

interest. Though nothing seems to be omitted, we would gladly hear more in detail upon the subject which the author has so carefully studied, and in many places so eloquently described. That it is free from errors would be too much to expect. The author could not personally visit all the ruins, hence the condition of many must be accepted upon trust, and consequently a door is opened for error. We may mention one instance. The ruins of Flanesford Priory, on the banks of the Wye, below Ross, visited by the Institute in 1877, are said to be "insignificant," whereas they are comparatively extensive and of unusual interest (See *Archæological Journal*, xxxiv, 498).

THE GENEALOGIST'S GUIDE TO PRINTED PEDIGREES, being a General Search through Genealogical, Topographical, and Biographical Works relating to the United Kingdom, together with References to Family Histories, Peerage Claims, &c. By GEORGE W. MARSHALL, LL.D., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at Law. (London: George Bell and Sons. 1879.)

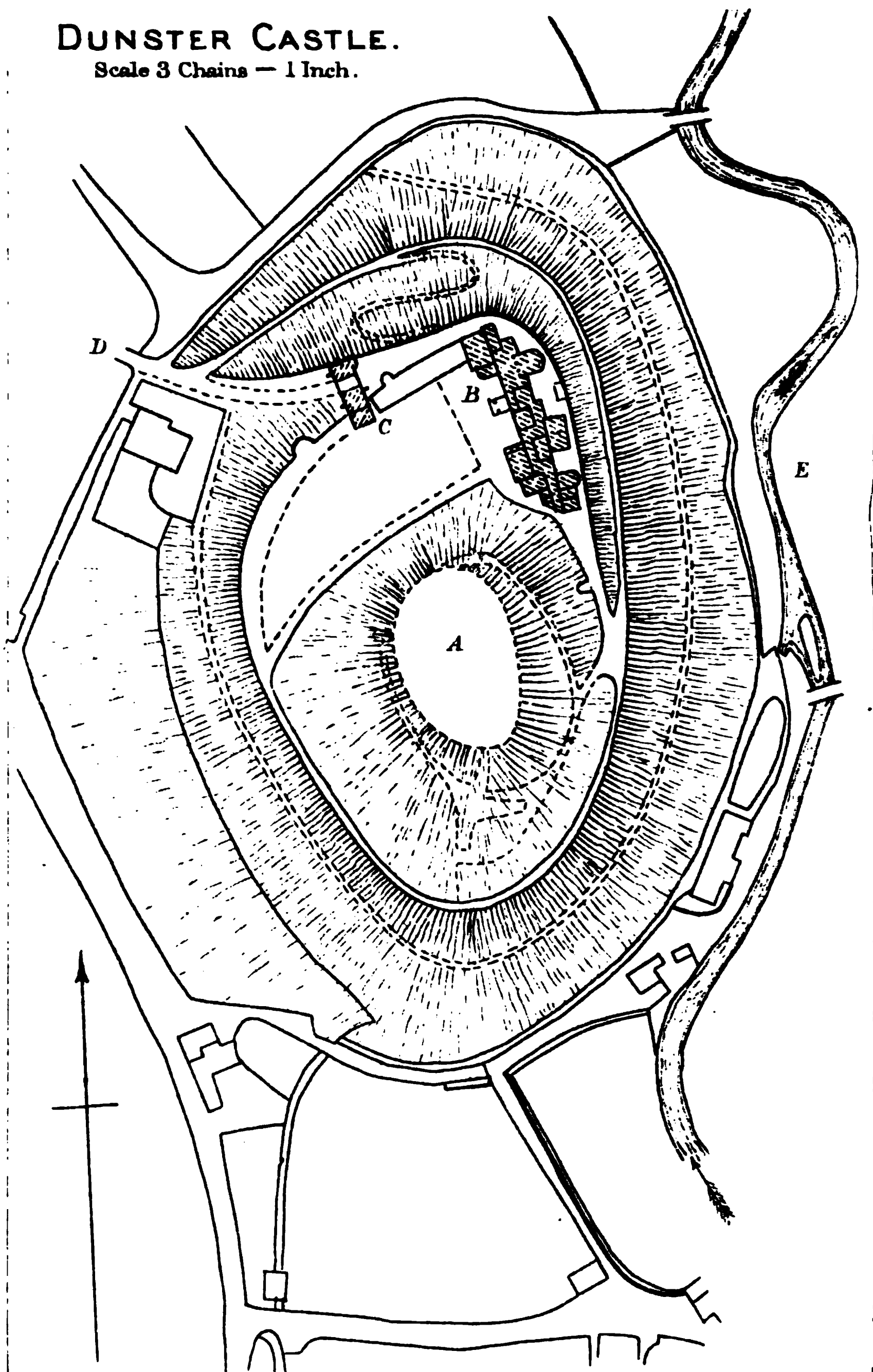
It is most important to a student of any subject to possess a ready means of reference to authorities thereon; and this is especially the case with a genealogist, to whom access to any existing pedigree of a family in which he is interested is of the first importance. The want of facilities for this purpose has been long felt, and various attempts have been made to supply them. Foremost among these may be mentioned Sims' "Index to the Heralds' Visitations in the MS. Collections in the British Museum," which, though very incomplete and not well arranged, is a most useful work. Perhaps no book of reference in the Museum Reading Room is more frequently used. As regards Printed Pedigrees, an Index was published some dozen years ago by the late Mr. Charles Bridger. This, at first, was very incomplete, and of course has become more so every year. It was, moreover, defective in arrangement. We are also indebted to Dr. Marshall himself for an "Index to the Printed Heralds' Visitations," and there are several other very useful publications of a like nature. All these have, however, been eclipsed by the work before us, which, from the names being alphabetically arranged, is of more ready reference, and moreover contains a vast amount of matter more than its predecessors. Mr. Bridger estimated his Index to comprise some 16,000 references. Dr. Marshall claims for his volume more than three times that number.

Dr. Marshall's researches have been very extensive, and upon testing the results in many ways, we find that very few topographical or biographical works have escaped his notice; nevertheless some have, most of which will, probably, be supplied in the next edition. We say *the next* advisedly, for we hope that from time to time other editions, completed up to date, will follow. Dr. Marshall's work was compiled for his own use, and must have been the labour of many years.

Every genealogist ought to be grateful to him for placing this valuable repertory within reach of the public.

DUNSTER CASTLE.

Scale 3 Chains — 1 Inch.



A. Tor and Keep. B. Lower Ward and House.

C. Ancient Entrance and later Gatehouse.

D. Approach from the Town and Priory. E. The Park.

Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1879.

DUNSTER CASTLE.

By G. T. CLARK, F.S.A.

The Castle of Dunster is of high antiquity, and for many centuries was a place of great military consideration in the western counties. It was the *caput* of an extensive Honour, and the chief seat of a line of very powerful barons. The hill upon which it stands is the north-eastern, or seaward extremity of a considerable ridge, from which it is cut off by a natural depression, and thus forms what was known in west Saxon nomenclature as a tor. The tor covers above ten acres of ground, and is about 200 ft. high, with a table top in area about a quarter of an acre. It stands upon the western edge of a deep and broad valley, which contains the park, and below the castle expands into a tract of meadow about a mile in breadth, and which skirts the sea from Minehead to below Carhampton. The park is traversed by a considerable stream, the Avill, one head of which springs from Croydon Hill, and the other, flowing past Wotton-Courtenay, rises about six miles distant under Dunkery Beacon. The home view, one of exceeding richness, is limited and sheltered on the south and west by the Brendon Hills and the high ground rising towards Exmoor. To the east it includes the vales of Cleeve and Williton bounded by the Quantocks. Seaward on to the north the eye ranges over Bridgwater Bay to the headland of Brean Down and Worle, and commands the west or opposite coast from Penarth Point to Aberavan and Swansea.

West, and at the foot of the castle hill, and under the immediate control and protection of the old fortress, is the town of Dunster, a small but compact cluster of old fashioned houses, many with timber fronts, in the midst of which is the parish church, once connected with the priory, the foundation of one of the early Norman lords. The eastern or monastic part of the building now forms the private chapel of the Luttrells, and contains several of their tombs. The fancy cloths once known as "Dunsters" have long ceased to be fabricated, and of the fulling mills the ruins have well nigh perished. The haven at which these manufactures found shipping is also silted up, and the privileges conceded to the townspeople, being now shared by the community at large, are no longer commemorated, and are known only because the charters granting them have been preserved. Of the neighbouring hills "Gallocks" is thought to be so called because there the high judicial powers of the lords were exercised in the view of all men, and "Grabhurst," the castle ridge, is said to be named from an entrenched wood, though this use of the word 'graff' is unknown or unusual in English nomenclature, and 'Hirst' or 'Hurst' belongs rather to Sussex and Kent than to Somerset. The fact is that the hill in old deeds is spelt 'Grobefast,' and is at this time colloquially 'Grabbist.' Near it is a lofty detached hill known as 'Conygaer,' crowned by a tower of the last century. At present it is thickly planted, but no camp has been discovered there, such as the name would indicate. The castle mill remains. It is placed on the verge of the park, upon the stream, and concealed and protected by the castle.

The castle is composed of two parts, due to the natural disposition of the ground; these are the tor or keep, and the lower ward. The tor is in form oval, and its summit, naturally flat, has been further levelled by art, as the slopes also have been trimmed, and rendered almost impracticable for direct ascent. The summit measures about 35 yards east and west by 70 yards north and south. The keep, which stood here, has disappeared, and its existence, long a matter of tradition, may now be deduced from a sewer and some foundations in the southwest corner laid open a few years ago. The present

surface was laid down as a bowling green in the last century, and a summer-house constructed at the north-east corner, in which is a window in the Perpendicular style taken from some earlier structure.

The artificial scarping of the hill sides was confined to the upper 80 or 100 feet. At this level are two platforms or shelves, one, a small one, towards the south, the other much larger, also chiefly natural, towards the north, and which forms the lower ward. The lower ward is of a semilunar or semioval figure, the hollow side being formed and occupied by a portion of the skirts of the tor. It measures about 33 yards north and south by 126 yards east and west, and covers about half an acre of ground. The outer or convex edge, steep by nature, has been cut into a low cliff, supported by a retaining wall, which, with its flanking towers and superstructure of parapet, protected this ward. At the foot of this wall, part of which supports the present house, the slope recommences, and though now terraced by roads and paths, formerly descended unbroken to the base of the hill.

The keep was probably either circular or polygonal, approached as at Lincoln by a direct flight of steps from the lower ward. Its gateway seems to have been defended by a portcullis, as one is mentioned in the records, which could not have been in the earlier gateway or the later gatehouse. The buildings and inhabited part of the old castle were in the lower ward or its north-eastern quarter, upon the enceinte or curtain wall, and on the site, generally, of the present house. The wall was strengthened and flanked by half-round towers, of which the lower part of several remain incorporated into the later building and connected with fragments of wall, now a part of the house, and betrayed by their excessive thickness. One of these walls has a core of the natural red sandstone rock, enclosed in masonry, but traceable by an occasional exudation of dampness. The gateway of this ward remains between two of these flanking towers. It is 9 ft. broad, with plain chamfered jambs and a low stiff drop arch. There was no portcullis, and probably no drawbridge, the only defence being a door composed of bars of oak, 4 inches square and 4 inches apart, forming a grating, planked vertically outside with inch-and-a-half

oak plank. Upon each oak bar was laid a bar of iron, and the whole fabric was spiked together with iron fastenings, having diamond-shaped heads. The meeting line of the two valves was guarded by an iron bar. In the right valve, on entering, is a wicket-gate 3 ft. 8 in. high by 2 ft. 6 in. broad, fastened with a huge iron lock in a wooden shell. This very curious specimen of carpenter's and smith's work, though of later date than the gateway, is old, not unlike that of Chepstow Castle, and probably of the time of Henry VIII or Elizabeth. The gateway itself belongs to those of Henry III or his son. In the last century the gates were permanently closed, and behind them was built a wall backed with earth. The gateway has recently been restored as far as possible to its original condition, and now gives access by steps to the lower ward.

The mural towers flanking the gateway are parts of circles, 16 ft. 6 in. external diameter, and the lower 12 ft. are original. One contains a curious vaulted basement with the usual three loops, and in the rear a doorway which opened into the ward. The other, or eastern flanker, had a basement chamber until recently filled with earth, and had also three loops, of which two are still visible outside. This tower was connected with a building in its rear, the foundations of which are original, and now form a part of the offices. Also upon the retaining wall, but about 20 yards beyond, and to the south west of the old gateway, is another similar flanking tower, of which the upper story remains, and a part of a doorway. This tower is open in the rear. The towers, curtain, and entrance gateway are, in substance, all of one date, and what ashlar remains is of good quality and well jointed. The superstructure has been renewed recently.

The approach to the castle was steep, as it still is, from the town up to the old gateway, to enter which the road made a sharp turn. Just below the gateway, upon this approach, has been built a gatehouse, which projects from and is connected with the curtain, being incorporated into the tower, flanking the old curtain on the west side. This structure, the great gatehouse, still remains perfect, and though evidently intended more for ornament than defence, makes a most appropriate approach to the castle,

and gives to the whole structure much of a mediæval and something of a military character. This building is rectangular, 63 ft. broad by 23 ft. deep, and about 45 ft. high, sixty-two steps leading to its battlements. It is pierced by a passage 10 ft. 6 in. broad, having a plain pointed waggon vault, and at each end a not very highly pointed arch, with good moulded jambs continued round the head. There are no lodge doors opening into the archway, and neither portcullis nor drawbridge. The fronts are plain, save that the exterior has two flanking buttresses, and over the entrance is a rectangular panel containing nine coats of arms in three rows—one, four, and four. The interior front is flanked by two half hexagonal turrets, of which that at the outer end contains a well stair, entered from the outside by a small four centred doorway, and communicating with each floor, and with the battlements. The corresponding turret is built upon one of the old mural towers which flanked the gateway of the lower ward. It contains a small chamber, probably a gardrobe, on each floor. Against the outer end of the building are two buttresses, a large and small one, probably added to support the wall which then stood upon a steep slope and shewed signs of settlement. The gatehouse is of three stages. The basement has a chamber on each side of the main passage, entered, one by the well stair, the other by an exterior door. That next the well stair is 14 ft. 6 in. by 9 ft. 8 in., and has a window to the front. That on the other side of the archway is 21 ft. 6 in. by 16 ft. 3 in., and is entered from the outside by a small doorway, probably an insertion. Opening from this chamber are two closets, and a well stair ascends to the two floors above.

The first floor contains two rooms, 22 ft. 10 in. by 16 ft. 6 in., and 21 ft. 6 in. by 16 ft. 6 in., and 13 ft. high. In its inner end are two closets.

The second, upper, or principal floor, was formerly of two rooms, but has recently been converted into a handsome hall, 47 ft. by 16 ft. 6 in., with an open roof. It has five windows and a fireplace, and is entered on the level from the lower ward by a doorway, which seems an insertion of the date of Henry VIII, and which has the head of the well stair on one side, and beyond, on each

side, a closet. The windows of the gatehouse are mostly of two lights, divided by a transom into four, with the upper lights cinquefoiled and in the head quatrefoiled. The summit is embattled, and at the four angles are turrets, of which the two to the outer or front face are apparent only.

The shields on the exterior panel are, in the upper line, 1. Luttrell with crest and supporters. Below, in the next line, 2. Luttrell impaling Courtenay; 3. Luttrell impaling Beaumont of Sherwell; 4. Luttrell impaling Audley; 5. Luttrell impaling Courtenay of Powderham. In the lower row, 6. Luttrell impaling Hill; 7. Luttrell impaling blank; 8 and 9 blank. The Luttrell supporters were two swans chained and collared, derived from Bohun through Courtenay. The date of this gatehouse is uncertain. It has been thought to be the "*novum ædificium castri de Dunster*," with the construction of which the accounts shew Henry Stone to have been charged in the 9th of Henry V, but the lower part is of the style prevalent under Richard II. The door from the lower ward into the lobby is scarcely earlier than Henry VII or VIII.

It is probable that the gatehouse was for some time used in combination with the gateway by its side, until the latter was closed. The approach and entrance, however inconvenient, were strong, and almost precluded any regular attacks by battering machines or even by escalade.

The history of Dunster commences with Domesday, in which it is recorded that William de Mohun holds Torre, and there is his castle. Aluric held it in the time of King Edward. "*Ipse [Willielmus de Moion] tenet Torre Ibi est castellum ejus. Aluric tenuit T.R.E.*" These words are very appropriately inserted over the great chimney piece in the hall. The Exeter Domesday also confirms the holding both of Mohun and Aluric. Who Aluric was is unknown. That he was a considerable Englishman none can doubt, but the name was common, occurring sixty-four times in Domesday, as does Alric, probably the same name, twenty-six times.

Mohun no doubt found the tor strongly fortified, after the English manner, for not only was it a frontier fortress against the Celts beyond the Tamar, but it must have been exposed to the piratical invasion of the Northmen,

who gave name to the opposite islands of the Holms, and the not very distant port of Swansea. The place was in fact a natural burh, on a large scale, such as Æthelflæd and Eadward the Elder were wont to throw up artificially on a smaller scale in the early part of the tenth century. There was the conical hill with its flat top for the *aula* or *domus defensabilis*, and the court yard below for the huts and sheds of the dependants and cattle.

William de Mohun was no mere adventurer. He was a great baron of the Cotentin, having the castle of Moion in la Mancha. He fought at Hastings with a knightly following, and received from the Conqueror from sixty to seventy manors in Somerset, Devon, Dorset, and Wilts. These manors were in his time or in that of his successor combined into an Honour, as was the case with those attached to the chief seats of Plympton, Totnes, and Barnstaple. Dunster became the *caput honoris*.

The Honour of Dunster was one of about eighty-six in England, though in what they differed from baronies is not precisely understood. The nucleus of either was almost always an estate held before the conquest, added to largely by the Norman who conquered it. In all cases it extended into more than one county, and was held of the king *in capite* by homage, fealty, and military service. By the laws of Henry I, every lord could summon his liegemen before the court, *et si residens est ad remotius manerium ejusdem honoris unde tenet, ibit ad placitum, si dominus suus summoneat eum*. The Honour is not a jurisdiction mentioned in Domesday, unless it be in a passage relating to Cornwall where it is recorded, *Hæ terræ pertinent ad honores chei*; chei being a place. The term is said to have been first used by the Conqueror in his charter to the Abbot of Ramsey. Most of the Honours seem to have fallen into disuse by the alienation of the manors composing them, as was the case with Dunster, although the records shew that for many centuries the rights were maintained by the lord of the castle in full rigour.

To what extent the Mohuns were content with the earlier defences of the castle is unknown, but it is remarkable that no mouldings or fragments of Norman ornament have been dug up in or about the building,

although there is original Norman work in the parish church. From the configuration of the ground the lines of the old fortress must have been where they still are, so that there would be no reason for pulling down the earlier works to enlarge the area; and yet it is difficult to suppose that works as durable as was the case with those of the Norman period could have fallen to decay by the reigns of Henry III or Edward I, the date of the oldest extant parts. However this may be, it is certain that the castle of the Mohuns was one of the most important of the western fortresses; and in the lawless days of Stephen it was held for the Empress against the King, during the great revolt of 1138, its lord being then William de Mohun, the second baron.

William, indeed, was not content with passive resistance. He is described as the 'Scourge of the West,' ravaging and plundering the country up to the gates of Barnstaple, where he was held in check by Henry de Tracy. He is said to have been created earl either of Dorset or Somerset, or both, by the Empress in 1140; but this creation rests on very uncertain authority, and has never been admitted as valid. The earldoms of that period were very irregular, and some were afterwards set aside. This lord founded the Augustin Priory of Brewton, in Somerset, and, according to the Black Book of the Exchequer, he held forty-four knights' fees. It is not improbable that to him is due the circular or polygonal keep, which was common at that time where a castle possessed a mound, and which is known to have stood on the summit of the tor.

No mention of the castle occurs till the reign of John who held the castle and Honour during the minority of Lord Reginald, when the fines, &c., for the Honour were levied by the King's officers. In the Chancery roll of 1201-2, Nicholas Puinz accounts for 15s. 2½d., half a year's pay allowed to the janitor of the castle, and the same to the watchman; and these payments are repeated by Reginald de Clifton, who in 1204 was ordered to place Reginald de Moyon in possession of the castle of Dunster and the heritage then in his custody. A very little before this, the coming of age of Reginald, Hubert de Burgh was in charge, and had accounted '*de finibus*

militum of the Honour; and 25th February, 1202, John called upon the knights and free tenants to contribute through De Burgh for strengthening the castle. 'Our castle,' the King calls it, probably not merely as holding it in wardship, but as asserting the general rights of the crown to all castles. A second Reginald seems to have founded a mass for the weal of his ancestors, to be said daily by a monk or a secular priest, to be provided by the Prior, in the upper or St. Stephen's chapel, in the castle, or during war in the chapel of St. Lawrence, within the Priory. If the same was neglected, power was reserved to distrain upon the goods of the Prior. Leland mentions St. Stephen's chapel as connected with the keep. There seems also to have been a second chapel, as usual, in the lower ward. Upon the death of Lord Reginald, about 1213, the Honour again fell into the hands of the crown during a long minority. Henry Fitz Count was placed in charge, and Alice the widow was allowed dower and 'maritagium.' It is curious that John does not appear to have visited Dunster, although he was at Stoke-Courcy.

Henry III, in 1220, placed the forest of Dunster in charge of Peter de Maulay. He retained the castle in his own hands, and there occur several charges for the payment of Roger and William de Vilers, as "balistarii regis," who dwelt in the king's castle of Dunster. A specific order in 1222 places the Mohun lands in Carhampton in charge of William Briwer, probably next of kin to the widow, but reserves to the king's hands the castle and vill of Dunster. Soon after, Watchet market being unlicensed and injurious to Dunster was put down (Close Roll I. 137, 418, 605). The above were not the only persons to whom from time to time this valuable wardship was committed.

Of the condition of the castle at the close of this wardship, nothing is on record; but the wealth of the family was much augmented by the match of Reginald, King John's ward, with a Briwer coheiress, and either his son Reginald, the founder, 1246, of Newenham Abbey, who died 41st Henry III, 1256, or his grandson John, who died 7th Edward I, 1278, the last baron by tenure, might have built the curtain and mural towers containing the lower ward, of which the bases remain. The keep

was probably left unaltered, and indeed from the great and inconvenient height at which it stood, could have been but little used. The purely defensive parts of castles, when not inhabited by the owner, were usually but little cared for, and the allowance for a porter and a single watchman shew that in this respect Dunster was no exception.

In 1376, John de Mohun, the eighth baron and the tenth in lineal descent from the founder of the family, died, leaving daughters only, and a sale of the castle and the rest of the property was effected by his widow Joan Burghersh. The purchaser was another widow, Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and widow, first, of Sir John de Vere, and afterwards of Sir Andrew Luttrell of Chilton, a cadet of the barons Luttrell of Irnham. Elizabeth was a lady of high rank, of kin through the Bohun's to Edward III, and with the command of great wealth. Her son, Sir Hugh Luttrell, became the new lord of the castle and Honour, and probably built the great gatehouse.

The Luttrells were steady Lancastrians, and their representative, Sir James, took knighthood on the field of Wakefield, and fell in the second battle of St. Alban's, when his estates were confiscated 1st Edward IV, though only to be restored, 1st Henry VII, in the person of his son, Sir Hugh. Sir Hugh Luttrell stood high in the favour of Henry VII, and seems to have lived at Dunster in great splendour. To a second Sir Hugh, Leland attributes the great gatehouse, and he may have completed or repaired it, and opened its south door leading upon the lower ward. Probably he also inserted the armorial panels over the entrance portal, the last of which complete bears his coat impaling that of Margaret Hill, his wife. He also repaired the chapel of St. Stephen. Leland describes the donjon or keep as having been "full of goodly buildings," which, however, had disappeared even before his time. The inhabited part of the castle was then, as now, in the north-east angle of the lower ward. Sir Andrew, Sir Hugh's son and successor, "built a new piece of the castle wall by the east."

The next possessor who left his mark upon the castle was George Luttrell, Sheriff of Somerset in 1593. He

built the market-house in the town and the older part of the present dwelling-house, which bears date 1589, incorporating with it much of the curtain wall, towers, and walls of the older and more distinctly military building. The entrance to the ward seems to have remained as before, through the gateway between the flanking towers.

During the wars between Charles and the Parliament, the Luttrells sided warmly with neither party, and were out of favour with both. Its owners at this time were Thomas Luttrell who died 1644, and George died 1655. In 1643 a royalist garison under Colonel Wyndham took possession, and the castle was visited by Prince Charles, whose chamber is still pointed out. In 1646 Blake laid siege to the castle for the Parliament, and battered it from the north west, behind the Luttrell arms. It was surrendered by Wyndham in April 1646. A few iron cannon balls, memorials of this siege, have been found.

The government, although they apologised for the military occupation of the castle, levied a local rate for pulling it down. Probably this referred only to the upper part of the curtain wall on either side of the gatehouse. It is said that the gatehouse was injured, but its present condition shows that the injury could not have been of a very serious character.

A century later the accounts show that the Luttrells raised the surface of the lower ward, probably about fourteen feet, evidently with earth obtained by scraping the adjacent slope of the tor. This, which involved the closing up of the old gateway, was probably combined with the construction of a new approach which passed below and outside of the gate house, wound round the castle and the tor, and entered the lower ward at the new level. Matters thus remained until the accession of Mr. George Luttrell in 1869, when under the judicious advice of Mr. Salvin, a great addition was made to the Elizabethan house, a new tower was constructed on the west front, and the foundation and pavements of buildings along the north front and connected with the entrance gate and the gatehouse were laid open, and the walls restored and rebuilt, and a terrace formed along a part of the curtain. The approach for carriages was also much

improved, though, as before, at the cost of avoiding the great gate house.

The ancient walls incorporated with the later residence prove that there must have been very considerable buildings upon the ground now occupied by it, but there is some reason to suppose that both hall and chapel stood near the site of the later gate house, and, therefore, to the right or west of the original entry. If this be so, the extent of buildings in the lower ward must have been very considerable indeed, as in the other direction they certainly extended, as does the present house, to the foot of the tor, and were flanked by it. Nevertheless, considerable as the alterations have been, and handsome and convenient as are the rooms of the present mansion; it represents very fairly the original fortress, and, like it, is sheltered by the tor, and predominates over the park, the town, and the sea-coast, commanding a very extensive view, and, as becomes the representative of so important a military post, is itself visible from the tract of country of which it was sometimes the terror, but more frequently the protection.

ON THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF THE WEST OF ENGLAND, PARTICULARLY THE COUNTY OF SOMERSET.¹

By the Rev. Prebendary SCARTH, M.A.

The careful collection of Roman inscriptions found in Britain, and the arrangement and classification of these which have been made in recent times, render it a simpler task now than formerly to give a distinct and clear idea of the Roman occupation of this island.

In recent times also attention has been paid to ancient vestiges of Roman roads, and some care has been taken to trace them out, and accurate surveys have been made, camps and earthworks have been examined and their measurements taken, coins have been collected and classified, and many villas have been uncovered, and the elegant pavements laid open have been drawn to scale, so that a more correct idea can now be formed of the extent and manner of Roman life in Britain.

This has been a very important work, especially in the West of England, as the classical notices of the Roman conquest of Britain shed little light upon the subjugation of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, or of Wilts and Dorset. All that we can gather is that it took place in the time of the Emperor Claudius, and that Vespasian and his son Titus were engaged in the work, under Aulus Plautius the Roman Legate.

We are obliged therefore to trust to the evidence of lapidary records, traces of occupation, remnants of works of art, and coins which have been found in past or recent times. Happily these are not wanting, though too many have perished, and many gaps remain yet to be filled up. From these we are to endeavour to recover the history of Roman Somerset ; and this is more particularly the office

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Annual Meeting at Taunton, August 7th, 1879.

of archæology, to construct or confirm history from ancient monuments.

Before, however, proceeding to dwell upon these records, something ought to be said about the physical features of the county of Somerset, for although this paper necessarily touches upon the Roman occupation of the western portion of Britain, yet at a meeting of the Archæological Institute in Somerset, it ought more particularly to treat of the existing remains of the county.

Few counties in England can boast a greater variety of surface, or more advantages in mineral and vegetable produce; corn land, pasturage, fruit trees and woodland, besides a fine extent of coast, extending for seventy miles along the shores of the Bristol Channel, with ports and anchorage well suited for commerce, all conduce to its importance. To such advantages the Roman was never blind. He was not a conqueror merely, but a colonizer as well; he was a settler, and one who sought, wherever he went, to develop the resources of the country. Wherever he settled, art and refinement followed in his train, and industry and commerce flourished.

The river Avon and the shores of the Bristol Channel form the northern boundary of the county. Here on the extreme limit two cities have grown up, one renowned for commerce, and one for refinement, art, and healing. Bristol, indeed, is not in Somerset (though the city has extended into it), yet one of the great fortresses that protected the navigation of the river Avon is on the Somerset side of the river, and the Roman province of Britannia Prima included both sides of the Avon. A Roman road connects these two cities, and is prolonged to Sea Mills, where undoubted Roman remains have been found, and a station and anchorage for vessels existed. But undoubted Roman remains have been found at Bristol also; two pigs of lead, bearing the Roman stamp, and coins as well.

This, probably, was one point from which the "Trajectus" was made into Britannia Secunda, our modern Wales, which retains such striking monuments of Roman occupation.

The claims of Bath to be a Roman city, and a city of early date, are undoubted. No British city has been

more fertile in Roman monuments of the best ages. It stands unrivalled for remains of art, and from the date of Vespasian downwards can shew signs of being a city of no mean repute. Its mineral springs had made it so, as well as the extreme beauty of its situation. The ancient baths have been discovered and opened at different times in various places, so as to admit of their being drawn and planned. The site of the forum is known. Remains of temples are still preserved; altars and a variety of monumental remains may still be seen; pavements, and the lines of the ancient walls, and latterly the drains by which the superfluous waters of the mineral spring were conveyed to the river.¹ Roman coins of every date, from Claudius to Gratian, have been catalogued.

Aquæ Solis, or Bath, may therefore be regarded as the centre of Roman refinement and of art in Somerset. Those who are interested in the inscribed stones found, may see them all brought together in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vii, edited by Professor Hübner, where all the authorities who have written on Bath are referred to, and the probable date of the inscriptions are given.

But this city was surrounded by elegant villas, the remains of many of which have been found both in Somerset and Gloucestershire. These are all mentioned in *Aquæ Solis*, p. 112.

There are no less than five altars dedicated to the goddess Sul, or Sul Minerva, who presided over the mineral springs, and at the sources of these springs votive offerings have been found, also remains of an inscription bearing her name, apparently belonging to a small temple dedicated to her, and the tomb of a priest of the same goddess Sul.

These inscribed stones confirm the statement of Solinus. But the worship of Sul, or Sul Minerva, seems to have been confined to the neighbourhood of the hot springs; no traces of it have been found elsewhere in Somerset, and across the estuary of the Severn the worship of another local divinity prevailed. There we have the god *Nodens*, the remains of whose temple have been

¹ See *Journal of British Archæological Association*, xxxii, 246, and xxxv, 190.

excavated at Lydney, and the pavements drawn and well described in a volume just published.¹

The Deus Nodens seems to have been the God of the Abyss, or God of the Deeps, and his temple stood upon a hill just above the estuary of the Severn, at its junction with the Wye, commanding a most extensive view of it. Little was known of these remarkable remains until recently. When the Institute met at Gloucester the plans of the pavements, and a catalogue of the coins, as well as a written description, were placed in the hands of the Secretaries, to be seen by the members, but these have not been published until the present year. They certainly throw additional light upon the Roman occupation, and add greatly to our archæological knowledge of Western Britain. Mariners sailing up the Severn estuary seem to have made their votive offerings at this temple. The coins found on the site of the villa and temple begin with Augustus and end with Honorius. Like the goddess Sul, or Sul Minerva, no trace of the worship of Nodens has been found in other parts of Britain. At Caer Leon and Caer Went, the quarters of the Second Legion, both not far distant from Lydney, we have as yet found no indication of this worship.

At Aquæ Solis two main roads met, one coming out of Wales, from near the mouth of the Wye, and going on through Bath to Marlbro' and Silchester; the other, the Foss, coming from Lincoln, and running direct to Ilchester. Both Bath and Ilchester are mentioned by Ptolemy the Geographer, and Ilchester (Ischalis) is again the point of junction of two Roman roads, the Foss going on to the ancient Muridunum (Seaton), and the other to Durnovaria (Dorchester). Ilchester was a station of some importance, as the remains found there testify, and more might be discovered if diligent search were made.² The Foss road cut through the district of Mendip, and near Shepton Mallet (where Roman pottery kilns have been found) intersected the Roman road which traversed the mining district of Mendip, and united the ancient Roman port at Brean Down with Sorbiodunum, or Old Sarum in

¹ *Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*: a posthumous work by the Rev. W. H. Bathurst, M.A., with Notes by C. W. King, M.A., Fellow of Trin. Coll. Camb.

² See Phelps' *Somerset*, i, 166.

Wilts. Stations occur along the whole line of this latter road, but the most interesting is at Charterhouse-on-Mendip, where so many remains have been found, especially pigs and laminæ of lead bearing the Roman imperial stamp.¹

There is proof that this district of Somerset was brought very early under Roman rule. The earliest remains date A.D. 49.

At Wookey, on the southern slope of the Mendip Hills, and near the cavern called Wookey-hole, was discovered a plate of lead, bearing the name of Claudius Cæsar, and giving the date TRIB. P. VIII. IMP. XVI. and also DE BRITAN, indicating that it was from the British mines, and no doubt intended for exportation. This was for some time supposed to be a trophy of the victories of

¹ A very interesting paper has appeared in the last number of the *Som. Archæol. and Nat. Hist. Society's Proceedings* (1878) by the Rt. Hon. and Rev. Bishop Clifford, in which it is attempted to prove that a portion of the XII Iter passed through Somerset, and that less violence is done to the original text of the Itinera of Antonine, by bringing the route from Muridunum (Seaton) to Isca Damnoniorum (Exeter), then to the camp at Hembury Fort, Devon (on a spur of the Blackdown Hills), then to Taunton, and from thence to Combwich, near Cannington Park, where the passage across the estuary of the Severn is supposed to have been made into Wales and to Caerleon.

He would thus connect Isca Damnoniorum with Isca Silurum. The Iter is thus described.—

"Iter XII. a Caleva per Muridunum Vericonium, M.P. cclxxxvi.

"It is a long and circuitous route, 286 miles, starting from Caleva (Silchester) and going through Venta Belgarum (Winchester), Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum) Durnovaria (Dorchester), Moridunum (near Sidmouth), Isca Damnoniorum (Exeter), Isca Silurum, Caer Leon—till it reaches the final station of Uriconium (Wroxeter).

"The strategic value of this route was to connect together all the great forts on the south and west of Britain—that portion of the Island which was more especially under the protection of the Second Legion, whose principal station was at Caerleon."

The stations which he supposes to be in Somerset are—

Leucarum	-	-	M.P. xv.
Nidum	-	-	" xv.
Bomium	-	-	" xv.

And he fixes these at Hembury Fort, at a point near Taunton, and at Combwich, near Cannington Park.

The idea is very ingenious, but unfortunately no remains have yet been found at any of the places mentioned, to prove that the Second Legion ever occupied these positions. No traces of this Legion are found at Exeter, none at Hembury Fort, as far as that position has been examined, and although Dr. Pring, in his paper in the same volume of the *Som. Arch. Soc. Proc.* seems to have shown clearly that a Roman road passed through Taunton and the neighbourhood to Castle Neroche, where Roman remains have been found, yet nothing has been discovered to fix Hembury or Taunton as Roman military stations, and but very slight indications of Roman occupation at the other stations, nothing in fact to prove their military occupation.

The case is very different at Caerleon, where the Second Legion has left undoubted marks of its location (See Lee's *Caerleon*.)

Until, therefore, some more certain indicia of the Roman occupation of these points have been discovered, and the line of road more distinctly traced, we must be content to let the question remain unsettled.

The attempt, however, to open out a new solution of the difficulties of this Iter, may not be without fruit, if it lead to a more careful investigation of the places pointed out by Bishop Clifford.

Claudius in Britain, and preserved as such, but more recent discoveries at the Charterhouse mine have shown it to be only one of the many laminæ that were smelted there, and of which an account will be found in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries for 1873 and 1876, and in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, June, 1875. (See also Hübner's *Inscrip. Brit. Lat.*, No. 1201). Near the village of Blagdon, on the northern flank of the Mendip, a pig of Roman lead of this early date has also been found. It is inscribed on the upper surface BRITANNICI. AVG. FL., and on another surface are the letters v et p, smaller in size. These probably are the initials of the consuls Veronius and Pompeius, and fix the date to A.D. 49. The Emperor Claudius returned from Britain A.D. 43, and commemorated his victories by a triumphal arch in Rome. The inscription placed over that arch still remains; one half only is perfect, but the rest has been conjecturally restored. It is placed now in the garden of the Barbarini Palace at Rome, and a good photograph of it has been made under Mr. Parker's direction. It speaks of

“ Reges Brit [anniar absque]
Ulla jactu[ra domuerit,]¹

And we see from the early date of these masses of lead, how soon the Mendip mines had been brought under tribute. Five or six years had settled the Roman grasp

¹ Suetonius records that Claudius restored the arches of the Aqua Virgo; and in the seventeenth century, near the Church of St. Ignatius, the ruins of an archway were discovered, which carried that aqueduct. Another arch was found about 1650 near the Palazzo Sciarra, where the aqueduct must have passed the Via Lata. Upon this was the inscription, which is as follows:

TI · CLAV[DIO · CES]
AVG[VSTO]
PONTIFIC · [MAX · TR · P · IX]
COS · V · IM[P · XVI · P · P]
SENATVS · P[OPVL · Q · R · QVOD]
REGES · BRIT[ANNIÆ · ABSQ]
VILLA · IACTV[RA · DOMVERIT]
GENTES · QVE · B[ARBARAS]
PRIMVS · INDICI[O · SVBEGERIT]

The right hand portion, between brackets, has been supplied; but I

prefer this restoration to that given by Donati, p. 385, and which is also in Mr. Burn's *Rome and the Campagna*, where a detailed account will be found, p. 323.

Another inscription commemorative of the victory of Claudius in Britain is also said to have been found at Rome, and is given in the note to Camden's *Brit.*, i, (1806) lxxix, Gough's Edition, and said by Donati to have been dug up, 1641, near the Arco di Portogallo, since taken away, in the Via Flaminia. The lettering which remains of this has been taken to supply the wanting portion of the first mentioned. See Orelli, vol. i, p. 176, *Turici*, 1828, where the two inscriptions are put together into one, but the restoration of the Barbarini Garden is quite different.

I do not know what has become of the last-mentioned stone.

firm upon the wealth of this part of Britain. The mines, no doubt, had been in work before the coming of the Roman, and the barrows and circles on Mendip seem to bear testimony to a very ancient occupation of that district, and point to long organized industries. That this firm grasp of Rome on the mineral produce of the mines was not relaxed, is evident from still further discoveries, made not only at Charterhouse (where two pigs of lead were found bearing the imperial stamp of Vespasian, A.D. 70, one in 1873 and the other in 1876), but also in Bath, where one pig of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 117-138, was found in 1822.¹

Two pigs of lead, most probably from the Mendip mines, were found at Bristol, in Wade street, on the bank of the Frome river. These bear the stamp of the Emperor Antoninus, and are probably of the date (A.D. 139-161). The finding of these leaden records leads to the supposition that Bristol may in Roman times have been one of the ports from whence the imperial tribute was shipped to Rome. Lead bearing the stamp of Antoninus and Verus,

IMP. DVOR. AVG. ANTONINI
ET VERI ARMENIACORVM,

A.D. 164-169, has been found both at Bruton and at the Charterhouse mine, where a collection has been made of a variety of objects and some fragments of inscribed stones, apparently of the date of Septimius Severus.

These relics of Roman mining operations in Somerset have a deep historical interest, especially as the pig of lead bearing the stamp of Vespasian alone, without the name of Titus added, fixes the date nearly to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem.

But Somerset was not rich only in lead, iron was worked by the Romans in the Brendon Hills, as well as in the Forest of Dean beyond the Severn. Traces of these workings remain at Luxborough and Treborough,² though I am not aware of any pigs of iron having been found there. They have, however, been found at Chedworth Villa in Gloucestershire, whither the iron was

¹ See *Aquæ Solis*.

² See *Proceedings* of the Somerset Archaeological and Nat. Hist. Soc., vi, 144.

brought after the ore had been dug and smelted in the Forest of Dean.

The ore obtained in the Brendon Hills was probably shipped at Minehead, as a Roman camp remains on the hill above Dunster, as if to protect the road from the mines to the estuary of the Severn.

If the hills in this neighbourhood were carefully examined, it is not improbable that they might yield further indication of Roman mining. Traces of a road would probably be found suited for mineral traffic such as still exists in the Forest of Dean.

The contiguity of the iron workings to the estuary leads me to speak now of the ports used in Roman times. The course of the river Avon yields indications of Roman traffic at Bristol, at Sea Mills (on the Gloucestershire side), and there are some indications at Portbury,¹ and in the neighbourhood of Clevedon and Weston-super-Mare. But these indications become much more distinct on Brean Down and at the mouth of the Axe river, where unmistakable Roman remains exist. The neighbourhood of Bridgewater (supposed to be the ancient Uxella from whence the estuary took its name) has also yielded some indications of Roman occupation, but no inscribed stone has yet turned up to confirm the supposition. The low land and alluvial character of the soil, as well as the shifting of the course of the river, is much against any traces being discovered. But at Huntspill remains of Roman pottery kilns have been found, and at Chilton and Polden; and at the Burtles, mounds containing hundreds of loads of Roman pottery² are found in the Turbaries. At Catcot Roman remains have been found, and at Shapwick, while a Roman road appears to have passed along the ridge of the Polden Hill from Bridgewater to Street and Glastonbury, communicating with the Foss. At Shepton Mallet a number of Roman pottery kilns were found, an account of which is given in the *Proceedings* of the Somerset Archæological Society, vol. xiii, pt. 1, p. 1.

We see therefore that the low land reaching from the mouth of the Parrot to Glastonbury, and from Glaston-

¹ See Phelps' *Hist. of Som.*, i, 177.

² See *Somerset Archæolog. and Nat. Hist. Proc.*, 1849, p. 59.

bury to Shepton Mallet, has vestiges of Roman kilns and the manufacture of pottery, and if more careful search were made it might be shewn that there was the same trade established here as in the New Forest in Hampshire, and at the mouth of the Medway.

Passing from Roman industries we come to Roman refinements, and the remains of villas are very frequent in Somerset, and the pavements will bear comparison with any found in Britain, and even on the continent in provincial cities. Not to mention those found in Bath, pavements have been found at Wellow, and described by the Rev. John Skinner (drawings of which are still extant), and at Newton St. Loe, one of which was first placed in the station at Keynsham, and then carried to Bristol, where it is still supposed to remain, locked up in a cellar. Pavements have been found at Whatley near Frome, at Bathford, at Edington, on the Polden Hill between Glastonbury and Bridgewater, at East Coker near Yeovil, at Pitney near Somerton, at Wadeford near Chard. The designs of these pavements, most of which have been drawn and coloured, would form a very interesting and useful volume, but they do not represent all the villas the sites of which are known. These I have given in the Paper on Roman Somerset, printed in the last number of the *Proceedings* of the Somerset Archæological Society.¹ The list there, however, is imperfect, as many that have been discovered have been left unrecorded. I have in my own neighbourhood at Wrington lately discovered one, which had been known and uncovered in past times, but no record of it is known to exist. The floors had been carried away; the pilæ that supported them alone remained. Enough, however, have been noticed to show that Roman refinement had spread into every part of Somerset, as well as Roman industry.

Camps and points of military occupation are very numerous. In most earthworks Roman coins have been found, even where it can be shown that the work is pre-Roman. Thus the Worle hill camp, over Weston-super-Mare, which is undoubtedly British and of very ancient date, has yielded Roman coins and other signs of

¹ See also Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, pp. 187-8.

Roman occupation,¹ as if it had been a point used by the Romans to protect the commerce entering Uphill bay. Again, Roman coins have been found in the camp near Clevedon, as if it had been occupied for a similar purpose; and along the line of Roman road from the great headland called Brean Down to the limit of the county at Maiden Bradley, was a series of camps, some of which appear to be of older date than Roman times (as Dolebury, and perhaps Maesbury, near the point where that road cuts the Foss), where Roman remains are found. Norton Fitzwarren has signs of Roman occupation, and Roman remains have been found near, but this ancient representative of the flourishing town of Taunton appears to have existed before Roman times.

Stoke-sub-Hamdon is another more ancient fortress held by the Romans, and their entrenchment occupied the north-west portion. Very interesting remains of the Roman period have been found here, and there is a small camp amphitheatre within the Roman camp. This seems to have been one of the stations protecting the Foss road, running at a short distance from it, and a branch from it is here carried on to Castle Neroche, another instance of a British fortress adapted to Roman purposes.²

Another very remarkable camp, not originally Roman, is situated at South Cadbury near Wincanton. Roman remains have been found within the enclosure, and at the base of the entrenchment coins, pottery, querns, &c. There are three fortresses in Somerset which bear this name—one near Wincanton, another above Yatton (where Roman coins and interments have also been found), and a third over Tickenham near Clevedon, on the Channel.

These strongholds no doubt found work for the Roman forces under Aulus Plautius, the legate of Claudius, under whom Vespasian served in command of the Second Legion, and of whom Suetonius states, “*Tricies cum hoste confluxit, duas validissimas gentes, superque viginti oppida, et insulam vectem Britanniae proximam in dictionem redegit.*” Such fortresses as Cadbury near Wincanton,

¹ See *Proceedings of Somerset Archæolog. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii, pt. II, 64, 88; viii, pt. II, 68; x, pt. I, 14.

² See *Somerset Archæolog. and Nat. Hist. Proc.*, vol. iv, pt. II, 90; vol. v, pt. II, 43; vol. viii, pt. II, 74.

Castle Neroche and Hamden Hill, could only have been formed by a gens valida, such as the Belgæ of Britain were.

It is to be regretted that no Roman milliaries, or mile-stones, have yet been found in Somerset. They have been found in most other parts of England, but none have been recorded of Somerset, if any have been found. Yet the line of the fowsway remains clearly and distinctly marked, and the line along Mendip is hardly less so; again, only very few lettered stones have been discovered out of Bath, whether altars or monumental records.

At Compton Dando an altar to Apollo¹ has been found, and is now walled into a buttress of the church; at West Coker an altar to Mars Rigisimus;² at Camerton an inscription bearing the name of two consuls;³ and at Pitney two fragments.⁴ Part of an inscribed stone⁵ was lately found at Charterhouse in Mendip,⁶ also two small fragments.⁷ No doubt, the early Christianization of this part of Britain, and the foundation of religious houses, led to the destruction of the many Roman monuments which must have existed in the stations and villas. Few remnants of sculpture have been preserved, one at Wellow, but they are found elsewhere, as at Chedworth in Gloucestershire, which shows that such decorations once prevailed as much in Britain as on the continent. Mr. King has remarked,⁸ "Although heathen images are now of such unfrequent occurrence amongst Romano-

¹ See *Aquæ Solis*, 41.

² *Inscrip. Brit. Lat.*, vol. vii, No. 61.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 63.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 64.

⁵ The Orchard Wyndham stone, mentioned in Phelps's *Somerset*, i, 164 (Roman period), and of which he gives a drawing, p. 179, is not noticed by Collinson in his *History of Somerset*, and is totally ignored by Professor Hübner in his enumeration of Roman inscriptions found in Somerset, though in mentioning the Roman inscriptions found in Cumberland he observes, "In silva quadam prope Orchard Wyndham, Somersetshire, male Phelps," and he gives the genuine Cumbrian inscription found at Ellenborough (No. 408). *Inscrip. Brit. Lat.*

This stone has now been very clearly shewn to be a forgery, and the origin of the inaccuracy of the lettering on the stone well pointed out in a pamphlet

published by Mr. George of Bristol (July 1879), who gives a careful drawing, p. 18, of the original stone, now at Netherhall, Maryport, Cumberland, and also of the spurious stone. See p. 12.

The stone seems to have been put up at Orchard Wyndham, as an attempt to test the acuteness of antiquaries, and though Phelps supposed it to be genuine, and to have been brought from Cumberland, yet it has never been accepted as a genuine Roman inscription. Mr. George has well exposed the counterfeit, and shewn how an inaccurate copy of the true stone made by Gordon has been followed by the forger, p. 13.

⁶ *Inscrip. Brit. Lat.*, vol. vii, Addit. No. 73.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Nos. 74 and 75.

⁸ See *Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, p. 127, Appendix.

British remains, there is every reason to believe that our island was as well furnished with these primitive aids to devotion as were the other provinces of the empire. At any rate, Gildas, writing shortly after the final departure of the Romans, in a most valuable but hitherto unnoticed passage, alludes to the multitude of heathen idols still existing, and grinning with their ugly faces from the insides and outsides of ruined edifices." (*De Excidio Britanniae*, cap. iv).

The Early Christian teachers, as this passage shews, regarded with peculiar abhorrence all remnants of sculpture, as only incentives to idolatry, and as such they were universally destroyed or buried. After a lapse of 1500 years, these, when brought to light, serve as memorials of the former benighted condition of the people, and also to shew the state of the arts in this island under the Roman rule.

There are in the county of Somerset 488 parishes, and the number of places in them where Roman remains have been found is 108. This includes coins, pottery, urns, interments, inscriptions, foundations of buildings known to be Roman, pavements, and fortifications known to be Roman or occupied by the Romans. But the Roman roads which traversed the county are not included.

The late Mr. Leman in his MS. notes now in the library of the Literary and Scientific Institution, Bath, left a rough list of places noted by him in which Roman remains had been discovered. Mr. Reynolds, in his *Itinerary of Antonine*, has also given a list of places in Britain, which includes many "finds" in Somerset, and many more are noticed in the *Proceedings* of the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society. It is from these sources, as well as personal research, that the list is drawn which I have given in a paper read to that Society, and published in their proceedings. This list is not complete, as many records may have perished, and many "finds" never been recorded, but it is sufficient to shew how complete was the occupation of this part of England, and how completely Roman influence must have pervaded the county, if so many remnants can be discovered after the lapse of so many centuries.

It would be too long a work to attempt to trace what

other indications there are of Roman occupation in the West of England, such as divisions of land, modifications of the language, formation of corporate bodies, laws and modes of government ; and as these do not belong to one county or district alone, the work may be omitted here, more especially as it has lately been carried out by Mr. Coote in his book entitled *The Romans in Britain*, a work which opens out subjects of very interesting enquiry, and brings new light to bear upon the history of our island after the departure of the Romans.

It is only by carefully collecting from ancient remains, and from incidental notices contained in charters, grants, and agreements, which existed formerly, and by the study of the growth of the language, and by considering the ancient customs and manners of the people, that we can form a correct idea of the condition of Roman-Britain and of the lasting influence exerted by that people.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF PLACES IN SOMERSET WHERE ROMAN REMAINS HAVE BEEN FOUND.¹

Badialton, near Milverton. See Collinson's *Hist. Somerset*, iii, 23.
 Bagborough, R. C.
 Banwell, camp, &c. ; Hamlet of Winthill, R. C.
 Bathampton, R. R.
 Bathford, R. V.
 Bathwick Hill, R. C. and interment, R. Cp.
 Bicknoller, near to, R. C.
 Blackford, near Wedmore, R. C.
 Blagdon, R. pig of lead.
 Brean Down, R. C. and earthworks.
 Brent Knoll, R. C. Collinson's *Hist. Som.*, i, 196.
 Bridgewater, R. R.
 Bruton, R. pig of lead.
 Burnham, R. C.
 Burrington Combe, R. C. and other remains.
 Burtle Moor, R. P.
 Butleigh Wootton, R. V., and R. C. Phelp's *Somerset*, p. 189. Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 188.

¹ R. Cp. denotes Roman Camp.
 R. V. " " Villa.
 R. C. " " Coins.
 R. P. K. " " Pottery Kiln.

R. R. denotes Roman Remains.
 R. P. " " Pottery.
 R. H. S. " " Horse Shoes.

334 ROMAN OCCUPATION OF THE WEST OF ENGLAND.

Cadbury, North, R. C. and remains.

Camerton, buildings, coins. Three villas, on the way leading to Chewton and Wells, and near the Foss Road nineteen houses. See Phelps, i, 179.

Castle Carey, R. V. in a field called Saverns, near Ansford turnpike gate, and half a mile from Castle Carey station. It was unearthed by Dr. Woodford.¹

Castle Neroche, R. R.

Chard; at South Chard, near St. Margaret's Chapel, coins and foundations. Coin of Emperor Claudius found in a field called Foxmore Hill. (See Hull's *Hist. of Chard*.) Also coins of Emperor Constantine.

Charlton Mackrel, R. V. See *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 187.

Charterhouse on Mendip, coins, pottery, inscribed stones, lead, workings, &c.

Chedzoy, R. C. and urns.

Chidley Mount, near Bridgewater, R. C.

Chilton Polden, moulds for casting coins, also pottery kilns.

Clevedon, Hangstone Hill, in clearing ground for building-sites, coins of Hadrian, Vespasian II, Tetricus, a fibula, sword, human bones. See *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 15 Sept. 1879; also *Clevedon Gazette*, September, 1879.

Coker, West, R. V. and inscribed stone.

Comb Down, near Bath, R. V.

Compton Dando Parish, R. C. and altar.

Coombe Farm, near Crewkerne, R. C.

Conquest, three miles from Taunton, R. C.

Copley, near Littleton, R. C.

Corston, R. C. and burials.

Corton, near Sherborne, urn.

Cothelstone, R. C.

Curry Rivel, R. C.

Dishcove, near Bruton, R. V.

Dolebury, R. R.

Douseborough camp, near to, R. C.

Drayton R. C.

Dunpole, near Ilminster, R. C.

Edington, near Glastonbury, R. C., moulds for coins. Gough's *Camden*, p. 99.

Elm, R. C.

Emberrow, R. C.

Exmoor, R. C. at source of the Axe River.

Farley Hungerford, R. V. Phelps, i, 179.

Hamdon Hill, R. R. Camp and amphitheatre.

High Ham, R. R.

Holway, Road, near Taunton, R. C.

¹ One of the roads near is called Portway, the old line of road from the Foss way to Bruton.

Honey Hall, near Churchill, R. C. See Phelps, i, 178.

Huntspill, R. P. K. Scoriæ of iron, &c.

Hurcot (two villas in parish).

Ilchester, R. C.

Isle Brewers, R. P.

Ken Moor, R. C.

Kingsdon, near Ilchester, R. R.

Langport, R. R.

Lillesdon, near N. Curry, R. C.

Littleton, villas, several. See Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, 187.

Long Ashton, R. C. at spot called Old Fort. See Phelps, i, 177.

Luxborough, iron mines.

Lydeard St. Lawrence, R. C.

Lytes Carey, R. V. (See *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, p. 187.)

Milverton, near to camp, R. C.

Nailsea, R. C.

North Perret, R. C.

Norton Fitz Warren, pottery and brick.

North Curry, R. C.

Newton St. Loe, R. V., coins, burials.

Peart Wood, near Wolverton, R. C.

Petherton South, near Bridge, R. C., &c.

Pen Pits, horse shoe.

Pitney, R. V. and inscribed stones.

Polden Hill, R. C. and foundations.

Portbury, R. C. and foundations.

Putcombe in par. of Kilve, R. C.

Putsham, parish of Kilve, near Douseborough R. Cp., &c., and R. C.

Pylle, C. and urns. Phelps, i, 179,

Seavington, R. C. and foundations.

Shapwick, R. C.

Shepton Mallet, R. P. K.

Shutshelve, between this and Winscombe, in making new road, was found
hearth stone and metal, also ashes, lead, fibulæ, bone, 2 skeletons,
and cinerary urns, horses' teeth, and tusks of wild boar.

Somerton, 2 R. V. near to, See *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 187.

Sparkford, R. R.

Staple Fitzpaine, R. H. S.

Steanchester, nr. Langport, R. R.,

Stogumber, R. C.

Sutton, R. C. patera, &c.

Stoke sub Hamdon, R. C. and remains.

Taunton, R. C. and pottery.

Temple Field, near Farley Castle, R. V. and C. See Phelps, i, 179.

336 ROMAN OCCUPATION OF THE WEST OF ENGLAND.

Tickenham, half a mile from Cadbury Camp, R. V. and C. See Phelps, i, 177.

Treborough, Rom. mining refuse.

Uphill, Rom. camp. and rem.

Wadeford, R. V., tessell. pavement, coins, in parish of Combe St. Nicholas, (A.D. 1810), near Chard. See *Hist. of Chard*, by A. Hull.

Watergore, R. V.

Weare, near Axbridge, R. C.

Wedmore, R. C. and interments.

Wellow, R. V.

Whateley, nr. Frome, R. V.

Whitchurch, R. C.

Wick, on Lansdown, near Bath, R. R.

Wigmore, foundations.

Wiltown, R. C.

Wincanton, villa, and R. C.

Winsham, near Chard, R. C.

Wiveliscomb, R. C., and lead coffin.

Wookey, R. C. and pig of lead.

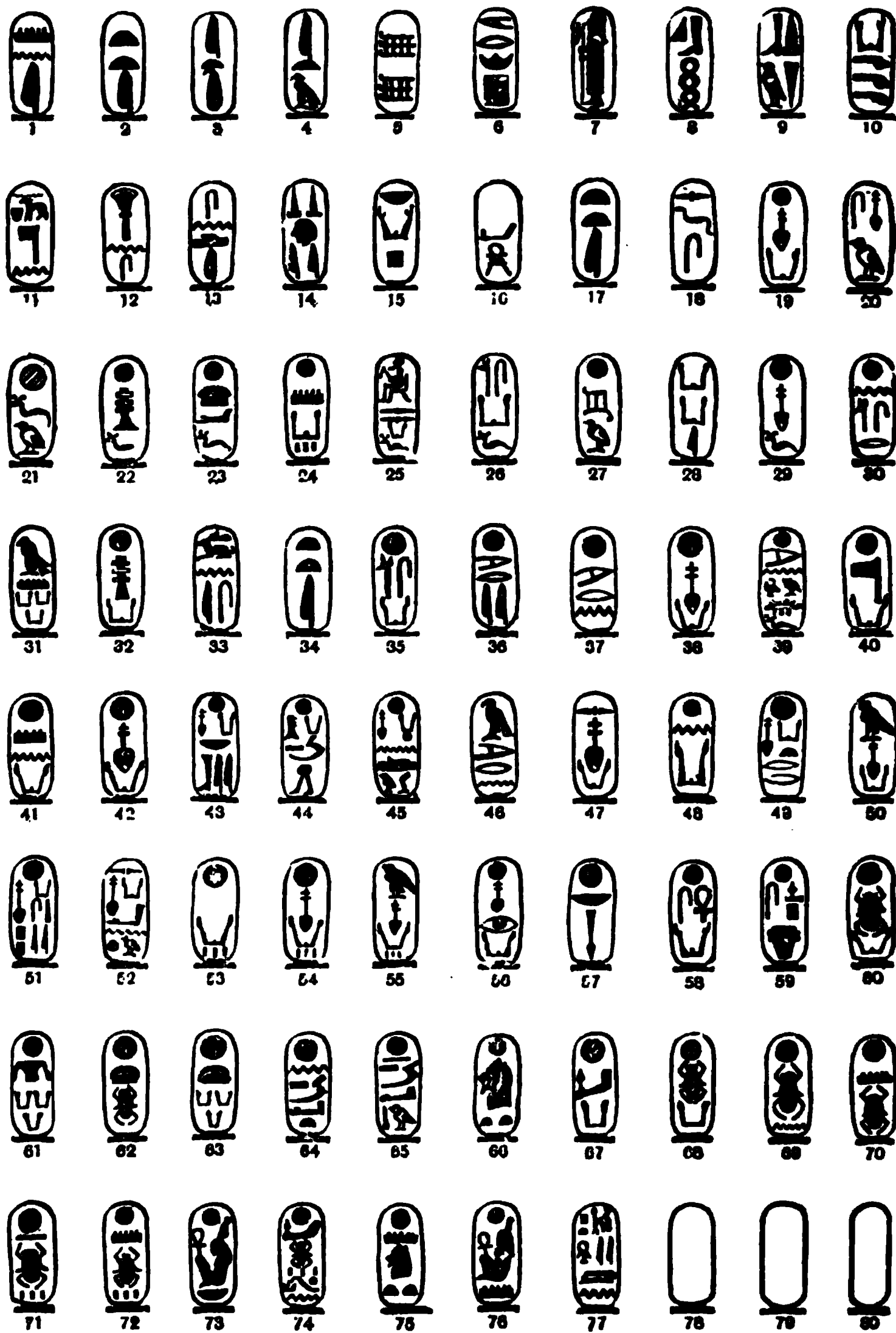
Wraxall, R. C. See Phelps, i, 177.

Wrington, at Lyehole, villa ; and Havyatt Green, interments.

Yanley, foundations.

Yatton, Cadbury, R. C. and interments.

For account of Roman villas and pavements in and around Bath, see *Aquæ Solis*, p. 113.



The Table of Abood.

THE TABLE OF ABOOD.

By the Rev. W. J. LOFTIE, B.A., F.SA.

The celebrated Table of Abydos, or Abood, is a list of the kings who preceded Sethi I. of the xix dynasty.

There are two temples at Abood, both erected by Sethi and his more celebrated son, Rameses II. The western temple is ruined, almost to the ground. The table of kings sculptured in it was broken to pieces, but the fragments are now in the British Museum.

The Table,¹ now under consideration, is still in its place, sculptured on the wall of a passage in the other or eastern temple, of which the remains, lately cleared, are very perfect, and remarkable for the beauty of the sculpture, the finest produced under the middle monarchy, though so far inferior to that of the period of the Pyramid builders.

The Table represents Sethi and his son making an offering to the divine kings who preceded them, and its great value consists in its giving us a clue to the succession of Egyptian Dynasties of what may be called the legitimate line.

The succession was as follows: the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th, without a break; the 11th, 12th and 13th, followed by the 18th and 19th. If this be correct, the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th dynasties were contemporary with the 11th under its earlier kings; and the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th were contemporary with the early kings of the 13th.

This is but a rough summary of the views of the most advanced Egyptologists, but serves sufficiently well to explain the Table.

A hieroglyphic "determinative" figure of each king heads his cartouche, and the names are disposed in two lines, read, contrary to the usual Egyptian fashion, from

¹ M. Loftie exhibited a photograph of the Table at the meeting of the Institute on July 3, 1879.

left to right, like our own writing. They occupy a space on the wall some thirty feet long, and reach nearly to the roof of the passage, which is about ten feet high.

A translation of the line of hieroglyphs above the names will point out in the briefest way the object and meaning of the Table: "An act of devotion to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, lord of the grave, who dwells in his palace of Ra-men-ma. The oblation is made to the Kings of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt by the King Sethi (whose title is "The Abiding Sun of Justice") of a multitude of loaves, drinks, meats, fowls, perfumes, ointments, dresses, sauces, wines, and other sacred offerings, on the part of King Sethi to the King Mena, to the King Teta," and so on, seventy-five in number, the name and title of Sethi himself marking the conclusion of the list.

I subjoin a list of the names, transliterated to suit our pronunciation, and append some notes, which may be found useful to other students, only adding that I am but a beginner myself, and that I venture with great hesitation to put forward my readings, as no complete English edition of this most valuable list has, I believe, been published.

- | | |
|---------------|------------------------|
| 1. Mena | 24. Ramenkao |
| 2. Teta | 25. Asseskaf |
| 3. Atoth | 26. Ooserkaf |
| 4. Ata | 27. Rasahoo |
| 5. Husapti | 28. Kakai |
| 6. Merbapen | 29. Raneferf |
| 7. Semenptah | 30. Raenooser |
| 8. Kebêh | 31. Hormenkao |
| 9. Buzao | 32. Ratatka |
| 10. Kakao | 33. Oonas |
| 11. Baneteren | 34. Teta |
| 12. Uznes | 35. Raooserka |
| 13. Senta | 36. Ramery |
| 14. Zazai | 37. Rameren |
| 15. Nebka | 38. Raneferka |
| 16. ... Soser | 39. Rameren Sentam Saf |
| 17. Teta | 40. Raneterka |
| 18. Sezes | 41. Ramenka |
| 19. Raneferka | 42. Raneferka |
| 20. Sneferoo | 43. Raneferkaneby |
| 21. Shoofoo | 44. Ratatkamaen |
| 22. Ratatef | 45. Raneferka Shentoo |
| 23. Rachaf | 46. Hormeren |


(1) 

(2) 

(3) 

(4) 

(5) 

(6) 

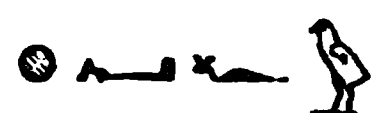
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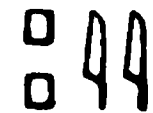
(12) 

(13) 

(14) 

(15) 

(16) 

(17) 

Hieroglyphs referred to in the text.

47. Sneferka	62. Rachakheper (Usertasen ii)
48. Ranka	63. Rachakao (Usertasen iii)
49. Raneferka Terer	64. Raenmaat (Amenemha iii)
50. Horneferka	65. Ramaakeru (Amenemha iv)
51. Raneferka seneb Papa	66. Rapehti (Amosis)
52. Sneferka Annoo	67. Raserka (Amenhotep i)
53. Ra ... kaoo	68. Rakheperka (Thothmes i)
54. Raneferkao	69. Rakheperoo (Thothmes ii)
55. Horneferkao	70. Ramenkheper (Thothmes iii)
56. Raneferarka	71. Raaakheperoo (Amenhotep ii)
57. Ranebker	72. Ramenkheperoo (Thothmes iv)
58. Ransanchka	73. Ramaneb (Amenhotep iii)
59. Rashotepab (Amenemha i)	74. Raserkheperoo Setepenro
60. Rakheperka (Usertasen i)	75. Ramenpehti (Rameses i)
61. Ranubkao (Amenemha ii)	76. Ramamen (Setti i)

1. The name of Mena is slightly varied in some inscriptions the lower letter having a pair of legs attached to it, with the effect of doubling the vowel. The name would then read in English Meny. But I think this Table contains the earliest extant form of the name.

7. This king's name is given by Manetho as Semempses. M. Lieblein very ingeniously suggested that Semempses might be identified with the name on this cartouche, if it be read "Sem-en Ptah," the image or likeness of Ptah, and offered the hieroglyphic spelling shown in fig. 1. Strangely enough I bought a small green cylinder at Cairo a few months ago, of the oldest type, three-eighths of an inch long, on which are hieroglyphs within two lines, as represented in fig. 2. This reads literally, "Ptah's beautiful image," and may possibly be referred to the cult if not actually to the time of King Semempses, of whom Manetho adds this account, "in his reign a terrible pestilence afflicted Egypt."

9. The first king of the second dynasty, called by Manetho Boethus the First.

13. Senta, who probably answers to the Sethenes of Manetho, is the first king whose name I have observed on a monument. At Boolak the tomb of Shry or Scheri describes him as priest of King Sent, whose name is there written as in fig. 3, and of another king "Perabsen," of whom nothing is known. The stone is very ancient, perhaps of the time of the fourth dynasty. A scarab in my possession¹ has the syllables Sen-ta on it, and may preserve the king's name in an unusual form (fig. 4).

¹ Exhibited at the Meeting.

19. This name, Raneferka, the fair representative, or living likeness, of the sun, was also borne by the 38th and 42nd Kings of the Table of Abood, corresponding to members of the Sixth and Eleventh Dynasties, and formed part of the names of several others.

20. Seneferoo, Senoferoo, Snefru, or S-nefer-oo, has been variously identified with Siphuris, the last king but one of the Third Dynasty, according to Manetho, and with Soris, whom he makes the first king of the Fourth. Throughout this work I have assumed the correctness of the histories of M. Mariette and Herr Brugsch, who place him in the Third. But it must be remembered that M. Lieblein places him with confidence at the head of the Fourth. His name, the earliest which occurs on contemporary monuments, is spelt with many variations on tombs, rock inscriptions and scarabs:—at Maydoom (fig. 5): at the Pyramids of Gheezeh, according to Lepsius (figs. 6 and 7): on a scarab in the Boolak Museum (fig. 8). I have a scarab on which are hieroglyphs as in fig. 9.

21. The name of the builder of the Great Pyramid is spelt in almost as many different ways as that of his predecessor. In the Table, I was not able to find any distinction made between the first letter Sh, and the ordinary Ra. The colour probably determined it. But in some inscriptions a ram is figured at the head of the cartouche, and may be read hieroglyphically as Be, or Noom. We have often, therefore, speculations made as to Noom Shoofoo, who is assumed to have been his brother, and to have assisted in building the Pyramid. If we regard the Ram as the representative of the God Shoo of Snee, and the determinative, in this place of the first syllable of the name, all such speculations will be cleared away. One author who reads Noom-Shoofoo, translates it by "Shoofoo, the Builder." The oval containing the ram's figure occurs in the upper chambers of the Pyramid, where, though very indistinctly, it is many times repeated. The following are some of the variations: on a scarab belonging to Dr. Grant, of Cairo (fig. 10): on a stone in the same collection (fig. 11): by Dr. Lepsius (fig. 12): and two ways with the ram at the top.

22. Ratatef, or Tatfra, is only known by this cartouche.

23. On a scarab, I have the name of Chafra.

24. The name of Mycerinus, or Menkaoo-ra, deserves more attention than I have yet seen bestowed on it. At Boolak there is a scarab bearing in a cartouche (fig. 3). This is labelled with his name. Manetho says the Third Pyramid was built by Nitocris, a queen, the last monarch of the Sixth Dynasty: and Herodotus, one of the most untrustworthy authorities in a matter of this kind, may be taken as the sole authority for the tradition which ascribed it to Mycerinus, until the discovery of the sarcophagus by Col. Vyse. This sarcophagus is now lost, but the lid, which is in the British Museum, bears the cartouche of Menkaoo-ra, and a long inscription. Even here the question is by no means settled, because the cartouche of Menkaoo-ra and that of Nitocris are almost precisely similar. (See No. 41, *infra*.)

25. There has been some question as to the phonetic value of the sitting figure in this cartouche. The question is somewhat obscurely stated in the preface of Mr. Renouf's "Hieroglyphic Grammar," but why there, in particular, I am unable to guess. I may remark, however, that though Brugsch gives the name as Sepseskaf in his History, Mariette gives a name spelt with a similar sign as Assa. On a statue in the Boolak Museum, Assa's name is written with this sitting figure (fig. 14).

26. The First King of the Fifth Dynasty.

30. Raenooser had a private name, An. (fig. 15).

32. Ratatka's private name was Assa, spelt as in fig. 16.

33. Oonas or Unnas or Unas, the Pharaoh of the Mastábat el Faroon, is very frequently commemorated on scarabs. The name seems to signify "the living Osiris." Sometimes, as in a scarab in the Boolak Museum, the letter N is omitted, but the rest of the word spelt as at Abood. Unas was the last king of the Fifth Dynasty.

36. Ramery bore also the better known name of Papa or Pepe (fig. 17). In French books it is generally given as Pepi. Perhaps it should be Ppai, or Pepy.

38. The cartouche of Raneferka ii. ends the upper line of names. Among the most remarkable of the attempts to reconcile the chronologies of Manetho and Ussher was one which made the two lines of kings contemporary, and recognised Neferkara and Rameses i. (No. 75) as the joint immediate predecessors of Seti i.

41. Menkara is usually identified with Nitocris (Nitaqert, *Brugsch*), as the last monarch of the Sixth Dynasty. The Throne name, Menkara, may have caused the confusion with Menkaora noticed above: but, as I have remarked, the questions relating to this queen, if Menkara was a queen, and indeed the reading, Nitaqert, in the Turin Papyrus are open to much further investigation than they have yet received. Mr. Perring is said to have found signs in the Third Pyramid that it was rebuilt, and contained two sepulchres.

42-58. There is much difficulty as to the exact place of these kings: and I must refer the reader desirous of consulting the best authorities to M. Liebhen's work already mentioned (*Chron. Egyp.*, p. 43), as well as to Brugsch Bey's *History*, where he will find the various views carefully stated.

STELA OF PERNEFERT.

This Stela,¹ of which an engraving is annexed, was purchased from a collection found in Cairo some years ago. It has been sadly mutilated and partly scored over, by way of "restoration," I presume. The meaning is, however, perfectly clear. It relates to a lady called Pernefert, and gives a catalogue of the offerings at her tomb:—"Libations made for the kings relative Pernefert, flour bread, a measure of incense, a vessel of oil, a thousand geese, a thousand cranes, divine garments, wine."

In the lower panel the lady is represented again with the inscription "Immense offerings devoted to Pernefert."

I was given to understand that this stela came from Maydoom. It is certainly of the earliest type, and the hieroglyphs have the appearance of simplicity and the absence of grammatical forms which point to the highest antiquity. I do not think I over-estimate its age if I consider it to belong to the time of the Third Dynasty.

¹ Exhibited at the Meeting.

Stela of Pernefert.

IL CAPORALE AT ORVIETO.

By W. BURGESS.

The year 1263 is remarkable in an ecclesiastical point of view as being that in which a very celebrated miracle is said to have taken place in the Church of St. Christina at Bolsena, not far from Orvieto. An incredulous priest, when consecrating the host, was converted by seeing drops of blood issue from the wafer on to the corporal upon which it was placed.

This occurrence led to three results: firstly, the festival of Corpus Christi was instituted, and has since remained one of the great festivals of the Roman Church; secondly, the Cathedral of Orvieto was rebuilt upon a larger scale; and thirdly, some years afterwards, viz. in 1338, the corporal was deposited in a magnificent silver reliquary, adorned with the most beautiful enamels. It is this reliquary which concerns us upon the present occasion. It may be described as a frontispiece consisting of three divisions, that in the centre being much larger than the side ones. They are separated by four buttresses and pinnacles, and are terminated at top with arches and pediments. The whole composition is often said to be a copy of the façade of the church, but there is really no similarity beyond the general features. These divisions are again subdivided into a series of compartments, filled with enamels, representing the history of the miracle and scenes from the life of our Lord. The back is exactly like the front, only the subjects are there entirely taken from the Passion. As far as my memory serves, the thickness is not very great, say some three inches. In reality no very great depth was required, as the only object inside is the corporal. This is shown by means of the centre compartment, which opens in two folding doors, and displays, under glass, a corporal of coarse linen with sundry dark stains upon it. It need scarcely

be said that it has not kept its original whiteness, but is now of a light brown colour.

In the summit of the central pediment is a moveable compartment, which has now lost all its enamels. It is here that the Host is placed when the reliquary is taken out of the church processionally, as it is on two occasions in the year. All over the reliquary, wherever there is a place, on the buttresses, on the pediments, and on the great hollow moulding of the base, there are enamels. How these enamels have been executed has long been a puzzle to writers on art, in consequence of a mistake by Agincourt, and its solution has been deferred from the difficulty of seeing the reliquary.

Agincourt gives a rough engraving in his *History of Art*,¹ and says that the subjects are "peintes sur fond d'email." At the same time he confesses to not having seen the object itself, but of having copied the plate and description from the work of Padre della Valle entitled "*Istoria del Duomo di Orvieto, Roma*," 1791. If we turn to the latter work we shall see that the enamels are not said to have been painted, but that the shrine is "tutto ornato di vaghe pitture a smalto."

Hence the dilemma. If Agincourt were right, and these elaborate (and they are very elaborate) enamels were painted, the art of using enamels as pigments with a brush, the discovery of which process is generally attributed to the end of the fifteenth century, must be very considerably antedated.

Unfortunately nobody could get access to the reliquary, which was only exhibited twice in the year, viz., on Easter Day and Corpus Christi. It was, and I believe is still, kept under four keys, in the hands of different persons, viz., the Bishop, the Gonfaloniere, the Canon Secretary (Camerlingo), and the President of the Fabric.

Du Sommerard tried to see it, but was met by the objection that so great an exception should not be made for the purpose of satisfying merely artistic curiosity.

M. Labarte was equally unfortunate, but he was assured by the Sacristan that the enamels were executed in the ordinary manner of Italian enamels, *i.e.*, translucent on relief.

¹ Agincourt's "*Histoire de l'Art*," t. vi, p. cxxiii.

In 1854 the late M. Didron made a journey into Italy, and among his principal objects was the resolving the question as to the enamels of the reliquary of Orvieto. In the fifteenth volume of the 'Annales Archéologiques' is a very amusing account of what I am sorry to say was his failure. He got letters from Cardinal Antonelli, Mgr. Piccolomini, &c., and by this means procured three out of the four keys; but, alas! the Bishop was out of town, and the last key was not forthcoming; so he lost his labour, but consoled himself by drawing and describing the reliquary of St. Giovenale, which is kept in the "opera" or workshop attached to the Cathedral. This is published in the fifteenth volume of the 'Annales Archéologiques'; and as it happens to be executed by the same goldsmith, and by the same processes as the Corporale, it was probably the very best thing he could have done.

In the month of April last I found myself at Orvieto, in company with Mr. R. P. Pullan, the well-known architect, and of course our first question was as to the possibility of seeing the Corporale. I need scarcely say that we expected a repetition of the old story, but to our intense surprise we were told that there was a chance, inasmuch as a German nobleman had just arrived in the city who was the bearer of the requisite order. Whether the production of the four keys is still demanded, I do not know; but, at all events, on the next day (Sunday) we had the pleasure of seeing the hitherto invisible reliquary, of which, by the way, photographs were to be procured in the town.

As I expected, the enamelled plates were not painted, but done in the ordinary manner, that is, the subject was engraved in very low relief and afterwards covered all over by a very thin coating of variously-colored enamels, the process being the same as described by Cellini in his *Trattato dell'Oreficeria*.

The remarkable points of these enamels at Orvieto are their comparatively early date (1335), their beautiful execution and their large size, the compartments with the histories being about $4\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$, while those in the hollow of the base are narrower, but much longer. When we consider the artistic ability necessary to do such excellent bas-reliefs in the first instance, and the skill required to

cover them with enamel, to say nothing of the difficulty presented by the large surface, they must be placed among the most excellent examples of the process in question.

The Italians of the middle ages obtained very great proficiency in this branch of art, and we often find exquisite enamels in connection with very inferior goldsmiths' work, as in the frontal at Monza. Of the Corporale enamels, it may be sufficient to remark that they are executed in the very best style of the early part of the fourteenth century.

In the present instance the silversmiths' work presents nothing particular, and merely serves as a frame for the enamels; the crockets to the gables are very inferior (if original), being simply beaten out of a thin piece of silver and stuck on anyhow, and the two gurgoyles, at the side, representing the wolf of Sienna, are out of all proportion.

Round the base runs the following inscription:—"Hoc opus fecit fieri dominus frater Tramus Episcopus Urbevetanus et dominus Angelus Archipresbyter et dominus Ligus cappellanus domini papæ et Nicolaus de Alatro et dominus Fredus et dominus Ninus et dominus Leonardus Canonici Urbevetani. Per magistrum Ugolinum et socios Aurifices de Senis factum fuit sub anno domini MCCCXXXVIII tempore Benedicti papæ XII."

Round the reliquary of S. Giovenale in the "opera" is the following: "Vgolinus et Viva de Senis fecierunt istum tabernaculum." Thus, both works are from the same hand, and executed very nearly at the same time. It will be observed that the artist belonged to Sienna, and it was, indeed, to that town that the inhabitants of Orvieto resorted for their art work. When the Cathedral had to be rebuilt, their architect, Lorenzo Maitani, came from Sienna. An excellent little book, by Ludovico Luzi, published at Florence, 1866, contains in its latter portion many curious documents relating to the Cathedral of Orvieto, and the artists who worked at it. Many other things, such as the marbles, were got from other places, but the glass mosaic was made on the spot by an expert, one Consiglio Stoppario di Monteleone. Unfortunately he got mixed up among some commotion, and, being banished from the city, was only allowed to return on

the petition of the architect and other worthy persons, but was obliged to have his salary reduced by one-third.

The second architect was a certain Meo, who, having been condemned and banished for homicide, had his sentence suspended for ten years in order that he should take the direction of the works in conjunction with some relatives of the late architect.

There are sundry notices of payments to Ugolino for his reliquary ; and, as the time rolled on, we meet with payments to and negotiations with such men as Orcagna, Andrea Pisano, Fra Angelico, Pietro Perugino, and Luca Signorelli.

Having thus had the opportunity of clearing up a question which would never have arisen except for the mistake of Agincourt, I have thought it only right to put the affair upon record in the 'Archæological Journal.'

I may mention that C. E. Kempe, Esq., and his brother, Captain Kempe, were present on the occasion, and also saw the reliquary.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP
OF BATH AND WELLS TO THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE INSTITUTE, HELD AT TAUNTON.¹

In acceding to the invitation so kindly made to me to accept the office of President of the meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute, I was far from supposing that it would be in my power to give any information to the learned body whom I have now the honour of addressing. But as the office which I hold as sixty-ninth bishop of this ancient diocese, and the house in which I live at Wells, are among the most ancient things in the county which the Institute is honouring with its visit, I thought there would be a certain amount of fitness in my presiding, and I felt sure that I should meet with indulgent critics.

My first word, I feel, should be one of welcome from the county of Somerset to our distinguished visitors. We are proud of our county, and therefore are doubly pleased that you should think it worthy of a visit; and we are grateful to you for pitching your tent among us. We, for our parts, shall not omit anything that may conduce to the comfort of our visitors, or to the furtherance of the great purpose which has brought them hither.

That purpose, no doubt, is many sided. Archæological science, in one aspect of it, seeks merely to satisfy a natural curiosity. We come upon an ancient camp. We see the huge earthworks which denote a purpose resolutely and laboriously carried out. It is impossible to see them without wishing to know who raised them, and why they were raised. Somebody thinks that most likely an old windmill stood there. Popular mythology ascribes them to the devil. Archæological science comes to the rescue, and tells us the truth, which lies between these two extremes of prosaic ignorance and mythological imagination. We come upon a building, a church, a castle, a

¹ Delivered August 5th, 1879.

dwelling-house, unlike the other buildings with which we are familiar. One of the first instincts of our nature prompts the enquiry, When was that church, that castle, that quaint-looking house built? And archæology is ready with its answer, usually marvellously precise and accurate. Thus far, then, archæological science merely gratifies a natural curiosity. But it has a far higher and wider range. It marches proudly by the side of the muse of history, and is her fellow-labourer in tracing the progress of man from the infancy to the manhood of his race.

I take it that the three main branches of archæological, as of historical, discovery, are the religious, the political, and the intellectual, condition of man in different parts of the world, and in different ages of his existence. Whatever throws light upon these is of intense interest. To take a glance at them, in the order in which I have named them, as they are illustrated by archæology.

1. What a strong light is thrown upon the religious history of the English people by the cathedrals, the parish churches, and the abbeys, of England. In the grandeur of our religious buildings, in the architectural conception of them, in the enormous outlay of money and labour expended upon them, we see at once the place which the Christian religion and its sublime verities held in the mind of the nation. It was no feeble faith, no uncertain sentiment, no hesitating devotion, which set in motion such a mass of intellect, and such a power of work, as brought those buildings to their glorious completion. Then, again, by their light, aided by those charters and chronicles in which archæology disporteth herself, we can interpret a peculiar phase of the religion of the middle ages, when architecture became a religion: and a kindred phase in which the great builders conceived that they were performing an acceptable personal service to the saint to whom the building was dedicated, and whose private property, so to speak, they conceived it to be. How distinctly engraved, again, are the variations of religious creed in different sections of the Christian community which are seen in the various edifices erected for the worship of God, from the grand simplicity of the Cathedrals of the 12th or 13th century to the gorgeous

Jesuit churches with their developed exaltation of the Blessed Virgin, and their exhibition of fervid, I had almost said ferocious, hatred of heresy; and from these again, with their sumptuous decorations, to the square nudity of an Ebenezer, or Bethlehem Chapel.

The whole history of the struggles between expiring paganism and nascent Christianity, and the force of conflicting passions which blazed in the mind of the Pagan clinging to his errors on the one hand, and of the Christian enraptured at the light of his new creed on the other, was brought before me with singular vividness a fortnight ago when I stood in that most ancient and interesting chapel of the Cathedral Church of St. Vitus at Prague, in which the whole walls inlaid (roughly, but very beautifully) with amethyst, and jasper, and agate, and chrysoprase, testified to the intense love and reverence of Christian Bohemia for their martyred king Wenceslaus I, and recorded how he had fallen by the hand of his own Pagan brother, Boleslaus, zealous for the honour of his heathen gods. A striking lesson of courageous fidelity on one hand, and of the brutality of irresponsible power in an age of tyranny on the other, was impressed on me as I stood upon the bridge from which the saintly John Nepomuk was thrown into the Moldau by the Emperor Wenceslaus because he would not violate the sanctity of confession, and reveal the secrets of the empress, his pious and devoted wife. And, if I may give one more illustration from my recent visit to the ancient capital of Bohemia, a city so wonderfully rich in present beauties and memories of the past, it was no mean lesson in the perverse influence of theological acrimony upon the actions of men, to stand at the spot of the stately palace of the Radschen, from whence, as a means of settling the differences between the Protestants and Roman Catholics of Bohemia, the Protestant champions chucked their adversaries out of the window down some eighty feet to the ground.¹

These, then, are specimens of the way in which archæology throws light upon the religious history of a people. They would, of course, be easily paralleled by lessons drawn, say, from Stanton Drew, from Ina's Castle

¹ See Schiller's *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen krieges*.

(which has its religious as well as its political aspect) from Glastonbury Abbey in the various stages of its existence, from Old Cleeve, and from the historic site of the peace of Wedmore, where Alfred and Guthrum—Christianity and Heathendom personified—joined hands in a civil and religious peace, and the Church was fertilized by the blood shed on the battle field—one among the many curious developments of our strange human nature!

2. If we turn to the political side of archæological revelations they are as important and as manifold as those just glanced at; and when I say *political*, I mean all that relates to man as a *πολίτης*, a citizen of this nether world, including his social life and his general civilization, as well as what we commonly call political institutions. Take for example the earthworks or camps, for which our county is so remarkable, and which, I think, would well merit an archæological session exclusively devoted to them. As we look at them, perched upon their commanding heights, nearly inaccessible, commanding a view of the whole surrounding country, capable of communicating with each other instantaneously by a system of beacons, and enclosing sufficient space to feed many head of cattle, what a picture is set before us at once of the condition of the people. The idea of constant danger, either from the attacks of neighbouring tribes, expert at cattle lifting, and prompt to revenge real or fancied injuries, or from foreign invaders, rises at once before one's mind. One can see the naked or half-naked savage driving his cattle before him to the place of safety, and, like the Zulu of to-day, having nothing else to lose, and nothing to carry with him. One thinks of a people without houses or towns, without roads, without arts; and yet one catches a glimpse of that love of country, and that unflinching steadiness of purpose to defend and hold one's own, which will eventually develop into freedom at home, and independence of the foreigner abroad. Or look again at Dunster Castle, and the little vassal town which lies tranquilly at its feet. How naturally one constructs a state of society in which a security, which was not given by the law, was grasped by the warrior clad in iron, and intrenched within his castle walls. Or, to take another view, how do the relative positions of

castle and town suggest the idea of an oppressive domination of force, gradually relaxing into a friendly protection of the weak by the strong. And, if you were to go closely into details, you would see every change in the external aspect of the castle, and in the condition of the approaches to it, indicating a corresponding change in the social conditions of English life, and marking the decrease of the power of the individual in exact proportion to the increase of the authority of the law. The same idea suggests itself with some variations when we come across the splendid mansions of the Tudor period, Montacute, or Baympton, or Barrington Court. Here we see a totally different state of society represented to us. We see the home no longer a mere place of refuge, but a place of quiet luxury. Long galleries for recreation, spacious halls for hospitality, pleasure gardens, drawing rooms, libraries even, and the other provisions of an advancing civilization, tell us of the growing wealth, the growing security, and the growing polish of English life. It would be easy to apply the same line of reasoning to our monasteries and abbeys, to our guildhalls, to the ancient town halls of our boroughs, to the ancient symbols of civic power and authority, to the decoration of our churches, to the monuments of the dead, and to read in each of them no mean contribution towards the great end of historical enquiries, that of putting us in possession of the real condition of the people at the different epochs treated by the historian.

3. The light thrown by archæology upon the literary or intellectual condition of the people is no less important. I will not, however, fatigue you by working out this part of the subject. But it is obvious how much the remains of works of art, manuscripts, inscriptions, coins, and so on, must illustrate the mental progress of a nation. It needs not a work like Copernicus' famous astronomical clock at Strasbourg, or the wonderful paintings of the different schools collected in the galleries of Dresden, or Vienna, or Munich, to mark the growth of human intellect and scientific knowledge. If our eyes are open, and we know how to reason from what we see, we shall be able from far meaner materials to form a correct

estimate of the intellectual condition of a people by the various works which they have left behind them.

I ventured to say at the beginning of my address that we who are men of Somerset, either by birth or adoption, are proud of our county; proud of it, of course I meant, specially in an archæological point of view. When I think of the camps, the crosses, the abbeys, the cathedral and other glorious churches, the ancient dwelling houses, the numerous Roman villas and other Roman antiquities at Bath and elsewhere, the Roman roads and Roman mines, the ancient Saxon boroughs of Axbridge and Wedmore, the ancient diocesan and capitular records, and, to cover my own ignorance, let me add *et cætera*, I think I may claim for Somerset that it is not destitute of archæological interest. But it is also the centre of three cycles of poetical or historical drama, which are peculiarly its own and invest it with an especial lustre. I mean the dramas of Arthur, of Alfred, and of Monmouth.

It is no doubt difficult to pin down Arthur and invest him and his companions in the sober vestments of historical reality. But it is pleasant, through the glittering haze and artificial hues of romance and poetry, to catch a glimpse of historic patriotism, and to connect with the hills and combs of our county the image of a real prince, who loved her and fought for her independence against a foreign foe. The Romance writers of the Arthurian cycle no doubt drew all their details and the colouring of their narratives from their own fancy and from the customs and manners of their own times, just as the painters of the *cinque cento* would dress up Abraham and Melchizedek in the armour of the fifteenth century, or assign to King Herod his favourite monkey as he sat at the feast when Herodias begged John Baptist's head.

But, under the mass of legend, I must think there lay a living man of a stout heart and a gentle spirit, who, if he could have spoken Latin, would have said from the bottom of his soul, *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*. And however the inscription which purported to mark Arthur's grave at Glastonbury may betray its late origin, I think we may connect his death with that great abbey, while we see in the tradition that he never died the fond affection of an unfortunate race who clung to their

independence, and idolized the champion of it. But anyhow, the most sceptical cannot rob us of the glory of the Arthurian literature from the ancient popular Romance down to the idylls of our own Tennyson. I would also add that it does not seem to be a mere accident that the legends of the Christian knighthood of Arthur and his knights draw round Glastonbury, but that we may see in this a consequence of a great historical truth connected with our county, viz. that Somersetshire was (to parody Virgil's words) *Fidei cunabula nostræ*. Here was the cradle of the Christian faith in Britain. The Church traditions of Joseph of Arimathea, the very early existence of a Christian church on the site of St. Joseph's Chapel, as well as the Bardic references of the Welsh Triads to the island of Avalon, all seem to me to fall in with the Arthurian legends, and to indicate that the Gospel which came from the far East found one of its very earliest settlements in these regions of the west. Indeed, if the Gospel came to us *viâ* Spain (from Gades) on the track of Phenician commerce, as there are grounds to believe that it did,¹ then it is just on these western shores of Britain, and in the tin and lead producing countries, that we should expect to find traces of its most ancient establishment.

If, however, we turn from this somewhat dreamy territory to the second period which I indicated—I mean to the great name of Alfred—then at least we shall be standing on solid and well-defined ground. The man of Somerset, be he warrior, or lawyer, or scholar, or divine, or simple patriot, may well feel his heart tingle within him as he connects the name of Alfred the Great not merely with our English race, but specially with his own county. Aller and Wedmore and Athelney, though they be least among the thousands of England, acquire an importance and an imperishable glory from their connection with the immortal Alfred. And the very marshes and bogs of the Brue and the Parret become objects of reverence and admiration, when we remember that on them the battle of English freedom and of Christianity

¹ So Venantius Fortunatus says of St. Paul.

Transit et Oceanum, vel *quâ* facit insula portum (i.e. the Isla de Leon)
Quas que Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.

—*Vita Sti. Martini.*

was fought and won by the great and good King of Wessex.

It is much to be wished that many points connected with the great struggle between Alfred and Guthrum, which are still involved in obscurity, could be cleared up. I need not remind the archæologists here present what important contributions to this end have been made by the learned and able articles of Bishop Clifford in the *Proceedings* of our Society. I think he has nearly succeeded in reclaiming from our rivals in Wiltshire the battle of Edington, and annexing its glories to Somerset soil. But I should like a little stronger light to clear up Egbert's stone, and Eglea and Bratton Castle. Perhaps this meeting may help to give that light.

On another subject, that of Alfred's palace at Wedmore, I will only say that I am looking forward with much interest to the discussion which I hope may follow the Paper which I understand is to be read on the recent excavations there. Whether or no, any part of the foundations which have been laid bare are the foundations of Alfred's *regia villa*, within which Guthrum the Dane feasted with his Saxon godfather, and where the Witenagemot which sanctioned the peace of Wedmore held their sittings is, I confess, to me a matter of very great interest. It is a subject on which I have been converted and perverted, and re-converted and re-perverted, at least half a dozen times, because unfortunately all the eminent archæologists who have viewed them have taken exactly opposite views of what they have examined. The present state of my opinion on the subject is something like that of the balance of a letter-weigher which is vibrating in uncertainty as to the weight of the letter committed to its decision. Will the last oscillation terminate in a satisfactory yes?

The rebellion of Monmouth, the battle of Sedgemoor, and the Bloody Assize, form the third of the dramas to which I alluded, of which this county was the centre. In its way it has an interest of its own of no mean kind. The last of the many civil wars which had desolated our land, the last great battle fought on English soil, the enthusiastic love of liberty and of their national religion shown by the unfortunate people who flocked to the

standard of their weak and incapable leader, the last instance of an English judge degrading his sacred office to that of a tyrant's hangman, and the whole illuminated by the genius of Macaulay, are certainly materials to give a considerable zest to that *admonitus locorum* whose influence we come to seek in the sacred haunts of archæology.

I have left myself no time to touch upon two other heads of archæological science, which I must therefore content myself with barely indicating. The one is the nomenclature of the county, and the other the heraldic history of its families, extant and extinct. Every single name of a place, or river, or hill, has a history to tell us, if we could but rightly interpret it. It would tell us the people who first named it, or the circumstances under which it was given, or some event of national or domestic history connected with it. The *deans* and the *hursts*, the *bys* and the *wicks*, the *hams* and the *tons*, the *burys* and the *worths* have already been compelled to yield their evidence; but how very many names still maintain an obstinate silence. He would do a good service who would give us a really good onomasticon of the names of places in the county, marking their different forms, and the form in which the earliest mention of them is found, and the time of such mention.

Good family history, with pedigrees resting on facts, not on heraldic fiction, is also always valuable. Places and families reflect a mutual interest upon each other, and families which have flourished for centuries on the same land, or have contributed to the public good men eminent in religion, or science, or literature, or arms, or law, or politics, deserve to have a permanent record in the annals of their native county. I would also take advantage of this opportunity to suggest to those who have any collections of family papers the importance of carefully examining them, and giving to the public whatever may be of public interest. It is sad to think how many valuable documents may have perished at the hands of housemaids, and rats, and damp, and fire, during the last four hundred years, which might have been rescued by being printed. Nobody knows what may be in old chests and cupboards and strong rooms, till they have had their papers examined. The very interesting work

lately published by the Duc de Broglie, entitled "Le Secret du Roi," a considerable portion of which is derived from unpublished family archives, is a striking example of how much valuable historical information is sometimes to be found among neglected family papers. Parts of the memoirs of George II, written by my great grandfather Lord Hervey, and in his own handwriting, were almost obliterated by damp at the time of their publication, some thirty years ago, and would have been irrecoverably lost ten or twenty years later. I would therefore urge upon individuals and upon bodies corporate the duty (if the term is not too strong) of having their papers carefully examined and indexed, and of giving to the public whatever may be found in them of public interest or importance. Would it be possible by the formation of guilds, or by annual prizes, or in any other way to stimulate familiarity with those difficult handwritings which people find such a barrier to the study of registers and deeds, and other ancient documents?

With this question I close my address, only adding the hope that by this "meeting of the wise" fresh light may be thrown upon things and men and places, which are of chief interest to those whose home is in the County of Somerset.

REMARKS ON THE MEDIAEVAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE CITY OF WELLS.

By J. H. PARKER, C.B., F.S.A.

THE CATHEDRAL.

According to tradition there was a church at Wells connected with Glastonbury in the first century of the Christian era, but all that relates to S. Joseph of Arimathæa is of very doubtful authority.

That King Ina founded a church here in 704, in honour of S. Andrew, the patron of Holy Wells, is probable, and may almost be considered as certain. The well of very pure water said to have miraculous (or in other words medicinal) properties still remains in use, close to the east end of the church, and the water still gushes out there very abundantly, and soon fills the moat round the Bishop's palace, which has long served as a reservoir to the inhabitants of the city.

That King Alfred founded a Bishop's see in 903 there is no good reason to doubt, nor that King Edward the Elder built a church or chapel on the site of the present choir, but it is probable that this building was of wood only.

In 1135 Bishop Robert built a church here; no doubt this was of stone, and probably of the same size as the present church, for the Norman churches of that period generally are of the largest size, at least the plan is laid out and the work begun on that large scale; the choir was built as soon as possible, a dedication then took place, for it was the choir only that was consecrated. In the Latin of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries the word *ecclesia* means the choir only; the nave was called the vestibule, and frequently was not built till long afterwards, sometimes not at all, if the funds were not forthcoming. We have a record of a dedication in 1163, still under Bishop Robert. The interval of twenty-eight years from

the foundation indicates that a great work was being executed. When Mr. Ferrey stripped off all the white-wash from the walls, he found that the greater part of the existing walls was of the Norman period up to a certain height. The same thing was found at Exeter in the same manner, although there are no signs of Norman details visible. At Wells the north porch is of late Norman character, and may probably be of the date of 1163; probably a part of the north aisle was then preserved, from the porch to the choir, for the convenience of the clergy in the Close; and the Dean, who is likely to have had a house at that period on the same site as the present Deanery, which is much later; but the existing nave is not of Norman character, nor even Transitional.

In the time of the great Bishop Joceline the present magnificent west front, with its admirable sculpture, was begun and to some extent completed, but not entirely. The lower parts of the two towers which form part of the western front are of the same period, but the upper parts were not built till long afterwards. At the same time the lower part of the walls of the nave on both sides, to the height of about ten feet from the ground, were built, as is shewn by the courses of stone, which continue all along; but the upper parts of the walls were not built till after the west front, as is shewn by the junctions of the masonry, and the insertion of mouldings of the nave in the south tower of the west front.

There was another dedication in 1239, still under Bishop Joceline, and it is probable that the Norman choir had then been rebuilt, or altered according to the fashion of that period. Bishop Joceline must have had enormous funds at his disposal;¹ he built the Bishop's Palace, that is to say, the magnificent structure now inhabited by the bishop, some of the details of which are identical with the west front. Joceline died in the year 1243, the third year after the dedication just mentioned. The nave, to fill up the space between the choir and the west front, was built at three periods, all during the thirteenth century; the details of the three parts are not exactly alike.

The crypt of the chapter house (which is in itself a fine

¹ The income of the see was £214 14s. 6d in 1212, but that is equal to quite £5000 of modern money.

structure) is recorded to have been built between 1275 and 1292, this proves that the choir and the north transept were finished before that period. The upper part of the chapter house was built between 1293 and 1302: it is one of the most beautiful buildings of that very beautiful building era, with its vault resting on a central column, and its vestibule with the fine stairs leading to it from the north transept.

The Lady-chapel was built between 1309 and 1326, and was again one of the most beautiful buildings of that time, when many consider that Gothic architecture was in perfection. It is usually said that the choir is also of that time, but it is probably earlier.

The central tower was in substance part of the work of Bishop Joceline, but this is much disguised by later work, and it was only made out by Mr. Irvine by a very careful examination of the construction and the details, such as could only have been made by a practical architect of experience; he has found details of four periods in this central tower. The work of later period is a mere casing. It was in progress in 1316, and the roof was being put on in 1321. The inverted arches were found necessary to support the tower about fifty years after it was built—similar arches would have prevented the fall of the spire at Chichester. The upper part of the south tower of the west front was executed by Bishop Harewell, begun in 1361, ended in 1386, but was made to harmonise with the lower part.

The north tower of the west front was built by Bishop Bubwith, begun in 1407, and finished by his executors about 1426. He also built the organist's house, originally the house of the "Master of the choristers," and connected at the back with the chambers on the western walk of the cloisters, in which the choristers practised their chanting, adjoining it, which served as an excellent foil to shew the massive grandeur of the cathedral by comparison with an ordinary dwelling-house standing close to it. Unfortunately this building has been destroyed, having been long neglected, and Mr. Ferrey had propped it up with a view to its restoration, when the props were wilfully destroyed in the night, in 1869.

The beautiful west front was tampered with under the

idea of improving it, under Bishop King, in the time of Henry VIII. A few of the figures are of his time, but the sculpture of them is not at all equal to that of the original statues, a few of which were wanting before the recent restorations. The whole has now been very carefully repaired.

The cloisters on the southern side of the nave are at present chiefly work of the fifteenth century, but there had been previously a wooden cloister, and another was begun in the thirteenth, as all the doorways are of that period. The two doorways from the church into the cloister, and the one from the cloister at the south end of the western walk, leading to the Bishop's Palace, are all of very beautiful Early English work. There are also remains of a doorway about the middle of the east side, which may have led to an earlier chapter-house belonging to the Norman church. The foundations of an octagonal building were found by Mr. Irvine, and buried again, but he does not think them Norman. On the outer walls towards the Bishop's Palace there is a fine series of buttresses. The gate-house of the Bishop's Palace, built by Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury in the fourteenth century, is immediately opposite this.

Mr. Irvine's opinions on the subject of the date of the walls are by no means to be despised; he is a very careful and accurate observer, and as a practical architect he is often able to give information on details which others have overlooked. All that he says about Wells is true as far as it goes, but it is one side of the question only, and when he tries to persuade us that the existing walls are of the Saxon period,¹ I am sure that he is mis-

¹ He now says he has been misunderstood, and that he did not say this; but both the late Sir Gilbert Scott and Mr. Ferrey, as well as myself, had understood him to mean this. I am, however, glad to find that he really agrees with us that there is no exception here to the general history of architecture.

Mr. Irvine's observation that the lower courses of stone in the side walls of the nave are earlier than the upper part, perhaps half-a-century, confirms what I had observed myself many years ago, when I first examined the architectural history of this cathedral, long before I again examined it with Mr. Freeman, after Pro-

fessor Willis's Lecture, when we found that the Professor had been rather too hasty in his examination of it, and had not observed that the west front is earlier than the side walls of the nave, which is clearly shown by the jointing of the masonry at the junction where it is visible in the cloister-court. The upper part of the side walls being of the thirteenth century, it follows that the lower courses of stone are likely to be of the twelfth, and therefore of Norman character, but not *Early* Norman, for the masonry is *fine-jointed*, and *Early* Norman masonry is always *wide-jointed*.

taken; the general history of architecture, grounded upon the close observations of Rickman, perfected by Professor Willis, and confirmed by scores of instances both in England and France, is decisive on this point. We have several other instances besides Wells of elaborate descriptions of buildings of the Saxon period, which our fathers or our grandfathers applied to the existing buildings. This was perfectly natural when the principle of comparison had not been established; but we know that many of these buildings, of which we have the most elaborate descriptions, were entirely swept away by the Normans within a century afterwards, as being either too small, or too low, or too badly built to be worth preserving. Perhaps the most decisive instance of this of which we have a record is Winchester, where we have a very elaborate bombastic description of the Saxon cathedral, and yet we have a record of the transfer of the relics of the saints from the old cathedral to the new one at the time of the consecration of the new building, the old one being then left standing in the old churchyard, and it is believed that the foundations of it still remain, but have not yet been excavated. Wölstan's description of the Saxon building was written in A.D. 980, the new building by Bishop Walkelyn was just about a century after this. There are several other instances of the small old Saxon church having been left standing in the same churchyard with a much larger Norman church. At Bradford-on-Avon the small but very interesting Saxon church, which is still standing, with the exception of the south transept, and which probably is of the eighth century, was in the same churchyard as the Norman church of the twelfth, although they are now separated by a modern road. At Wantage, a small earlier church was standing in the churchyard of the present church in my remembrance, the old church having been turned into a school-house, and when a new and larger school-house was built, the old one was unfortunately destroyed.

The extracts from the Fabric Rolls at Wells¹ agree perfectly with the general history of architecture, but not with Mr. Irvine's supposed views. If he had been content

¹ Read in the Chapter House by Canon Bernard, when the Institute visited Wells. August 11th, 1879.

with dating the present structure about the year 1190, I should have been disposed to agree with him, for I have long said that the last ten years of each century belong rather to the following one in architectural history, but the exact resemblance even in details of the nave of Lincoln Cathedral with Wells may be considered as proof that they were built by the two brothers, one of whom was Joceline of Wells, who was bishop from 1206 to 1239, and who also built the Bishop's Palace, some of the details of which are identical with those of the west front of the cathedral. That this magnificent west front was really built by him appears to me to be matter of demonstration, and Mr. Irvine himself now agrees in this. St. Hugh's choir at Lincoln was built between 1192 and 1200, and we might have put the west front of Wells to that period; but Savaricus, who was then bishop, does not appear to have carried on any great work: his time and his funds were otherwise occupied; and if he had built at all, it would have been at Bath and not at Wells. The time of Reginald Fitz-Jocelyn, 1171—1191, was contemporaneous with the rebuilding of the choir at Canterbury by William of Sens, but that work is entirely of Transitional Norman character, and not purely Early English, as is that at Wells. The work of William the Englishman, who completed that of William of Sens, is indeed almost as much advanced as Wells and Lincoln, but still retains more of the Norman character, and that was building in 1184. We may hope that Canon Bernard will publish the interesting records of which he has told us the substance, and these will probably decide the long-disputed question. I do not admit of *any exceptions* in architectural history: the architectural character of each *generation* was always the same, unless there is a difference of nationality, or of the building material.

The construction of buildings of the Saxon period is very distinct from that of the Norman. In the Saxon church at Deerhurst, the date of which is ascertained by a contemporary inscription to be 1053, is almost or quite contemporary with the Norman buildings of Edward the Confessor at Westminster, but the construction is very different. At Deerhurst the tower, which is the most perfect part of the old building, has walls of herring-bone

work, with long and short work at the angles and at the east end, where part of the original construction also remains; the construction is the same, and the doorways are triangular-headed, and some of them are square-headed, quite different from Norman work—at Westminster, on the contrary, we have the usual Norman masonry. It has been shewn that in the lower parts of the walls the masonry at Wells is Norman, although the general appearance belongs to the following century and the Early English style; there is certainly none of it earlier than the twelfth century. It was probably begun in the time of Bishop Robert, 1135-1166, but there is no reason to suppose that any of it is earlier.

The cathedral church of Wells is the only one in England which is quite complete, with all the parts and proper appurtenances, and all belong to the original design of Bishop Joceline. The plan of the church is, as is usual in large churches, cruciform, and what is not usual, the same style of architecture prevails throughout. We have the central tower, with the transepts north and south, the choir with its aisles, and eastward of that the presbytery behind the altar, and the Lady-chapel beyond that; the last is the latest in date, and belongs to the last division of the Early English style, or it may be called Early Decorated. Westward of this central tower we have the nave with its aisles, and the western front with its two flanking towers. Southward of the nave there are the cloisters. The cathedral library is over the east walk of them, and the singing school of the choristers over the west walk. These cloisters serve as a covered passage leading to the Bishop's Palace, which is also of the thirteenth century, and part of Bishop Joceline's work. Northward of the choir we have the chapter-house, which also belongs to the later division of the same style.

Beyond that is the Vicars' Close, added in the fourteenth century by Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury, and partly rebuilt in the fifteenth century by Beckington and his executors. Northward of the nave we have the Deanery, rebuilt in the fifteenth century on a grand scale, and slightly fortified, with its own gatehouse. Eastward of this are two of the Canons' houses, which have

been rebuilt, then the Archdeaconry, modernized in front, but having the interior still mediæval; on the first floor is a fine hall of the time of Edward I.; at the east end is a small round window with tracery of wood only, which is a rare feature; a doorway of that period still remains below. The wall that encloses the Close has three gates, one at the north-west corner, called the Dean's Gate; another at the north-east, called the Chain Gate, with a passage on a bridge over the street, leading from the Vicars' Close into the cathedral; the third is at the south-east corner leading from the market-place, in which there is a cross that has been restored. On the eastern side of the market-place is a fine gate-house, with the arms of Bishop Beckington, who added an outer wall to the palace, with this gate in it, outside the moat. This was an addition in the fifteenth century to the original palace of the thirteenth. There is also a fine barn of this period outside the moat, but near to it. Several of the canons' houses are in THE LIBERTY, outside the Close, on the north-east, and parallel to the Vicars' Close. Some of these houses are of the fourteenth, others of the fifteenth century; they have been modernized externally by the successive inhabitants, but nearly all have considerable remains of the old work, and the original plan of each can easily be made out.

THE BISHOP'S PALACE.

The most important of the buildings not strictly belonging to the church is obviously the Bishop's Palace, built by Bishop Joceline for his own residence, and still inhabited by the present bishop. But the parts occupied seem to be only the three sides of what was once a quadrangle. Some excavations made in the time of Bishop Auckland brought to light the foundations of a gate-house in the middle, with a wall extending to the kitchen on one side and the chapel on the other, with a moat and drawbridge on the outside. The present more extensive moat and fortification were made by Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury in the fourteenth century, who also built the existing gate-house, from which there was a drawbridge over the moat until quite a recent period.

The great hall of Bishop Joceline is on the first floor,

with a vaulted substructure. In its original extent it must have been one of the finest halls ever built, judging from the magnificent windows at each end and along one side ; but as these side-windows do not extend the whole length, and there is a blank wall with space for two windows omitted at each end, these indicate partitions, but probably only to a moderate height ; the roof having been continuous above (as was usual in a dormitory), is now hidden by a modern ceiling. A projecting chamber, with a substructure of a later period, juts out from the south-east corner. The Bishop's Chapel is not part of the work of Bishop Joceline ; it appears to have been begun and left unfinished by him, as some of the details are of his time, but the general character is half a century later.

Beyond this chapel, and touching it at one corner, are the ruins of another still more magnificent hall, with its offices at the opposite end. This was the work of Bishop Burnell, towards the end of the thirteenth century. He seems to have been determined to outdo even the magnificence of Bishop Joceline, but of his great work only one wall and one end remain. In the wall is a series of windows of the Edwardian character. At the end opposite the chapel are remains of the buttery and the pantry, with the passage between them, which led to the kitchen. This has been destroyed, but the foundations remain ; it had been connected with the hall by a short wooden passage, as usual.

THE VICARS' CLOSE.

The Vicars' Close was built by Ralph of Shrewsbury in the fourteenth century, or perhaps only begun in his time, and left unfinished. It was either rebuilt to a considerable extent, or completed, by Bishop Beckington and his executors, in whose hands he left large sums for completing the various works that he had commenced, but had left unfinished. The arms of the executors are found in many places with those of the bishop. Originally each of the vicars choral, or singing men, had a separate small house, consisting of two rooms, one over the other, with the staircase and closet at the back ; the upper room was open above to the fine timber roof ; no ceiling was intro-

duced till long after, but these cottages were intended for single men, and when the vicars were allowed to be married, it soon became the custom to unite two cottages in one house, the number of the vicars being at the same time reduced to half. One, however, of the separate cottages has escaped alteration. From the time of Cromwell to almost the present day it had no roof and no floor, but all the main timbers remained sound. I obtained a lease of this from the vicar to whom it belonged, and restored the roof and floor, making no other alteration, so that this house, which is about the middle of the west side, is now *restored* to its original state. I suppose that the Anti-restoration Society would have thought it right to leave this cottage of the fourteenth century without a roof or floor because it had been so for two centuries ; but I consider they carry a good principle too far and caricature it. Restoration, when properly done, is frequently very desirable, and sometimes quite necessary.

There was no kitchen or offices to any of these small houses. The vicars all lived together, and took their meals in the common hall, which is partly over the gateway at the entrance to the Close, at the end next the cathedral, and there is a covered passage from it over the chain gate to the cathedral. At the opposite end is the Vicars' Chapel, which is entirely the work of Beckington, except that some sculptured ornaments of the time of Joceline are used as old material. This makes it probable that this Close was part of the magnificent design of Bishop Joceline, carried on by Bishop Ralph, and completed by Beckington with such materials as he found ready for use.

The fine chimneys, so well known from Pugin's work, had nearly all been destroyed ; one only remained perfect. From this I had moulds made for terra-cotta chimneys in facsimile, by Mr. Grimsley of Oxford, and gave them to those who were willing to put them up. Most of those now visible in the Close are of terra-cotta, which was used because we thought to get a better facsimile ; we afterwards saw, however, that this was a mistake ; Wells being in a stone country, with very skilful stone-cutters, the chimneys might have been copied in stone at almost the same expense as in terra cotta. I have little doubt

that all these chimneys will be restored by the next generation.

S. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH is a very fine one, and very interesting from the great changes that have been made in it. The west tower is one of those celebrated Somerset towers which are *commonly* of the time of Henry VII, but by no means always ; there are a few examples believed to be as early as the time of Richard II. Mr. Serel has ascertained from documentary evidence that this one is of quite the early part of the fifteenth century. It can be seen that the piers in the nave have been lengthened and the arches stilted up, as at Canterbury, the church had been originally cruciform, with a central tower, before the present tower was built.

NOTE.

The Almshouses, of which the old Guildhall now forms part, are very interesting ; a fuller account of the latter, and of the other domestic buildings of Wells, will be found in my *Architectural Antiquities of the City of Wells*, published in 1866, with wood engravings. The Cathedral is not mentioned, as there are so many works upon it, nor St. Cuthbert's Church, because Mr. Freeman has given a good account of it in the Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society.

THE SALTING MOUNDS OF ESSEX.

By H. STOPES, F.G.S.

There has been, as yet, no scientific notice taken of the numerous ancient mounds of burnt earth in the marshes on the Essex and Suffolk coast. They just fringe the full-tide line of the rivers and estuaries, being only occasionally covered by exceptionally high tides. They consist of a reddish clay mixed freely with broken pottery of the rudest type, and wood ashes and charcoal. It is very strange that they should have for so long a time failed to excite the attention of antiquaries or archaeologists, for it is just possible they may be able to fit the key to some of the ciphers of our half-revealed past history.

These mounds exist only in this one peculiar position. I have examined many, and I never saw one more than five feet above high-water mark, and never reaching to low-tide mark. They seem all very uniform in character and composition. Those I have seen are from 2 feet to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, and have the same appearances at the surface as when worked down to the base. I have not yet examined them sufficiently to tell the full number and extent of them; but among those I have dug into, the largest was, as nearly as I could judge, about 30 acres. It consists almost entirely of this red burnt clay, and contains an enormous number of fragments of pottery, bricks and vessels, although not one of them seems to be entire. An old man in the neighbourhood has been for years in the habit of carting away the soil from this mound, or "Red Hill," as he called it. He told me he had moved away many hundreds of loads, but he had never found a single piece of whole pottery, nor a coin. I showed him the largest piece I had picked up, and he said it was much larger than most pieces, although he remembered having seen a few pieces nearly as large again. Mixed with the earth, though irregularly, are large quantities of charcoal and wood ashes, but I could find no trace of coal. Clinkers seemed common, and they showed that great heat must have been thrown out by the fires that have burnt them.

I may give my impressions and observations during one day's work among them. Through the courtesy of Mr. Stacey Gibson, of Saffron Walden, I had permission to visit any of the mounds existing upon his land at Peldon, and, on the 7th of May last, I started with an experienced and native navvy, well provided with pick, shovel and sieve, to make a thorough research into the facts of the case. Arrived at the Brickhouse farm, occupied by Mr. Fairhead, we walked down to the marsh under his direction, and just at the sea-wall we came upon the first mound. This was nearly level with the wall itself, though a good deal of it has already been carted away on to the land. Commencing to dig, I at first had a hole made about four feet in diameter, and at the depth of 5 feet we came to the bottom of it, resting upon

London clay. In this hole we found about twelve pieces of pottery, of three or four inches square, and two or three hundred of more than about one inch square, together with an immense number of smaller pieces. I also found two bricks, one about three feet down, and the other right at the bottom—in fact, in the clay itself. The whole soil had been lowered about two feet for a hundred yards. I had intended cutting a trench through from one side to the other, but, as that would have taken several days, I preferred digging similar holes to the one already described in various parts of it. I found it of the same depth and character in every part, although I did not find any more of the wedge-shaped bricks in this mound. Its whole extent was about ten acres: so that it alone would contain upwards of 100,000 tons of earth.

Leaving this first mound, I tried another about a quarter of a mile to the north. I could not quite determine its extent; for though I fancied it ran under a wheat-field, and dug in several places to find out, sometimes the burnt earth appeared and occasionally it did not. The untilled portion of the mound was 4 feet 6 inches thick, and had also been largely carted away. Its inland face was burrowed by many rabbits. It was just the same as the others, and here I found a large circular piece of pottery which must belong to a pan at least 2 feet in diameter.

Other mounds were near, but I next walked to Sampson's farm, about two miles to the east, quite near to Mersea Strood. There I found two mounds in a field which had been recently worked and planted with beans. I carefully walked over the field, and found two more bricks, but all the fragments of pottery were very small, and like the others. When I dug into these mounds themselves, there were far fewer fragments, but little charcoal, and the greatest depth of any part not more than 2 feet 6 inches. An old man who had worked on the farm for over fifty years said, that it had been used long ago to fill up the marsh and level the field.

Another mound ran by the Strood, just in the marsh, and this I also examined. I found it just like the others. In another field, adjoining, stood two mounds, which were probably originally only one. They were very shallow, being only one foot thick, and contained much less broken pottery.

Altogether, these mounds covered about thirty acres, and, with the others I visited, making upwards of forty acres, as nearly as I could judge; and this extent has been considerably reduced during the lifetime of the one old man I talked to, as the soil is valuable to apply to clay, and also to dress the land after an exceptionally high tide. I have no idea of the total number of these mounds, but their number may be imagined when, after the destruction of centuries, eighteen still remain between Strood and Virley, a distance of only six miles. I am told they exist on the Norfolk coast, along the wide rivers of Suffolk, and also in Kent. Still, I believe we have them in the greatest number and the largest size in Essex. They are quite peculiar to our own coasts, and are entirely distinct from the kitchen middens of Denmark and Scotland.

They present an interesting field of investigation, and I cannot pretend to account for them, but may give a few facts further, and possible suggestions therefrom.

These mounds invariably reach right down to the London clay, shewing either that the clay, at the time they were deposited, was not

covered by mud, or that the men who made them always first cleared down to the clay. When we remember the acreage they cover, this would be no small task.

I have tried for some years to collect the traditions and popular opinions about them, and they are various. Some say they were Roman brick-yards; others that they were Saxon potteries, under Alfred the Great. Some believe that they were the base of the camp-fires of Boadicea or of Alfred at the Danish invasion; while others fancy the Danes brought their dead to be buried there, and that the broken pottery was the shivered vessels of the dead. All these fancies are equally absurd; but what are they?

In the catalogue of the glass at the South Kensington Museum, published for the Committee of the Council of Education by Chapman & Hall, page 9, is the following notice:—"In 1295 English records speak of the glass painters being among the chief tradesmen, particularly at Colchester, where the sand is of a suitable kind, and the salt-marshes would furnish abundance of plants whose ashes yield the necessary alkalies." I quote this indication of an extensive industry going on in the marshes, but I hardly think it has anything to do with the formation of the mounds; yet it is a fact not to be lost sight of. In a mound five feet thick on the Creek by Strood wall, a good cross-section is given. This contains little or no pottery, but much cellular, semi-vitrified earth and burnt clay, with impressions of the sea-grass *Euteromorpha Compressa*.

I will now briefly describe the specimens collected. I. Red earth or burnt clay. II. Under-clay (London clay), containing charcoal. III. Three pieces of clinker or fused sand, one piece of which is nearly equal to coarse glass. IV. Twelve pieces of coarse pottery, which are nearly all one inch thick, of a red colour, but blackened in the centre. Some of these are very full of impressions of grass, having evidently been held together by the grass while being baked, one piece belonging to a vessel which could not have been less than two feet in diameter. All the pottery is of the coarsest possible hand-manufacture. On none of them do I see a trace of a wheel: in fact, it is all ruder and rougher than the early British urns of the oldest type. V. One piece of black earthenware of still rougher make, which was apparently nearly half grass before being burnt. VI. Four pieces of wedge-shape tile or brick. These are of much better make, being finer material well burnt, apparently made in a mould. Three of them are of the same colour—red, but not black in the middle. They are at the smaller end five-eighths of an inch square; but, as I have not yet seen an entire one, I cannot say what the complete size may have been. The largest piece I have seen is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick. This piece is not of the same material as the rest, but is made of mixed clay; very like an over-burnt yellow-stock brick made from London clay and chalk, with, however, but little chalk.

Having thus very briefly stated all the facts and material I have at present been able to collect, the questions now remaining to be answered about them are, What are these mounds? How did they come there? and Who made them?—and I cannot even venture to suggest a reply to any of them. Possibly some day a more complete and thorough examination of them may remove the mystery now shrouding them, and, as I before ventured to suggest, I hope they may be able to throw some light

upon the past of our race ; for, as we in Colchester may claim the honour for our town, and our flat despised marshes of being the cradle, if not the birthplace, of the English race that has made England what she is, there may be some hidden and unsuspected revelation concerning that early time which may be of deep interest to all the world-wide, English-speaking family, although I suspect that the secret, if any, which these mounds contain belongs to a far older time. Mr. H. Laver tells me that one at Tollesbury, which I have not yet seen, was tilled during the time of the Saxons, as, having been abandoned to the sea, it still remains outside the sea-wall, with the characteristic Saxon narrow stetches which distinguished Saxon tillage.

A FEW WORDS ON TOWERS AND SPIRES.

By Sir C. H. J. ANDERSON, Bart.

Babel, as far as we know, seems to have been the parent of all towers. The desire of man to get nearer the sky, to command an extensive view for watching or protection, or to memorialize the dead, seems to have existed from the earliest times. The Pyramids are the most ancient and lofty piles now existing, raised in a flat country, as is so frequently the case. Till the introduction of Christianity, towers appear to have been rare, except as appendages to the walls of fortified cities, or as pharoses or lighthouses. A circular tower as early as the time of Justinian is said to exist at Ravenna. Although the use of bell towers or campaniles became common, many were civic monuments, like those of St. Mark, and probably the Giralda at Seville, and some of the hotels de ville in France and Belgium, but in most cases they were ecclesiastical structures and near the churches. In Italy they are often detached, as at Parma, Florence, Sienna, Verona, Pisa, etc. In the North of Germany, in France, and England, with few exceptions, they form part of the church itself. We have the Lombard towers developed in the Norman western steeples, as the central tower represents the Byzantine dome.

The round towers in Ireland are said to be the earliest ecclesiastical specimens of detached towers in the North of Europe. They could scarcely be intended for bells; more likely for observation or for lights, having small windows at the top, but no accessible roof. The Lombard towers usually consist of stages, lighted by round-headed windows with a pilaster between, with low inaccessible roofs. But where the outside roof was intended as a platform for observation, parapets became necessary, and how to finish a tower so as to make it ornamental, became a subject requiring much thought, which may account for the number of unfinished towers, and the few, comparatively speaking, which please the eye; doubtless in many cases, as now, short funds stopped the work, which was afterwards carried in later styles up to the parapet, and then left incomplete.

Of the Italian campaniles there can be no doubt that Florence is far the finest, in true perpendicular, grand in height and proportions, and without that appearance of splitting at the top, as it is well termed by Sir Edmund Beckett in his book on building; it probably tapers slightly, though imperceptibly. Sienna, Parma, St. Zenone at Verona are good specimens, though not graceful, and in the Black Forest the surviving west tower of the Abbey of Hirshau is a noble example. The falling tower of Pisa, even if it were straight, could never have been a satisfactory example, *i.e.* as a tower. The finishing of Early Norman church towers in England was often a plain parapet, and how preferable that is to the later battlements may be seen in St. Peter's at Gowts, at Lincoln.

One cannot help wondering why this plain and symmetrical steeple has never been copied. In cathedrals the Norman towers were often finished with wooden spires covered with lead, as Durham, Southwell, the north tower of Canterbury (now pulled down) and possibly the western towers of Lincoln before the later additions; but the common-place battlements and pinnacles seem to have been fashionable, and to have been added in later times, as at Southwell, Durham, Exeter, Worksop and elsewhere. Complete Early English towers are rare; the west towers of Ripon, which had leaden spires, are good examples; and also West Walton and Sutton St. Mary's, both detached, and the latter surmounted by a leaden spire and pinnacles; but the lancet style, as a rule, is not adapted for effective belfry windows.

Every tower has a physiognomy, of which the belfry windows may be called the eyes, and the hood moulding the eyebrows. When the tower is narrow a single belfry window of two lights is preferable to one with three, but double windows are infinitely more effective when the tower is sufficiently wide to admit of them, and the bolder the hood moulding the better, *e.g.*, compare the three towers of Lincoln (especially the western towers), the centre towers of York, Canterbury, Gloucester, Worcester, Durham, the west towers of Wells, of Newark, Grantham and Louth churches, with the west towers of York Minster, the towers of Boston, Derby, Fountain's Abbey, &c. I place Beverley Minster towers by themselves, being too narrow on the west and eastern faces for double windows, and perhaps also on the north and south sides, which are a trifle wider, but which, taken as a whole, are models of beauty and good proportion.

Much depends on the space between the belfry windows and the top of the tower. As a rule, it will be found that the old architects seldom failed to hit the right spot. Compare the Victoria tower at Westminster with the great tower of York. In the former are three belfry windows in a row, where, if one may venture to criticise, two would have been far preferable, and these are placed too much below the parapet. If the tower had two windows, like those in the great tower of York, some feet higher up, the effect would be far better. If the great coarse single light window at Boston was replaced by two windows like those in the stage below, it would be a great improvement.

Some of the finest towers and spires are of mixed styles, *i.e.* Lincoln, Wells, Ely, Norwich, Newark, Grantham, St. Mary's Stamford, &c. York, Beverley, Boston, Louth, Lichfield, Worcester, Canterbury centre tower, Gloucester, St. Stephen's Bristol, Huish Episcopi and many of the Somerset churches, are of one style and chiefly Perpendicular. The west towers of Lincoln are among the most remarkable, because, though neither straight nor uniform, there are none which more completely satisfy the eye. This is owing to the exceeding elegance of the double belfry windows and hood mouldings; the bold staircase buttresses, which produce unusual depth of light and shade; the pinnacles, which are leaden spirelets rising out of coronas; and to the position of the towers, not springing from the ground, but behind the broad screen front on the west, and growing, as it were, like gigantic turrets out of the picturesque gables of Norman work and the flanking chapels below, on the north, south and east. If carried downwards, even though buttressed, to the ground, so as to form a portion of the façade, like York, Beverley and others, they

would appear topheavy and out of proportion. One only regrets the absence of the leaden spires, which were taken down in 1808.

The outline of these towers is irregular ; to correct this, the coronals of the pinnacles, copied from those on the great tower, are made to project over the stone work, except on the western side of the south-west tower, where the pinnacles are set crooked, the object being to make them rake in line with those of the northern tower, and so to cheat the eye. The coronals are made of oak carved, and the lead hammered on, to shew the indentation, and the pinnacles slightly and somewhat irregularly tapered. Fortunately when repaired a few years ago, the original lines were followed, but the lead was painted a dark brown, which contrasts badly with the stone work and the unpainted pinnacles on the great tower. One cannot but suppose that the progress of these works was most carefully watched, and probably shams set up to test the effect before the work was completed, for we know that the old workmen had no such finished designs as we see in the Royal Academy.

The great tower of Lincoln, as completed, is a Decorated story upon an Early English foundation, and a work of great boldness and beauty. It consists of two narrow walls, tied together by stone and iron, leaving a considerable space between, in order to diminish the weight, and was surmounted by a lofty leaden spire (blown down about the time of the Reformation) and four leaden pinnacles, which now remain. The original parapet consisted probably of little more than the crockets of the canopies over the belfry windows, the present open work having been put up by Essex in the last century, and though it looks well from below is coarse in execution.

It is worth while to compare this tower, which looks equally well from all distances and on all sides, with the larger and more elaborate Victoria Tower at Westminster, which, though imposing at a distance, appears when viewed near broader at the top than at the bottom. The reason is that it is the same width throughout. The Lincoln tower is gathered in *two and a half inches* twenty-four feet from the summit ; it can only be seen with a good glass ; from which we learn on what trifles in measurement, more or less, symmetrical proportion depends. It is to be noticed that the pinnacles on the tower are rather steeper on the inward side, which was doubtless intended to assist the pyramidal effect of the great spire in the centre, as the flying buttresses do at Louth, uniting the pinnacles (too large by themselves) to the spire, and binding the whole together into the finest pyramid in England, except the queen of spires at Salisbury. Besides other large spires, Grantham, Coventry, Newark, Heckington, Whittlesea, Yaxley, Leadenham, Ewerby, etc., may be named, and specially Stanion in Northants, a most lovely example of perfect form, combined with simplicity.

Even before the Great Fire, London does not appear to have possessed a single fine tower or spire, except St. Paul's, which, judging from Hollar's views, must have owed its grandeur to size and height, for except the flying buttresses there seems to have been no exuberance of ornament, which, after all, is but a secondary element in architectural beauty, when compared with symmetrical proportion, and it is remarkable how much money is often wasted on the former, to the neglect of the latter.

The only old towers of any size remaining are those of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, and Christ Church, near the Holborn Viaduct, and

both are spoiled by the disproportionate height of the pinnacles. Whether these are original I do not know. Bath Abbey and Pershore have been spoilt by additions of the same kind within the last fifty years. It is to be feared that Magdalen Tower at Oxford has been made a plea for overgrown pinnacles. That fine tower has been, I think, overrated. The space between the belfry windows is rather too wide, and the tower itself slightly out of plumb, like St. Mary-le-Bow; but though the pinnacles are large they are not exaggerated like many of their professed copies. The tower of Merton has not received the praise it deserves, whilst St. Mary's has been lauded as a whole, when its chief merit is due to that exquisite portion which unites a heavy and stumpy tower to a somewhat too slender spire. The plain, well-proportioned tower and broach spire of Christ Church ought not to be passed without commendation.

Reverting to pinnacles: it is remarkable how often a tower looks better without them, *e.g.* the great tower of York Minster. Doubtless a second story was intended above the lanthorn, as at Howden and Durham, and the work was stopped, probably from uncertainty as to the capability of the four central piers to bear the additional weight, for I believe though they look so solid and grand, they are really Norman work cased, and the mortar used by the Normans was frequently of inferior quality. If the upper story at York had been added, there would have been pinnacles the bases of which may be seen. But no one, I think, would wish the tower as it is, so simple in its decoration, so broad, square, and solemn, from every point of view, to have pinnacles added to it. Nor, indeed, in my opinion, would Durham or Howden be improved by them; or the western tower at Wells, which appear incomplete, and were perhaps intended to have leaden spires.

The clock tower at Westminster is simply a handsome kitchen clock in stone, and the same may be said of the Midland Railway clock tower, and that of the Town Hall in Manchester. Unless a clock is intended to be lighted at night, when of course there must be a face with a flat surface, it seems a mistake to combine it with the architecture, for it can hardly be done without injury to the latter. The clock face at Mechlin, one of the grandest towers on the Continent, is, if I am not mistaken, of open metal work, showing only the hands and figures; but the modern fashion is to adapt the gabled spires for the clock, by projecting and ornamenting the stone work beyond the tower walls, thereby destroying its proportions and dignity. How grand gabled towers and spires are almost without ornament, may be seen at the Marie Kirk, Lubeck, and other brick churches in that wonderful city. Of the modern churches in London, however picturesque they appear *en masse* at a distance, they are not objects for imitation. St. Michael's, Cornhill, is the best proportioned tower, but the details are bad. St. Bride's is the most effective spire, if spire it can be called which is merely a nest of little templets piled upon each other, and crowned by a small obelisk. As for the rest they need not be named. Of the churches built within the last forty years there are some with spires of considerable merit, *e.g.* St. John's, Vauxhall, with a spire rising from the cross, reminding one of Newark and Grantham, than which no better examples could be followed. There may be others unknown to me. Some have been failures from the want of funds, and the foolish desire of committees to have the tower and spire completed

at once ; but in many cases greater success would have been achieved if, before spire or pinnacles were proceeded with, wooden shams had been fixed, to see the effect, bearing in mind, what may be considered an invariable maxim, that a few feet longer or shorter may make all the difference in a spire and a few inches in pinnacles, or, as has been shewn at Lincoln, even in a tower 270 feet high and forty feet in diameter ; had this been done at Bridlington, we might have seen a more successful completion of the otherwise careful restoration of the priory church ; but of the new towers, I, for one, will not venture to speak, when there were such guides to go by in the neighbouring Minster of Beverley, the towers of which might serve as models, if ever those frightful steeples of the Royal Abbey should be rebuilt, and it would be no insult to the memory of Wren, so long as St. Paul's remains the magnificent and worthy monument of his great genius.

THE FATE OF TONBRIDGE CASTLE

It was reported, apparently on good authority, a few weeks ago, that the site of Tonbridge Castle was to let for building purposes. The report was so far probable that the ground about Tonbridge, and within reach of its well known Grammar School, is becoming much in request for villa building, very much to the advantage of the landowners there. As regards the castle we are however glad to find that the report is unfounded, or founded only on the renewal of a lease of the premises, which therefore, it may be presumed, will remain without any serious alteration. It would indeed be more than a local calamity were the venerable remains of Tonbridge Castle to be treated as is just now the case with those of the Castle of Northampton.

For Tonbridge Castle is no work of yesterday, nor has it been the dwelling place of any ignoble lords. It is one of the oldest and most remarkable of those fortresses which preceded the coming in of the Normans, and of which William, with his military eye, at once perceived the value. The subject of bitter contention between the Church and Baronage, and of more than one contest between its lords and their sovereign, it long descended in a line of illustrious families, and though in later days alienated and sold, its remains have till now always been treated with respect, and only recently have been recovered by the representatives in blood of its ancient owners. Surely they, of all men, should be the last to turn this chief seat of their ancestors to vulgar purposes, or to be accessory to its destruction by reason of the moderate addition of rent which might thereby accrue to them.

The Manor and Castle of Tonbridge seem to have been attached to the See of Canterbury long before the Conquest, and whether inhabited by the archbishops or, as was more probable, by one of their chief tenants, the castle must always have been a place of great importance, being not only a fortress of unusual strength, but so posted as to command the country between Dover, formerly the key of England, and Rochester, which, from its position on the Medway, was the advanced guard of London on the south. It is a tradition that soon after the battle of Hastings, the Archbishop was induced, very unwillingly, to surrender Tonbridge to Richard Fitz Gislebert, in exchange for his Norman lordship of Brionne; and one argument in favour of this exchange having taken place is, that the district attached to the castle has always been called the Leuca or Lewy (Ban-lieu) of Tonbridge, a Norman appellation very uncommon in England.

There is no evidence that Tonbridge was included in the encroachments complained of by Lanfranc at the Shiregemote at Penenden in 1076, but that the alienation was always regarded as illegal is clear, from its having been, according to Herbert of Boseham, the subject of a "*dura contentio*" with Becket, who claimed both castle and territory, "*quæ vulgo banleuga dicitur*", together with the "tower of Rochester", which probably is the military building of Norman fashion now attached to

the north transept of the cathedral. Becket's claim was resented by the whole baronage, and was unsettled at his death ; but it was revived by Archbishop Boniface, and compromised with him by Richard Earl of Gloucester, who agreed to do homage for four knights' fees, with suit of court for the manor of Tonbridge and others, and to hold the offices of high steward and high butler to the archbishops.

The homage was to be rendered at each enthronization, and was made palatable by the prodigious fees and perquisites attached. As steward, 7 scarlet robes, 50 lbs. of wax for lights, 30 gallons of wine, livery of hay and oats for 80 horses for two nights, the dishes and salts placed before the archbishop at the feast, and after it the keep of 50 horses for three days ; as butler the fees were nearly the same, and included the archbishop's own cup. The fees, therefore, attached to the offices were commensurate with their rank and splendour. This homage continued to be paid till the extinction of the male line of de Clare, when, in the partition, Tonbridge came to the sister who married Hugh d'Audley, whose representatives were the Earls of Stafford, Dukes of Buckingham, one of whom did homage in person when Archbishop Warham entertained Henry VIII and Charles V at Canterbury in 1520.

Since then the property has been alienated, and the greater part of the castle has been allowed to fall into decay. The great artificial mound, however, one of the finest in England, remains but little injured, and upon it may still be seen traces of the shell keep of the de Clare's. The mound stood on the general outline or *enceinte* of the castle, and the curtain wall ran across it, and on one side still descends to the great gatehouse, a very fine Edwardian building. The outline of the great court with its banks and ditches may still be traced, and parts of the curtain remain. The ditches are full of water, and form a part of a great reticulation of water courses which belong to the infant Medway.

Recently the castle, it is understood, has been purchased by the Jerningham family, who hold the Barony of Stafford as heirs general of the Dukes of Buckingham, and therefore of the Audleys and of one heiress of de Clare. To a stranger an appeal to preserve so ancient and celebrated a fortress might be made in vain, but the same ancestral feeling that led the Jerninghams to repurchase the property, would we feel sure induce them to make even a considerable sacrifice to preserve from further injury a place for so many centuries associated with the greatest of their ancestors.

Original Document.

Communicated by JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A., Scot.

"A tresnoble consail le Counte de la Marche monstrent si leur plest labbe et Couent de Cerne qe sont del fundacion des progenitours nostre Seignour le Roi qe come le dit Counte demande une seute de dite Abbe et Couent al hundr' de Mersshwode pour leur tenure de Symondesbergh' le quiel manoir de Symondesbergh' est del primer fundacion et patronage nostre dit Seignour le Roi la ou nulle sute a ore est due come les ditz abbe et Couent souent ont offry de monstrier leur chartres et evidences. Et nient contresteaunt vn Estephene Bolour baillif de Whit-churche et plusiours autres meffesours par comandement de Seneschal et de son clerc du dit Counte viendrent oue graund nommbre a force et armes le Joedy proschein deuaunt la feste de Saint George ore proschein passe et pristeront oet boefs del charue a Symondesbergh' le quiel manoir est la greyndre sustenance des ditz Abbe et Couent et enchaceront tanqal park de Mersshwode et apres a un autre temps pristeront iiij^{xx} et xvj owailles nient tounduz et chaceront au dit park et al tierce foitz pristeront vynt et qatre boefs alantz al charue et chaceront au dit park et ce en brief temps manasseront de iour en autre de prendre touz les bestes de leur neifs tenantz par quey les ditz tenantz ne osent de faire leur hosebandrye ne les ditz Abbe et Couent ne puissent pour defaute des dites bestes; Sur quey le dit Abbe ad pursue la deludrance al dit viscecounte primo secundo. Et etiam sicut plur, vel causam. Et le viscounte ad retourne qil ne pust auoir la vewe des bestes pour faire la deliverance ¹ [contre de les ministres du dit Conte demandans pour chescun piez des dites bestes un denier come pur fie auant la deliverance de la dite destresse] par quey priont les ditz Abbe et Couent en eovre de Charite et pour les almes des ancestres le dit Counte de prendre et receiure les chartres et evidences del dit Abbe et de auiser et faire eux droit et reson solonc leur evidences ou autrement de suffrir la deliverance estre faict par la ley issint qe la grosse verite puisse estre trie issint qe les ditz Abbe et Couent ne eient mester de pursure autre remede."

The original of the above is among Lord Frederick Campbell's Charters in the British Museum. It does not appear to which of the Earls of March it is addressed. The writing seems to be of the last part of the 14th or commencement of the 15th century. From its naming the Council of the Earl, it may have been addressed to Roger or Edmund

¹ The words in brackets are interlined in fainter ink, and in seemingly a different handwriting.

Mortimer, the 4th and 5th Earls, who were respectively minors in the 4th and 22nd years of Richard II.

The Abbot and Convent of Cerne in Dorsetshire complain that the Earl demands a suit from them to the Hundred of Merswood for their Manor of Symondsburch, from which no suit was due, as they have often offered to shew by their charters and evidences. But, notwithstanding, one Stephen Bolour, bailiff of Whitchurch, and other evil-doers, by order of the Earl's steward and his clerk, came in great numbers and with force of arms, the Thursday next before the Feast of St. George [April 23] now last past, and took eight plough-oxen at Symondsburch, a manor from which the Abbot and Convent derive the greater part of their living, and drove them to the park of Merswood; and again he took ninety-six sheep, not shorn; and a third time took twenty-four oxen going at the plough, and drove them all to the said park, and thus in a short time they threatened one day or other to take all the beasts of their "native tenants," whereby the tenants did not dare to do their labours, and the Abbot and Convent were unable, for want of the said beasts. Whereon the Abbot had pursued the deliverance to the said (sic) Sheriff "primo secundo. Et etiam sicut plur' vel causam." And the Sheriff had returned that he could not have a view of the beasts to make delivery, as the servants of the said Earl demanded for each beast one penny of fee before taking off the distrain: whereupon the Abbot and Convent, in the work of charity and for the souls of his ancestors, prayed the Earl to examine their charters and evidences, and do justice or otherwise, &c., &c.

There is no endorsement on the petition. According to Hutchins' *Dorsetshire*, Simondesberge (now Simondsbury) was a possession of Cerne Abbey at Domesday. Merswood was anciently the only Honour in the County of Dorset. It was at an early date the property of the Maundeilles, and, after various transmissions, came to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, with whose daughter and heiress, Philippa, it passed into the hands of the Mortimers. Both of these places are in the Hundred of Whitchurch-Canonicorum.

The Abbot of Cerne of an earlier day appears in his turn to have exercised his rights in a high-handed style, and given cause of complaint by a widow against his officer. Maud, the widow of Robert Broun, complains to the King and Council that one Rauf Quenterel, bailiff of the Abbot of Cerne, had come to her house, broken three eggs, and driven off a horse, value 12s., which he did needlessly, for he made her understand he was ordered to distrain by the Abbot, and then drove off three cows, price "xx souz," which were so driven and "desolez" by him in his park, that they all died. This he did to her damage of "cent soux," and she seeks remedy.

The Council permit the complainant to have a Writ of Transgression in Chancery, with, it may be hoped, an equitable decision.

This latter document is probably of the reign of Henry III or Edward I. It is in the fine collection of Parliamentary Petitions in H.M. Record Office. No. 1181.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 5, 1879.

THE LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the Chair.

DR. HENRY SCHLIEMANN sent a paper on "Recent Discoveries at Ilium," which was read by Mr. Hartshorne (printed at p. 169). The noble CHAIRMAN said he thought Dr. Schliemann was rather frugal in his theories about the formation of planks; he thought it was quite possible to work them from the solid trunk of a tree with the aid of fire and flints. The variety of metals found was remarkable, and the Institute owed a debt of gratitude to a most energetic and successful explorer. A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Schliemann for his paper.

MR. J. H. PARKER made some observations on "The Architectural History of St. Denis" (printed at page 231).

MR. G. T. CLARK spoke of the connection between early Norman and Roman architecture; it was an interesting question, and one which required to be solved. On the Continent the changes in architectural styles were very gradual. There was no Conquest, as in England, and consequently no sudden change; the case was the same in Ireland, and the Norman style in England was not the legitimate successor of the style which preceded it. As to military architecture the matter was very puzzling, for it was difficult to connect the architecture of Norman keeps with the Roman style.

With regard to architecture in Ireland Mr. Parker thought that early cut stone buildings were the works of early English settlers.

MR. SOMERS CLARKE, JUN., read a careful report upon the condition of the Market House at Rothwell, Northamptonshire,¹ in accordance with the desire of the Council of the Institute to initiate a movement for the reparation of this highly beautiful example of the purest style of the English Renaissance, with a view to its application to some useful local purpose.

MR. HARTSHORNE stated that the proposed work had the warm support of His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl Spencer, Capt. J. B. Maunsell Tibbits (the lord of the manor), and other persons of influence in the county; and that the Venerable Lord Alwyne Compton had accepted the office of chairman of a committee now in course of formation. A short discussion ensued, in which Mr. Clark, Mr. Parker, Mr. S. I. Tucker (Rouge Croix), and Mr. Micklethwaite took part. The noble Chairman then proposed the following resolution:—"That this meeting having heard Mr. Somers Clarke's Report on the Market House at Rothwell, Northamptonshire, and having approved of the same, the Secretary of the Institute be directed to issue circulars to the members of the Institute, and in the county of Northampton generally, with the view of obtaining the necessary funds for the purpose in view."

This was seconded by Mr. TUCKER (Rouge Croix), and carried *nem. con.*

¹ Visited by the members of the Institute Aug. 3, 1878, see vol. xxxv, p. 439.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. J. H. PARKER.—Drawings and photographs illustrating his observations.

By Mr. SOMERS CLARKE, Jun.—Drawings of the Market House at Rothwell, showing its present condition and proposed reparation.

By Mr. R. S. FERGUSON :—

1. Quarry of stained glass, with the device of a mitre, crosier, and a bear, between the initials R.C. This is the rebus of Robert Chamber, Abbot of Holm Cultram, Cumberland, 1507-1518. This quarry was formerly in the possession of Archdeacon Paley.

2. The skeletons of three short iron maces, seventeen inches in length,



belonging to the Corporation of Carlisle, who by their charters are entitled to have three sergeants-at-mace. On the upper end of each is a silver escutcheon, with the arms of France modern quartering England; an open crown would surround the escutcheon. The lower end of each mace is flanged, so that by being turned over it becomes available as a constable's staff. These maces have been silvered or gilt, but have been brought to their present condition by the action of fire, no doubt in one of the conflagrations by which the earlier charters of Carlisle were destroyed.

3. Two silver racing bells, of globular form; one of them, measuring

2½ inches in diameter, is gilt, and thus inscribed :—

THE · SWIFTEST · HORSE · THESE · BEL · TO · TAKE ·
FOR · MY · LADE · DAKER · SAKK.

The other bears the date 1599, with initials H.B.M.C, that is, Henry Baines, Mayor of Carlisle.

4. A 'Dicket' ring.

5. A gold ring found near Carlisle.

6. Two brass tobacco stoppers. The head of one is a cast from a satirical medal struck after the Council of Trent; of the other a medal struck to commemorate the Duke of Cumberland.

By Mr. R. H. SODEN SMITH.—A very fine silver open-work case of

ancient Indian manufacture, containing a "Goa Stone," a medical compound formerly in high esteem among orientals.

Concerning these objects, Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH has been kind enough to send the following note :—"The gilded spherical, or egg-shaped objects, known as 'Goa Balls,' are supposed to have been the work of the Jesuit fathers at that Portuguese settlement in India. They were at one time highly esteemed, and may be so still in some places, for the cure of fevers, &c. They are beyond doubt compounded of very powerful drugs—bark, musk, and calomel entering largely into their composition, and a little of the powder scraped from one, and taken in water, was the way of administering the dose. They were highly valued, and usually enclosed in boxes of gold or silver filagree work. Their reputation was such that even in this country one still sees in the windows of some druggists' shops bottles filled with balls of gilded wood, intended to represent them—at least I have always so understood, though it has just struck me as possible that gilded *pills* might be intended.

"The 'Bezoar Stone,' often confounded with the 'Goa Stone,' is a totally different thing. It is thus alluded to by Bewick¹ in his account of the Gemse Bok :—This animal is famous for a concretion in its stomach or intestines called the oriental bezoar, which was well known in former times for its great virtue in expelling poison in the human frame, and was sold at enormous prices, its value increasing in proportion to its size. There was a time when a stone of four ounces sold in Europe for above £200 ; at present, however, its estimation and price are greatly decreased. The virtues which ignorance and inexperience attributed to it are now found no longer to exist ; and this once celebrated medicine is now only consumed in countries where the knowledge of nature has but little advanced. Similar concretions are found likewise in a variety of animals of the gazelle and goat kind ; even apes, serpents and hogs are said to have their bezoars ; in short, there is scarcely an animal, except of the carnivorous kind, that does not produce some of these concretions in the stomach, intestines, kidneys, and even in the heart."

MR. SODEN SMITH also exhibited a small vessel in Romano-British pottery, found near Bow, in the collection of Mr. A. W. Franks.

By Captain EDWARD HOARE. A large silver seal, with the side decorated with the honeysuckle, of rude work, pendant from a large silver ring, and bearing on the facet an inscription, in three lines, in Arabic words, thus read :—"Khadeem al makam al ala bil lahi Mir Ben Moghani." Translated into English :—"Servant of the place of the exalted in God, Mir Ben Moghani," or Muhir, son of Moghani.

The meeting was indebted to Captain Hoare for the following notes :—"I submitted this seal, and its inscription, to Dr. Rien, of the Oriental Manuscript Department in the British Museum, and his interpretation is as follows : 'The servant of the exalted place in God, Mir Ben Moghani.' I also had it read by a Mr. Hakim, a very intelligent Hindostani gentleman, resident at present in London, and studying in the British Museum Reading Room. His reading of each word, and the translation into English, was as follows : '*Khadeem* ul-servant (the) (of), *makam al* - place (the) (of), *ala bil lahi*—exalted, in God *Mir bin Moghani*—Mir, son of Moghani.' I had it also read and

¹ *History of Quadrupeds*, 1st edit. (1790), p. 76.

translated by two Syrian gentlemen, one a Mr. Hormizd, a priest of the Greek Church, who merely differed in one word, the *first*, which he read as '*Choula*,' but having the same meaning; the other Syrian gentleman, a Mr. Bourrozand, lately come from Cyprus, who agreed with the readings and translations of Dr. Rieu and Mr. Hakim. Mr. Bourrozand told me the seal belonged to a high priest of the Mohammedan Church, and was slung on a girdle or chatelaine, attached thereto, round his waist, and was used for official purposes regarding his church or mosque. He also says the seal is not less than four or five hundred years old, as all seals with Arabic characters, for the last three hundred years, have dates attached; but this seal is without a date, as the old seals are. He also says the seal was manufactured either at Tunis or Mogador in Morocco, as it has nothing of an Indian or oriental type about it. He says he has seen seals like it at Tunis, that they are rare, and are greatly esteemed and prized by Mahomedans.

"All these particulars I obtained through the kindness and courtesy of Mr. Garnett, and some other of the officers of the Library of the British Museum, who are ever most ready to afford every information and assistance in their power.

"I purchased this seal lately, from a pawnbroker in South Lambeth, who told me it was pledged, with some other things, about three years since, by a foreigner, he thought either an Egyptian or an East Indian, but who never redeemed them. The weight of the seal is 18 dwt. 15 gr.

"The clan and sept of the Mahonys, or O'Mahonys, of the south and west of Ireland, principally in the County of Kerry, claim a Phœnician and Eastern origin and descent, like many others of the Celtic families of Ireland. Would it be too far fetched to assert, or suppose, that the owner of this seal, *Mir Ben* (i.e. *son of Mir, or Muhir*), *Mogni*, or *Moghani* (as read by Messrs. Hakim, Hormudz, &c.) and the family of *Mahony*, were derived from a common origin."

By Mr. T. H. BAYLIS.—A short sword blade, 11 in. long and double-edged to the extent of 5 in., with studded and tapering ivory haft, 6 in. long. The guard is 3½ in. long, with a human head at each end thereof. It was ploughed up at Roman's Castle, Raife, Pembrokehire, "Walwyn's Castle." It is probably a *couteau de chasse*, and may have been used as a plug or barrel bayonet, but only occasionally, for the haft being of ivory would have no certain hold in the barrel. It is too elaborate for an ordinary plug bayonet, but as officers carried fusils as late as George III. (West's picture of the Battle of Quebec), it may have been used for the double purpose of a sword or knife for cutting or thrusting and of a plug bayonet. Plug or barrel bayonets were used from 1671 to 1690, but were soon superseded by the ring or socket bayonets, which

could be fixed *upon* the barrel without stopping it or interfering with the sights, that the men might be able to receive a charge before or after firing. Mr. Baylis exhibited a similar weapon, together with a plug bayonet, from the Royal United Service Institution, for illustration.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A plug bayonet, silver mounted, with forge mark of Cornet inlaid in copper, late seventeenth century.

By Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN.—Drawing of a portion of a Roman tile, found with a great number of others bearing the same stamp at Quernmore, near Lancaster, in 1774. It is the only one now known to be extant, and is preserved by Miss Ffarington in the Museum at Worden Hall, near Preston. The stamp is ALA SEBVSIA. The second *ala* of the Gauls, termed in some inscriptions *Sebosiana*, and in others *Sebusiana*, formed at one time the garrison of Lancaster, a fine inscription by it from that town being now preserved at St. John's College, Cambridge.

By Dr. F. ROYSTON FAIRBANK.—Photograph of a Roman black earthenware vase discovered in June, 1878, in digging for some foundations in Hall Gate, Doncaster, together with two skeletons and an ordinary water bottle of coarse Samian ware. This vase is eight inches high and of the so-called "fretted pattern" of Mr. Thomas Wright.

"As vessels of this pattern have not been found at any of the southern or northern stations in Britain, or in the extensive kilns of Northamptonshire or Kent, it has been conjectured that they were exclusively manufactured in the potteries of Eburacum."—(Note to some similarly decorated in the York Museum Catalogue, p. 71).

By Mr. J. NIGHTINGALE.—A silver medallion in repoussé work (Dutch) of William and Mary.

By the Rev. F. SPURRELL.—A small flint weapon found at Faulkbourne, Essex, apparently the upper portion of an arrow-head.

July 3, 1879.

The LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the Chair.

SIR PHILIP GREY EGERTON read a paper "On a Monumental Brass in Christ's Church Cathedral, Dublin" (printed at p. 213).

The noble CHAIRMAN made some observations upon the heraldry of the brass, and spoke of the extreme scarcity of monumental brasses in Ireland, there being not more than about a dozen in the country.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS read a paper "On the Antiquities of Tarragona," which will appear in a future *Journal*.

The noble CHAIRMAN said that having visited Tarragona, he could speak of the extreme interest of the place. It was not beautiful like Granada, but possessed great varieties of antiquities. Like many early buildings in Spain, the cyclopean walls of Tarragona are doubtless Iberian. Tarragona was full of Roman remains. There was a primæval well in the centre of the market place, and when the Romans came to Tarragona, they constructed an aqueduct, filled up the well, and built an amphitheatre. During the Peninsular war the place was twice besieged, and the water in the aqueduct cut off. The besieged cleared out the well, found water at the bottom, and availed themselves of it again after its long disuse.

The Rev. W. J. LOFTIE sent a paper on "The Table of Abood, and the Stela of Perncfert" (printed at p. 337), which time did not allow of being read.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Sir PHILIP GREY-EGERTON.—

1. A rubbing of the Grey brass described in the memoir.
2. A restored drawing of the same by Mr. Fuller of Dublin.
3. Grey and Egerton quarterings blazoned on vellum.
4. Quarterings of Grey and Egerton detailed in a pedigree from the College of Arms.
5. Original manuscript of the services of William, Lord Grey de Wilton, written by Arthur Lord Grey de Wilton (his son) for Hollyngshead's *Chronicles*.
6. A printed copy of the same with Garter Plate blazoned, published by the Camden Society.
7. Settlement on the marriage of Elizabeth Grey with Francis son of Sir John Goodwyn.
8. Settlement on the marriage of Bridget Grey with Rowland Egerton.
9. Rubbing of the monumental brass in Magdalen College, Oxford, to William son of Arthur Lord Grey.
10. An exceedingly fine family pedigree, blazoned on vellum by Randal Holmes, and continued to the present time.

By Professor BUNNELL LEWIS.—Plan and photographs of Tarragona ; coins of the Augustan age ; Spanish and other coins.

By the Rev. W. J. LOFTIE.—A Stela of Pernefert ;—A collection of Egyptian scarabs. Among them were the cartouches of the following kings :—Senta, 2nd Dynasty ; Sneferos, 3rd Dynasty ; Chafra, 4th Dynasty, two examples ; Oonas, 5th Dynasty, three examples ; Sahoora, 5th Dynasty ; Merira, 6th Dynasty ; Merienra Pepy, 6th Dynasty ; Mentuhotep, 11th Dynasty ; Amenemhat ii, 12th Dynasty ; Amenemhat iii, 12th Dynasty ; Sebakhotep iv, 13th Dynasty ; Thothmes i., 18th Dynasty ; Thothmes iii, three examples ; Amenhotep iii ; Rameses ii, 19th Dynasty ; the same on amethyst ; Rameses iii, 20th Dynasty ; Rameses —, 20th Dynasty ; Takeloth and Thishak, 22nd Dynasty, and eight with unidentified cartouches ; also a small collection of scarabs bearing the names of Apis, Osiris, Ma (on "mother of emerald"), Isis, Ptah (in the original gold setting), Horus, and other divinities ; also eight bearing short texts, &c. ; also ten inscribed with the words, "cousin of the King," "son of the Sun," or with private names ; also one, illegible, in ivory, and an ivory head, bearing the name of a woman ; also a small cylinder in green glazed earthenware bearing the words *Semen-ptah-nefer*, the "image of the beautiful Ptah," probably the name of the Pharaoh Semempses, of the 1st Dynasty. Mr. Loftie also exhibited a small collection of ancient Egyptian gold ornaments, including a ring in the shape of a serpent, a ring with a figure of Pasht, two pairs of earrings decorated with rams' heads ; the emblem of Osiris in gold ; a large scarab, in the original gold setting ; a small circular amulet of cornelian, with a band of glass inlay, set in gold ; a small plaque in pottery representing Horus between Iris and Nepthys ; and a few other objects of a similar character.

By the Rev. R. ADAMS, through the Rev. A. L. COATES.—A processional crucifix of German or Flemish work, sixteenth century.

By Captain E. HOARE.—Miniature of his maternal grandmother, Elizabeth Lyons, eldest daughter and coheiress of Henry Lyons, Esq., of Rivers Lyons, King's County, Ireland, M.P. for that county for many

years in the Irish House of Commons.¹ The miniature was probably painted about 1760 by Cosway.

By Miss FFARINGTON.—Personal ornaments containing views of ruins, &c., and a landscape, worked with the hair of George III. (1766) and other personages.

The fashion of working portraits and landscapes in human hair was common in the last century, and there are few families that do not possess such objects of minor art. The miniature portrait of Charles I, preserved at Nettlecombe, the ancient seat of the Trevelyans, and said to be worked with the king's own hair, is an early and interesting example of a practice that has long died out.

By the Rev. J. LEE WARNER.—The centre portion of a mould for casting pilgrims' signs and brooches, found in pulling down an old house at Walsingham, a year or two ago. The material of the mould is white lias. One side would turn out six round tokens, and the other the same device, viz., the Annunciation, with the lily pot, in connection with an arrow for affixing the token or sign to the hat or garment. The counterparts of the mould are missing. In the "Vision of Piers Ploughman" the author speaks of—

" My signs
That sitten on mine hat."

Another writer, referring to the number of persons who made the pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham, says, "ermytes on an hep with hokede staves wenten to Walsingham;" and, again, the old ballad beginning—

" Gentle herdsman tell to me,
Of courtesy I thee pray,
Unto the towne of Walsingham
Which is the right and ready way"

further indicates that the quantity of these signs that must have been required was very considerable, and it is somewhat surprising that no other moulds have been found at Walsingham, and still more so that no examples of signs cast in this particular mould have been hitherto noticed.

In the museum of Lynn is a very similar mould, found in that town many years ago. It is fashioned for casting a sign with "L.H.C.," and a brooch of concentric circles pierced with a large arrow.

A considerably mutilated stone effigy of a lady, carved in low relief, was discovered some months ago under the pavement of an outlying part of Bangor Cathedral. The costume shows the figure to be of the middle of the fourteenth century. The lady holds in her left hand a *par precum* or set of praying beads, and exhibits on her left side five circular brooches of different sizes and disposed in no order. It is possible that these objects have reference to pilgrimages made to celebrated shrines.

By Mr. R. S. FERGUSON.—Gold ring found nine years ago near Carlisle, said to be Indian work; similar rings have been found in Ireland.

By Mrs. WRAY.—Rubbings of sixteenth century brasses from churches in Margate and at Willesden.

¹ See Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

ANNUAL MEETING AT TAUNTON,

August 5 to August 12, 1879.

Tuesday, August 5.

The Mayor of Taunton (M. Jacobs, Esq.) and the Town Council, assembled in the vestibule of the Shire Hall, and received the noble President of the Institute, the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, Sir C. Anderson, Sir W. V. Guise, Mr. E. A. Freeman, Mr. W. Burges, The Rev. C. R. Manning, The Rev. H. Scarth, Mr. J. H. Parker, The Rev. Canon Venables, Mr. R. H. Wood, The Rev. J. Fuller Russell, Mr. J. Hilton, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, The Rev. C. W. Bingham, Mr. Fairless Barber, Mr. J. Foster, The Rev. J. Lee Warner, Col. Pinney, Mr. F. H. Dickinson, Mr. H. Hutchings, and a large number of members of the Institute. The body of the vestibule was filled with a large assemblage of the clergy and gentry of the neighbourhood, and many ladies. Lord Talbot de Malahide having been placed in the chair, the MAYOR called upon the Town Clerk to read the following Address :

"To the Right Honorable the President and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland."

"We, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the Borough of Taunton, desire to acknowledge the great distinction that has been conferred upon our ancient town in being selected this year as a suitable centre for your deliberations.

"Our town is rich in the treasures of interesting architectural remains ; is the centre of a neighbourhood famous for its beauty ; is surrounded by landmarks, ruins, and relics that cannot fail to produce much interest to the antiquary and pleasure to the historian.

"We fully estimate the high and important position occupied by your learned Institute. We know how you have assisted, by your researches, the growth of art, science, and civilization. We desire to acknowledge how much you have enriched the teachings of to-day by unearthing and unfolding the treasures and triumphs of earlier times.

"We beg to offer you a cordial welcome, and to express the hope that your visit may prove satisfactory and pleasant.

"Given under our common seal, this fifth day of August 1879.

"THOS. MEYLER, Town Clerk.

MEYER JACOBS, Mayor."

In giving the Address to Lord Talbot de Malahide the MAYOR expressed a hope that it would be retained for many years as a slight memento of the town, and that the Town Council on their part would ever have pleasant recollections of this, the first visit of the Institute to Taunton.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE said that on the part of the Institute he received the Address with the greatest possible pleasure. There was no honour they prized more than being welcomed and appreciated by the bodies which governed the towns they visited. Much sympathy was shown to them by those bodies, and they flattered themselves that they were not unworthy of their patronage, for the object of the Institute was to be useful and beneficial to the public. They were not mere excavators, or collectors of curiosities ; they were anxious to contribute towards the

elucidation of the history of the country, and especially of local history; and to throw as much light as possible upon the manners and customs of their ancestors. The Address he had the gratification of receiving would be treasured among the archives of the Institute.

CANON MEADE then presented the following Address on behalf of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

"MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

"On behalf of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, we beg to welcome you, as visitors to our County and to this town of Taunton, in which we have set up our headquarters.

"The coming of the Royal Archæological Institute to any part of the Kingdom is certain to open up fresh discoveries of the deepest interest, to stir up increased desire for research, and to instruct and enlighten those who are labouring in the same field.

"We believe that these effects will be produced in a specially great degree now that you have come to a County full of rich historical associations.

"As a local Society, our chief object is to treat the History, Architecture, and general features of our County in no narrow way, but as parts of a great whole; and it is in this spirit that we cordially welcome the visit of your Society, of which the scope is so widely extended and the working so thorough.

"We believe that your coming will be of great help to us, and we venture to hope that our own Society, with its more restricted field of labour, may at least do its work in pointing out to you objects of interest in our own County.

"We are happy in being able to tell you that in this County, which is so full of memories of bygone ages, the study of Archæology excites a deep and continually increasing interest, and our Society meets with large support and sympathy.

"We, as one of the oldest County Archæological Societies, bid you welcome: we hope that your visit will be profitable and pleasant to you and to us, and that it may increase and strengthen the interest of true archæological research."

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE expressed the great pleasure that it gave him to receive the Address of the Somerset Archæological Society, and spoke of the readiness with which the Institute held out the hand of fellowship to kindred Societies, for he regarded them all as valuable workers in the same field. He expressed the most cordial thanks of the Institute for the kind Address which had been presented to them by his old and valued friend, Canon Meade. Lord Talbot concluded by introducing the Right Rev. the Bishop of Bath and Wells, as President for the week of the meeting, in doing which he said that he used no words of flattery when he assured the meeting that no one could have been chosen more fitted to perform the office he now requested him to accept; for the Lord Bishop was no mere antiquary for the nonce; he had long ago given the power of his mind to the study of literary and antiquarian subjects, and was well known to them as a writer on both.

The LORD BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS then occupied the chair, and delivered his inaugural address, which is printed at page 348.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE in proposing the warm thanks of the meeting to the Bishop of Bath and Wells for his eloquent address, ex-

pressed his hope that the noble chairman would consent to its being published in the Transactions of the Institute; this was carried with acclamation, and the Bishop having briefly returned thanks, the Mayor, on behalf of the Corporation, invited the members of the Institute to luncheon at the London Hotel, where the chair was occupied by the Mayor. After the usual loyal toasts had been given, Colonel Pinney proposed the health of the Bishop and Clergy of the diocese, and the Ministers of all denominations. This was responded to by the Bishop and Canon Meade. Mr. F. H. Dickinson then proposed the toast of the Army, Navy, and Reserve Forces, which was responded to by General Sir Percy Douglas. Bishop Clifford proposed the health of Lord Talbot de Malahide and the Royal Archaeological Institute, and spoke of the high value of archaeological studies, and the importance of the young being trained in such pursuits. Lord Talbot de Malahide responded, and proposed the health of the Mayor and Corporation of Taunton, to whose hospitality they were so much indebted. The Mayor returned thanks in happy terms, and was followed by Mr. Alderman Cornish and Mr. Councillor Goodland. The Ladies were then proposed by Mr. H. J. Badcock, and Colonel Pinney having returned thanks, the proceedings came to an end.

Complete programmes of the proceedings of the meeting during the week, and a Manual or General Notes on the places visited during the meeting, written by Mr. W. E. Surtees, were given to each ticket-holder.

The large party then proceeded to the castle. Arrived at the entrance of the outer bailey, the Rev. W. HUNT proceeded to give an historical explanation of the position which Taunton Castle held when it was founded. In 688 King Ine, he said, succeeded to the throne of the West Saxons. At that time Wessex had lost the valley of the Severn, which the victory of Ceawlin in 577 had gained for it. Mr. Freeman had well remarked in his paper on King Ine, in vol. xxi of the *Somerset Archaeological Society's Journal*, that Wessex in her earlier stage aimed chiefly at power in the central and northern portions of England. It was not long, however, before the West Saxons found out their true mission, which was to push their borders westward, and after Cenwealle's victories at Bradford and Pen, Wessex advanced her boundaries to the Parret, and Glastonbury became a frontier town. The West Saxons won the Quantock country next, and the Tone became the frontier of England to the west. The foundation of Taunton took place at the beginning of the eighth century, but in 722 they read that the castle was destroyed by Queen Æthelburh because it was held by Ealdbriht, a rebel. They did not know anything more of Taunton Castle for a long time. There was no doubt the town was granted to the see of Winchester, and in the reign of Henry I William Gifford, who was Bishop of Winchester at the time, built a castle here on the site of the old Saxon fortress. It was taken by the Cornish rebels in the time of Henry VII. During the Civil War, it was held for the Parliament, then taken by the Royalists, retaken by Admiral Blake, and held gallantly against a much larger number of Royalists. In the hall of this castle Jeffreys sat during part of the Bloody Assize, after the battle of Sedgemoor. As regarded the castle itself, they must remember for a moment what the term "Ine's Castle" meant. Taunton was a strong situation on account of its water defences. At that time, of course, the country was not drained as it now is, and

the Tone did not flow in so confined a channel. The junction of the Tone with one of its tributaries, called the Potwater, formed the site of Taunton Castle. As Mr. Clark had explained, the site of the castle had been made by throwing up the earth from the ditches. This was fenced in by stakes driven against the banks. They were standing now at the East gate, on the outside of the larger court of the castle. As they looked through the archway they would see that a road ran right across to the extremity of the green. The West gate would be a little beyond the Winchester Arms, near the Nursery, but it was entirely taken away. The whole enclosure of the castle formed an area of about seven acres. It was bounded on the west by the Potwater stream, and on the south and east by a large moat, which joined the Potwater and the Tone. There were no remains of the ancient walls on the south side, but the building on the left of the spot where they were standing was interesting. It was founded in 1522 by Bishop Fox as a grammar school. It was good Late Perpendicular work, and possessed a very fine roof, which was now plastered over. They were standing under an Early Decorated gate-house, and he could not help regretting that the owner of the hotel had blocked up the north side of the archway.

Advancing to the second gateway—that leading to the castle yard—Mr. Hunt explained that this was the entrance to the inner bailey. This inner court was a large rectangular space, of which the largest side was on the north and the shortest on the west. The defences on the north and east were the same as those of the castle generally, viz., the Tone Mill stream and the great moat. The defence on the other two sides was an inner ditch, which joined the two. The gateway was Edwardian. They saw by the small chamfer of the arches that it was Early Decorated, although if they looked at the inner arch they would see that it was fifteenth century work, and was part of the work of Bishop Langton. On the outside were the arms of Bishop Langton, and above them the arms of Henry VII. On either side of this inner gateway was a curtain ending in a drum-tower. The tower on the north-west side of the castle was still complete, and was of Edwardian work; it was at present used as the committee-room of the society. The other drum-tower had entirely disappeared, and a house used as a school occupied the place where it stood. The inner court of the castle was divided into two parts by a wall: on one side were the gatehouse, the keep, and the hall; on the other the most interesting part of the castle, the earthwork, where stood the stronghold of the West Saxon king. Passing through the building to the garden on the eastern side of the inner court, Mr. Hunt said that they were now in the moat. Before them was the rectangular Norman keep, with its flat pilaster strips; they would observe the traces of a staircase outside and the marks of fire upon the stones at the north-west angle. Beyond the keep was the great hall; the original height of the roof could be seen by a string-course; the wall was raised by building on half its thickness between the large windows, which seemed to have been inserted in the sixteenth century. There was no reason to doubt but that the present hall occupied the site of the Norman hall. At the north-east corner was a postern which led to the castle mill; from the condition of the walls on either side it might be held almost certain that they had here only one member of a postern of considerable depth. Standing in front of the hall the disfigurements due to the zeal of Sir

B. Hammet were clearly visible. The stone with the arms of Bishop Horne was evidently not in its right place ; it probably came from some porch or entrance to the hall built by that bishop. The party on entering the hall observed the remains of Edwardian windows, the staircase, &c.

Going thence into the keep Mr. Hunt remarked that the vaulting was unusual, as timber was more generally used. On the eastern side of the inner court was a strong wall, built probably by Bishop Gifford, in front of the ancient earthworks of Ine, which formed the terraces of the later castle. Beyond these lay the earthworks themselves. These consist of a large rectangular space to the south and a long terrace stretching northwards. These elevations were formed by throwing up the earth ; they were artificial, at least for the most part. The abode of Ine was built on the platform, and was very possibly of wood, though the only reason for supposing this was the fact that the new ground might not be able to bear the weight of stone. At the end of the terrace were the remains of a garderobe and vaulted drain. In conclusion Mr. Hunt regretted the absence of Mr. Clark, to whom the work of explaining the castle properly belonged. He had learned most of what he knew of the building from him, and could see no reason for departing from his conclusions. The long history of the castle as a fortified place, the peculiar character which the presence of Ine's earthworks gave to it, and the stirring scenes of which it had been the theatre, invested it with an interest of its own. He was happy to say that the building had now come into the hands of a society which would treat it with reverent care.

The Church of St. James was then visited, and described by the vicar, the Rev. W. T. Redfern. Mr. E. Sloper then spoke of the remains of the priory, and the restored Church of St. Mary Magdalene was subsequently inspected under the guidance of the Rev. W. Hunt.

The Antiquarian Section opened at 8.30 in Taunton Castle Hall, the scene of the Bloody Assize of 1685, under the presidency of Sir Charles Anderson. Dr. Pring read the first part of his paper "On some Evidences of the Occupation of the Ancient Site of Taunton by the Britons and the Romans." An animated discussion followed, in which the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, Mr. E. Peacock, the Rev. H. M. Scarth, Mr. E. Sloper, the President, and others took part.

The Architectural Section then opened, Mr. W. Burges, Vice-President, in the chair, in the absence of the President of the Section, Mr. Beresford Hope, who was prevented by parliamentary engagements from attending the meeting.

Sir Charles Anderson read a paper on Towers and Spires, printed at page 373.

The meeting then separated.

Wednesday, August 6.

At 10 a.m. a party of more than two hundred went by special train from Taunton station to Washford, for Cleeve Abbey. Here Mr. FAIRLESS BARBER took the party in hand, and opened his description of these interesting ruins by giving a brief explanation of the disposition of Cistercian abbey buildings, first paying a deserved tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Sharpe, who had made Cistercian houses his special study. Mr. Barber said that the sites were usually selected near a stream

of water for drainage purposes, and the conventual buildings were on the south side of the church. The churches were generally in the form of a Latin cross; that was where there was a single presbytery, as at Kirkstall. The door by which the monks entered the dormitory from the church was still to be seen on the north side of the conventual building. The lecturer pointed out that the range of apartments on the south side of the cloister garth were of later date than the rest of the buildings, and that the windows which lit those apartments were especially beautiful. At the south-east end of the church he showed the door which led to the sacristy, where the vessels connected with the administration of the mass were kept. Leading from this was a room which had been marked on Mr. Mackenzie Walcott's plan as a parlour, but which some thought was the room in which the bodies of dead monks were placed before interment. It was suggested also that it was a place where refractory monks were kept in silence, which would be a very different thing from a parlour. Next to this apartment they came to the chapter-house, a room with quadripartite vaulting in two spans, on which Mr. Barber said there still existed some traces of decoration in polychromes. They then came to a very handsome spiral staircase, leading to the dormitory. Mr. Walcott, in his otherwise very admirable remarks on this Abbey, stated that near this staircase was the library. Now it was well known that the members of the Cistercian order were not allowed to have many books. They were not allowed to see law books, so that they might not become litigious, a condition—that might very well be adopted in these days. They next came to the stype, or covered way. On the right of the stype they entered the day-room of the monks. It would be observed that the lights on the west side of the buildings had been entirely blocked by the erection against that side of a new refectory. It was an interesting foundation, said to have been established by William de Romara, in 1188. That was a critical period in Cistercian history, for it was not until 1191 that the consuetudines were sanctioned by the General Chapter of Cîteaux. He particularly called the attention of the visitors to the marvellous amount of heraldic tiles found in the church and about the abbey. They fixed the time when the refectory was built as in the reign of Henry III. There could be no doubt that there had been two sets of alterations, and there was a mixture of really good and very bad work. The windows of the refectory were beautiful, with their foliated transoms. The tracery of the window at the end of the refectory was very fine, but it had been spoiled by the woodwork which had been inserted in later years. They saw the lavatory underneath the refectory window in the cloister garth. There was this departure from the simplicity of the normal arrangement, they had lifted the refectory, and, in fact, gone upstairs to dinner. Near the fire-place were the remains of a staircase, which evidently led to a small pulpit for the monk who read at meals. At Fountains Abbey that arrangement was very perfectly marked, and the small cupboard where the books were kept might still be seen. They ought as archaeologists to feel glad that this valuable relic had fallen into the hands of so careful a man as Mr. Lutterell, who had not only gone to the great expense of getting the ruins into their present state, but had himself taken great interest in seeing this grand old book, which had been covered with dust, opened, so as to leave a few lines in which they could read a little of its history. There was no such sermon in stones as that

to be found in the ruins of a Cistercian abbey. They could read the simplicity of the lives of the monks who lived there, and suffered hardships with the idea of mortifying the flesh and advancing the glory of God.

The special train conveyed the party further to Dunster, for Dunster Castle, the Alnwick of the West of England, which was reached at one o'clock. At this lordly building the visitors were received and hospitably entertained by Mr. Luttrell. Entering the great hall the antiquaries heard a paper of extreme interest by Mr. H. MAXWELL LYTE on "Dunster Castle and its Lords" (which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*). The principal apartments and the magnificent views were then seen, and the party ascended the Tor, whence Mr. CLARK addressed them upon the peculiarities of the castle below. The main feature of the fortress was its Mound or Motte, in this case a natural hill, as at Totnes, Trematon, Launceston and Montacute, though often, and in the flatter counties more usually, artificial, as at Marlborough, Arundel and Tonbridge. Below, on one side, was a natural platform, and beyond that the slope descending to the river. The sides of the Mount had been scarped, and the platform rendered level, by art, the one for the defence of the keep, the other for the lodgings and other buildings of the Castle. Where the Normans, as was their usual practice, selected an ancient site for a castle after their own fashion, their buildings in masonry took much of the outline of the original work. The keep of timber, as represented in the Bayeux tapestry, was superseded by a shell in masonry, as at Windsor, or Durham, and the buildings below, the Aula and its appendages, by a regular hall, chapel, and kitchen, of permanent interest. Sometimes, perhaps almost always, some years elapsed before these changes were made, hence the shell keeps, though always upon the oldest sites, are rarely of older masonry than the reign of Henry II.

The first mention of Dunster was in Domesday, which record states that the Tor was held by Wm. de Mohun, and that Aluric had held it in the time of the Confessor. Mohun was a Baron of the Cotentin, who fought at Hastings and received 60 or 70 manors from the Conqueror. The Exeter Domesday informs us that Aluric had here a Mansio, or Manor, and no doubt here was his chief seat. It was so adopted by Mohun, under whom or his successor it was erected into the Caput of the Honour of Dunster.

The Mohuns possibly built a shell keep of masonry on the Tor, and added buildings lower down; but if they did so it had all been swept away with unusual rapidity, for certainly there remain no traces of masonry of earlier date than the reign of Henry III. This is very remarkable, because Norman work was usually of a durable character, and not likely to have become decayed in a century or a century and a half. That there was a keep in masonry was certain, though by whom built cannot be said. Mr. Clark then went into the details of the Castle, and the history of the several parts, much of which is related in a paper on the place printed at page 309. He said but little concerning its history, because that had been well cared for by Mr. Lyte, whose paper will also appear in the *Journal*. Much of Mr. Clark's discourse was occupied by the relation of Dunster to other castles, what may be called the comparative architecture of castles, a view which adds materially to the interest of the subject, and gives a breadth to these field lectures that is generally appreciated.

A visit was then paid to Dunster Church, where Mr. Freeman gave a description of its external and internal peculiarities, comparing its dual arrangement of conventual and parish church with the similar cases at Ewenny and Arundel.

Returning through the little town, past its picturesque Market House, the party again took the train and reached Taunton after a most interesting and instructive day, to be long remembered in the annals of the Institute.

A largely attended *conversazione*, by the noble President and the Members of the Institute, took place at nine p.m. in the Castle Hall, in the course of which Mr. R. A. Kinglake, to whom Taunton is so much indebted, read a charming paper entitled "A Valhalla of Somersetshire Worthies."

Thursday, August 7.

At 10 a.m. the General Annual Meeting of the Members of the Institute was held in the room of the Ethnological Society in Taunton Castle, the Lord Talbot de Malahide in the chair.

Mr. HARTSHORNE read the balance-sheet for the past year (printed at p. 286). He then read the following

"REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1878-9.

"In presenting the Report for the past year, the Council desire to congratulate the Members of the Institute upon the great archæological success of the last Annual Meeting at Northampton. It was a meeting that had been in contemplation almost since the foundation of the Society, and one which the late valued President, Lord Northampton, had long hoped for, and the result of the meeting, as has been since shown by the papers printed in the *Journal*, is believed to have fully justified the choice of the Council in making the historic town of Northampton the centre of the annual gathering of the members, and with the exception of a flying visit to Peterborough, an entirely fresh field was traversed.

"At the last Annual Meeting the Council had the satisfaction of stating that the *Journal* continued to maintain its high character, and that the arrears of its issue had then been reduced to one number. The Council is now able to state that the arrears have been finally overtaken, and that the last two numbers have been issued punctually at their proper time, a state of affairs almost unthought of hitherto in the history of the Institute, and such as cannot fail to contribute greatly to its usefulness, while it shows at the same time its vitality and vigour. At the Annual Meetings in 1876, the Council drew attention to the extreme necessity of strengthening the executive of the Institute, the general conduct of the business having been at that time for some years in the able but single hands of the late Mr. Burt. This matter was again impressed upon the members at the last General Meeting, and it was shown that two of the three honorary secretaryships still remained open. The Council have now again to state that these positions still remained unfilled, and it would again call upon the members to assist it in supplying these very necessary and important positions, believing as it does that the real interests of the Society very much depend upon the ability and energy of the Honorary Secretaries.

"With regard to the financial position of the Institute, the Council

have to state that, in order to bring up the arrears of the *Journal*, a large extra expenditure has been necessitated. The Council has, therefore, called upon the Trustees of the Institute to exercise the powers placed in their hands, and to realize the funded estate of the Society amounting to £220. This action on the part of the governing body of the Institute will, it is hoped, be fully ratified by the members; for the Council have considered that of the two positions, a journal several numbers in arrears, and the retention of a funded property producing only £6 10s. 6d., the latter should give way to the former.

"The Council have now the satisfaction of stating that it believes that the expenditure of the Institute can be duly provided for out of its proper annual funds, provided that those funds, namely the annual subscriptions of the members, are punctually paid at the beginning of each year, according to the regulations. Steps have been taken, certainly with considerable success, to call in the large amount of overdue subscriptions, for these appeals have been, in the generality of cases, readily responded to.

"The losses to the Institute by death are, in several cases, such as in the ordinary course of nature may have been expected, but it is with none the less sincere regret that the death of MR. JOHN HENDERSON, for many years the Honorary Treasurer of the Institute, must be mentioned. As an art collector of the highest taste and refinement he will be long missed. His interest in the welfare of the Society ended only with his long life of eighty-three years; and the members of the Institute will bear in affectionate remembrance his kind and genial nature, his true and constant friendship. By his last will Mr. Henderson bequeathed £100 to the Institute.

"The death of DR. DAVID LAING, at the great age of eighty-six, is not only an exceeding loss to the Institute, but the severance of a link with the past of no common moment. He was the friend for many years of Sir Walter Scott, Librarian for forty years of the Signet Library in Edinburgh, and Secretary for the whole of its term of the Bannatyne Club. He devoted special attention to the early ballads of Scotland, and formed with great critical acumen a large collection of MSS. and books. He was a frequent attendant at the Annual Meetings, and his intention of visiting Northampton last year was only frustrated by his last illness and death. The death of SIR WALTER TREVELYAN, at the age of eighty-one, is similar a loss, not only to the Institute, but to the antiquarian world at large. The energy which he brought to bear upon a wide range of antiquarian and philanthropical subjects was a striking feature in his active and useful life. SIR JOHN AWDRY has departed at the age of eighty-three, and MR. ANDERSON dying also at a ripe old age, has left behind him permanent proofs of his knowledge and taste as a collector. MR. PULLEINE will be recollected as an active and hospitable supporter of the Ripon Meeting; MR. SOPWITH took a constant and warm interest in the work of the Institute, and MR. DUNKIN's work at the first meeting at Canterbury was ably carried out. Death has further removed, since the last meeting, MR. W. BLACKMORE, The REV. T. CORNETHWAITE, MR. S. A. HANKEY, MR. H. T. LOCKWOOD, MR. J. J. MOODY, MR. H. T. RILEY, MR. A. C. SHERRIFF, The REV. G. WILLIAMS, MR. E. T. STEVENS, and MR. O. W. FARRER.

"It will thus be seen how severe have been the losses to the Institute

since the last Annual Meeting, and the Council would take this opportunity of expressing a hope that the young and active members of the Institute will exert themselves to follow in the steps of their masters and leaders, and further work out the archæological lines which have been so clearly laid down for them, so that the pages of the Journal may continue to show the freshness and vastness of the archæological field.

"The Members of the Council to retire by rotation are as follows :—
VICE-PRESIDENT : MR. C. D. E. FORTNUM, and the following Members of the Council : MR. SPARVEL-BAYLY, MR. H. F. CHURCH, SIR W. H. DRAKE, K.C.B., MR. J. R. LINGARD, MR. S. I. TUCKER (*Rouge Croix*), and LIEUT.-COL. LENNARD.

"The Council has provisionally appointed Mr. J. STEPHENS as HONORARY TREASURER in the place of the late MR. HENDERSON and the REV. SIR TALBOT H. B. BAKER in Mr. Stephen's place on the Council, and submits these appointments for the confirmation of the members.

"It would recommend the appointment of SIR WILLIAM DRAKE as VICE-PRESIDENT in the room of Mr. FORTNUM ; and the re-election of the latter and MR. TUCKER on the Council.

"It would further recommend the election of MR. J. BAIN, MR. BUXTON WHALLEY, MR. H. HUTCHINGS and MR. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH (the retiring Auditor) to the vacant seats on the Council."

With regard to the positions of honorary secretaries, several members spoke, Mr. Bloxam remarking that it was desirable that they should be filled by persons resident in London. It was then proposed by Mr. Bloxam, seconded by the Rev. W. Dyke, and carried unanimously, that the matter be referred to the Council in London.

The Rev. W. Dyke proposed and the Rev. F. Spurrell seconded a motion, that the action taken by the Council of the Institute in respect of the sale of the stock be approved. This was carried unanimously, and the Report was adopted.

With regard to the place of meeting in 1880, Mr. Hartshorne stated that a very cordial invitation had been received from the authorities in Lincoln, both ecclesiastical and civil, and read letters to this effect from the Mayor and others. The Bishop of Nottingham, as chairman of the united Societies, had also expressed, by letter, how warmly a second meeting of the Institute in Lincoln would be welcomed. Sir Charles Anderson expressed himself to the same effect, and spoke at some length on the Roman discoveries, and the numerous objects of interest that have been lately discovered. Canon Venables also assured the members how cordially they would be received in Lincoln, after so long an absence.

The noble Chairman, Colonel Pinney, and several others spoke, and, on the motion of Lord Talbot de Malahide, it was unanimously agreed that the invitation from Lincoln be accepted.

A vote of thanks to the noble Chairman brought the meeting to a close.

At 11 a.m. the Historical Section opened in Taunton Castle Hall, Lord Talbot de Malahide in the chair, when the president of the section, Mr. Freeman, gave his address, which will be printed in a future number of the journal.

The BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS, in expressing the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Freeman for his eloquent address, drew attention to some of the qualities which appeared to him to have given power to it.

At the bottom of the address lay that extensive, that wide and that accurate knowledge of history for which he might say Mr. Freeman was unrivalled. Such knowledge could only be attained by very diligent and very constant study. If there were any young people present, he would recommend them to be encouraged by what they had heard to commence such a careful and accurate study of those great events which in the progress of many ages had brought our country to what it is. He was not only struck with the accuracy of Mr. Freeman's knowledge, but with the quality of discrimination which he displayed. In the course of his studies of different subjects, he had noticed that there were two distinct classes of minds. One class of mind exhibited a power of collecting knowledge and accumulating a number of facts, but which was destitute of the power of applying them or making use of them in lucid reasoning. Then there was another class of mind, which displayed a great deal of acuteness in making use of what was acquired, but had not the power to accumulate the mass of knowledge which was necessary to lead to great results. There were a few minds so gifted that these two special powers were combined, and he thought he might say without fear of contradiction that the address they had just heard exhibited those two powers in a very remarkable degree.

After a discussion, in which the noble Chairman and Sir W. Guise took part, Mr. C. N. Welman read the following note on the Battle of Sedgemoor :—

“The parish chest of Westonzoyland contains an old book having several historical entries made by Mr. Alford, one of the churchwardens in the year 1685. These were seen long since by some one who transcribed them for the editor of *Notes and Queries*. Mr. Meade King, of Walford, asked me to go and see if I could find them myself, which I did, and in the same chest found another old book, containing the short history which I venture to think will be now read in public for the first time since it was written. The writing is not like Mr. Alford's, therefore I think it was the vicar who wrote it.

“ ‘An account of the fight that was in Langmore the 5th July, 1685, between the king's army and the Duke of Monmouth. The engagement began between one and two of the clock in the morning, and continued near one hour and a half. There was killed upon the spot of the king's soldiers 16. Five of them buried in the church, the rest in the churchyard, and they all had Christian burial. 100 or more of the King's Soldiers wounded, of which wounds many died, which now have no contained account. There was killed of the Rebels upon the spot about of 300. Hanged with us, 22 ; of which four were hanged in Gommaesk ; about 500 prisoners brought into our church, of which there were 79 wounded, and 5 of them died of their wounds in our church. The D. of M—— beheaded July 15th, A.D. 1685.’

“We have then killed and wounded—King's Soldiers, 16 ; wounded, 100. Rebels killed, 300 ; wounded, 79—495. Lord Macaulay, K.S., 300 ; Rebels, 1,000—1,300 ; Dr. Lingard, victors lost 300 ; vanquished, 500—800. Mr. Alford was one of the churchwardens from Easter 1685 to 1686.

“ ‘Expended on the ringers 6th July in remembrance of the great deliverance we had on that day, 7s.

“ ‘Expended upon the day of thanksgiving after the fight, upon the ringers, 11s. 8d.

“ ‘Expended when Monmouth was taken, upon ringers, 8s. 6d.

“ ‘Paid for Frankincense, &c., to burn in the church after the prisoners was gone out, 5s. 8d.

“ ‘Paid Ben Page and four others for ringing when the King was on the more, 5s.

“ ‘For taking up the glanes which were laid down over the Broad Ryne when the king was on the more, 1s. 6d.

“ ‘Expended this in beere on the next day when the King came through Weston, 8s. 10d.’ ”

Mr. FREEMAN said the meeting owed some thanks to Mr. Welman for bringing these details before them. Such contemporary particulars were very valuable, and the paper had established a principle he had long held, that the figures of historians were occasionally very unreliable.

The noble CHAIRMAN said that this was only one point which struck him. According to our modern notions of warfare, this was a very insignificant affair, and it was a question whether it was a mere local battle.

Some discussion took place as to the visit of James II to the spot, and it was stated that no historian had chronicled such an event, and it was suggested that the term “king” might have referred to the Duke of Monmouth, who was known among his followers as the king.

Mr. WELMAN asked if Monmouth was intended, how was it he did not know of this passage across the Ryne in his flight? It was for want of that knowledge that he was captured.

Colonel PINNEY said that the people of Westonzoyland were Royalists, and were not likely to call Monmouth king.

Mr. FREEMAN said that the point had certainly taken him by surprise, for he had never read of King James II having visited Sedgemoor. He believed the entry must have referred to King James, and not to Monmouth.

Mr. E. GREEN then read a paper on “The Siege of Dunster,” which will appear in a future *Journal*. In the discussion which followed, Mr. FREEMAN said there was one point of peculiar interest in connection with sieges of the time Mr. Green had spoken of. It was a time when the new means of attack were brought to bear upon the old means of defence, and it was a testimony to the skill of the old builders that these castles were able to bear up as well as they did. He had hoped that he might hear something in this paper of a siege of Dunster, which took place in the 13th century. It was said by Mr. Clark the day previous that certain Welshmen came over from Wales and attacked Dunster. If Mr. Green would give his attention to that he should feel obliged to him.

Mr. DICKINSON asked whether Mr. Green had discovered where the breach in the wall was made when this siege took place. He added that the reason why so little effect was made upon the old castles by the new weapons of attack was that the walls were very strong and the cannons were exceedingly bad.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE said Leland mentioned in his *Itinerary* that there were a number of Irishmen at Dunster. He should like to know if they took part in the siege.

Mr. W. GEORGE said Leland mentioned the Irishman as being at Minehead. That place was full of Irish. He had to thank Mr. Green

for having supplied a date which he had been unable to find in either Clarendon, Savage, or Sprigge, the exact date when Dunster Castle was yielded up.

Sir W. GUISE pointed out that in these times they did not merely depend for defence on strong walls ; they threw up earth-works around them.

Mr. GREEN said he was aware that there had been some sort of siege of Dunster in the 13th century, but he had as yet not been able to find any record of it. He would, however, give the matter his further attention. Dunster was so much altered from what it was that he had not been able to find any trace of breaches in the walls or of the attacking earthworks.

Miss M. LEIGH observed that Blake's earthworks were just outside the Castle Inn, and she believed there were remains of earthworks in one of the gardens of the town.

MR. E. CHISHOLM BATTEN then read the first part of his paper on "Henry VII in Somerset."

The Architectural Section met again in the Ethnological room at 12.30, Mr. W. BURGESS in the chair. The REV. SYDENHAM H. A. HERVEY read a paper on "The Supposed Palace of Alfred the Great at Wedmore," illustrated by plans and photographs. After giving a general description of the district referred to, and of the "Island of Wedmore" in particular, Mr. Hervey quoted some short extracts from contemporary or early authors to prove Alfred's connection with Wedmore. Referring to that portion of the hamlet where tradition places the king's house, he said :— "The field is a grass field of about ten acres, and the excavations cover about two acres in one corner of it. The name of the field is Court Garden. It is situated on the south slope of the hill. No house has stood there in the memory of man, nor, I believe, in the memory of man's father. Loose stone and heaps of Cornish tile were lying about it some years ago, and the surface of the field was much more irregular than it is now. Old people remember houses to have been built with stones taken away out of it. The next field to Court Garden, lower down the hill, is called King's Close. There are two other fields, which once were one with Court Garden, but now are separated from it by a road made about sixty years ago. The one is now an orchard, and there is every appearance of the house having extended into it. I am told that when the road was made foundations of walls were taken up. The other, lower down the field, is called Redard, and in it tradition places the fish pond. On first coming into the field from Wedmore there is a road, lying under four or five feet of soil. It is made of good-sized stones, laid down one by one. Only about fifteen yards in length have as yet been laid open. I was stopped from following it any further by not knowing where to put the soil. To the left or south-east of the road is a long detached building, ninety-five feet by thirty-nine feet, of the shape of a barn. The foundations are rude and irregular, from four to five feet thick. The walls were not carried up the same width. A little further on is an underground room, thirty feet by sixteen feet, with two steps leading up out of it. A key found at the bottom of the steps is in the temporary museum. Two of the walls, and part of the third, are still standing, from four to seven feet high—high enough to show that the roof was an arched one, and the present surface of the field is about four feet above the top of the highest of them. One of these walls is plastered over, and nearly six feet thick.

The one opposite to it is dovetailed into the rock. The floor, as will be seen, did not extend over the whole room. A trench ran along the opposite side of the wall, and ended in a hole not far from the foot of the steps. In that trench were lying the two largest pieces of pottery. A drain runs under the steps. The underground room seems to have been partially enclosed by three walls. That on the north is about 165 feet long, that on the west 120 feet. These two walls are well and regularly built, and quite of a different character to the barn-shaped building, and to some of the others. At the lower or south end of the western wall is a curious block of walls. Between the west wall and the hedge by the side of the road there is a pitched yard. We have not opened enough of it to be able to make out its course or shape. The well, which had been filled up with rubbish, is about twenty feet deep. It is stoned round. An old man who has known the field for seventy years tells me that there is another well somewhere in it. Very little mortar is used in the masonry and sometimes there is a set-off, sometimes not. Continuing, Mr. Hervey said that amongst the authorities who have seen it there has been an almost universal consensus of opinion that the masonry is not Roman. Mr. Bloxam alone holding for its being Roman work, in consequence of its being a likely Roman site, and not from anything distinctively Roman that he could point to. Mr. James Parker held out for its being post Reformation, and between the Roman and post Reformation there have been many suggestions. With regard to the relics found, some of which are exhibited in the temporary museum, there is a great quantity of broken bits of coarse black and brown pottery, Roman according to Mr. Bloxam, Saxon according to others. There is one fragment which has been called British. There is also a quantity of bits of glazed pottery. There are some glazed roof-tiles of various patterns, and also some shingle tiles, a horse-shoe, spur, arrow-head, spear-head, knife blades, keys, nails, pair of compasses, and other pieces of iron and other metal, three bits of slate, rather curious; on one side are a few bars of music, diamond shaped notes, with the words *Kyrie* and *Christe*. It has been ascribed to the latter half of the sixteenth century. The other side bears the name of Wolman. Two silver pennies have been found, Edward and Richard; four jetons or tokens. One of these has the head which prevailed from Edward I to IV on it, and no inscription on either side—nothing but pellets. According to Snelling, this would be early. The others have inscriptions.

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Mr. Bloxam and others took part. Mr. Bloxam then read a paper on "A mutilated and much abraded effigy of an ecclesiastic built up into the external east wall of Batheaton Church, near Bath," and on "The sepulchral effigy in Bath Abbey Church of Bishop Montagu," which will be printed in a future Journal. The meeting then separated. A paper by Mr. Fairless Barber on "The discovery of original muniments from Citeaux, illustrating the origin and growth of the Cistercian Rules," was unavoidably postponed.

At 2 p.m. a large party started in carriages from the Parade to Castle Neroche, proceeding on foot to the earthworks, which occupy a commanding position off the road to the left, and crown the crest of the hill. The Rev. Prebendary Scarth conducted the party over the camp, and explained its different features. The easiest approach to the fortifications is from the

road-side of the hill, and here the nature of the defences are well defined, three clear pilings of earthworks being easily distinguished. On the opposite side the security of the place was aided by Nature, the hill there rising abruptly from the vale and presenting a lofty and steep escarpment. The lines of earthworks led round by this to a high and sudden rise in the hill known as the Beacon, which Mr. Scarth explained was the heart of the fortification. The party first halted at the lower end of the earthworks, and here the lecturer stated that the last time he met the members of the Institute was at Colchester, where he explained the earthworks at Lexden. They had not quite such interesting earthworks here, but still they were very important works, and as such deserved their attention. In the first place, it would be impossible to assign any date to the earthworks at Castle Neroche; for they were not dealing with historic, but with pre-historic times. They could only proceed by conjecture, and by comparison with other works of the same kind at other places. Roman remains were stated to have been found here, and Roman masonry was said to be discoverable round the summit of the Beacon. This could easily be ascertained by excavation, and he thought such pains would be rewarded. The oldest, and perhaps the most interesting camp in Somerset was that at Worle-hill, near Weston-Super-Mare, where they had the stone walls remaining, though the original masonry was completely covered by *débris*. That camp had been described by Mr. Warre, who had also very carefully described this camp, and he had no doubt many present had read his interesting paper on the subject, which he remembered hearing read twenty-five years ago in the hall at the Rectory at Staple Fitzpaine.¹ With it had been published a map, which might be regarded, perhaps, on the whole, as a correct map; but he was quite sure a better map might now be made, and he would suggest to the Somerset Archæological Society that they should have another survey. He did not think the ordnance map was quite correct with regard to this earthwork. Having mentioned Worle-hill as perhaps the most ancient, he ought to mention another, which was not quite as old, but which was almost as interesting, namely, Dolebury, on the Mendip Hills, and a third, Cadbury, near Wincanton. Before they entered within the ramparts of this camp he ought to say something about the form of it. The form was very irregular, but it might be divided into three portions—a portion used as the cattle enclosure, a portion which would receive people in case of danger, and a citadel, which was the strongest part of the works. He would wish to point out to the local society that the same mischief had been perpetrated here that had been going on at other ancient camps in the country. People had begun to demolish the ramparts for the sake of gravel, and to save themselves the trouble of making a pit at another spot. He had brought the company to this particular spot in order that they might see for themselves the work of demolition that had begun, and to ask them if something could not be done to prevent it. If they could do so they would accomplish a great work. The party then walked along the ridge of the outer rampart around to the high natural elevation which forms a part of the upper side of the earthworks, and Mr. Scarth pointed out how, at this point, the three ramparts merged into one, and were carried by a devious path behind the mound

¹ See *Proceedings of Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, 1854, page 29 and following.

or citadel of the camp. With some difficulty, the party ascended to the top of what is known locally as "The Beacon." This point, Mr. Scarth said, was the very heart of the camp, and was called by Mr. Warre "The Keep," and it was like the strongest part of a mediæval castle. A labourer brought the party a brick, which had been dug up on the spot, for the inspection of the members of the Institute, but opinion was divided about its age. Mr. Scarth said that iron swords had been found here, and that would show that the earthworks were occupied during the Roman domination, or a little after. The site of the camp was at the meeting of two Roman roads.

Bishop CLIFFORD supposed it to be one of the points mentioned in the xii line of the Iter of Antonine. Taunton was another; and certainly the position of this camp suited the line of the Iter better than any other that had been named; and if they could only confirm their measurements by some undoubted relics of Roman times—and he thought they had only to excavate and to examine more thoroughly into the matter to do so—they might confirm that view of the case. They would observe the commanding position which this camp occupied. It comprised a view of the line of Quantocks, the line of the Mendips, and they could see Crook Peak, Brean Down, the camp near Wincanton (Cadbury) and Ham Hill. The party were then shown how the approach to the citadel was fortified, and Mr. Scarth pointed out its exact resemblance in that respect to the camp at Worle Hill.

Mr. BLOXAM asked if there was any other Roman camp below, and if this was one of the twenty cities taken by Vespasian?

Mr. SCARTH replied that they had Roman remains at Staple-Fitzpaine (see Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Proceedings, 1854, p. 47). He was inclined to think that this place had been fortified chiefly with wood: wood being so plentiful in the country, people would not go to the trouble of making bricks. With respect to the construction of walls of camps, they were very various, some simply earthen ramparts. When the place was used for temporary occupation, the earth was thrown out of the ditch, and arranged in the form of a parallelogram, or round; some were formed of stones closely piled together; sometimes a rude kind of walling, and sometimes a sort of concrete covered with earth and stone. The most elaborate earthwork was the one near Dorchester, which was the finest in England. There was a very curious camp, which was now, he was sorry to say, totally destroyed, at Bowerwalls, opposite Clifton. That camp had three ramparts of the most perfect kind, and when they began to build villas there, they tore the ramparts to pieces for the sake of material. They then found that the centre of the highest rampart was filled with concrete. Rocks had been thrown in, lime was poured upon it, and so a firm wall was made, which could not be dug through. If he were to further explain the structure of camp walls, he should take them to Cirencester, where they were built of stone and banked up with earth. They would find that the most ancient stone walls were the most perfect, and the most ancient earthworks were the most perfect and most elaborate. The earliest works in the way of fortification were undertaken when the means of defence were the most simple, and they would find in Italy the finest hewn stones in the oldest fortifications. As he had said, it would be impossible to give this place a date, but it might probably be of the same time as the camp on the Worle Hill or Maiden Castle.

Descending the hill the party proceeded to Staple Fitzpaine, and met with a hospitable reception from the Rev. J. B. Portman. The church was examined, and Mr. Freeman said the fine tower was of the same character as that of Bishop's Lydeard, with a stage left out. Speaking inside the church, Mr. Parker said there were evident indications of a Norman church here, and the south doorway was of the twelfth century. The rest was of the usual fifteenth century type. One of the peculiarities of the Perpendicular style was that it prevailed with little variation through the whole of the century. The date of the west tower of St. Cuthbert at Wells had been proved from documentary evidence.

Taunton was again reached at 6.30.

The Historical Section again met in the Castle Hall at 8 p.m., Sir W. V. Guise, Vice-President, in the Chair. The Rev. H. M. SCARTH read a paper on "The Roman Occupation of the West of England, particularly the County of Somerset." This is printed at page 321. A short discussion followed, and the CHAIRMAN, in conveying the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Scarth for his interesting and able paper, said he entirely agreed with the suggestion that they should collect together all the materials they could and formulate them upon a map. In his own county they had just begun a work of that kind by mapping out the Roman ways and stations and the old British trackways.

With reference to the note read by Mr. Welman in the morning, Mr. W. GEORGE read the following extract from Seyer's "Bristol," (vol. ii, p. 533):—"On Wednesday, the 25th of August, 1686, King James came hither, accompanied by George, Prince of Denmark, the Dukes of Beaufort, Somerset, and Grafton, Lord Peterborough, and many other nobles and great persons of this realm. The King was received at Lawford's-gate by the Mayor and aldermen with the usual ceremonies, and conducted to Sir William Hayman's house in Small-street, where he was honourably entertained at the charge of the city. Next day the King went on horseback to the Marsh, and reviewed the soldiers who had pitched their tents. From thence he went along the Key, up St. Michael's hill, and rode along the hill to Prior's hill; then down to the Barton into St. James's, up Newgate, and so to his lodgings. He touched several for the evil. After dinner he went to Redcliffe-gate, and thence to Portishead Point, attended by several nobles. And in the evening Will. Merrick, one of the Sheriffs, was knighted, and also Mr. Winter, High Sheriff for the county of Gloucester. Next morning early the King went to Bridgwater and to King Sedgmoor, to view the place where his army overthrew the Duke of Monmouth." The CHAIRMAN said it appeared to him that Mr. George's paper dovetailed in admirably, and showed plainly that it was King James who was referred to in the churchwardens' accounts. Though this fact was not noticed by Macaulay, it was confirmed by two contemporary authorities.

The meeting then broke up.

Friday, August 8.

The party left Taunton station at 10 a.m. for Bridgwater, where the site of the castle, the birthplace of Admiral Blake, was passed as the long line of carriages proceeded to Cannington church. Here Bishop Clifford said that there was no great peculiarity about the church, but that a Priory of Benedictine nuns was founded adjacent to it by Robert de

Courcy in 1138. One writer had said in reference to it: "I found a goodly church, at the east end of which was a church belonging to the Priory." Bishop Clifford could not say whether that meant that a separate church for the Benedictine priory was built on at the east end, or whether it meant that there was a distinct church for the use of the nuns. There was, a few years ago, a communication from the church to the Manor House, which belonged formerly to the Priory, and the chancel was used by the Rogers', who received it from the Crown, and likewise by the Cliffords as a family burying place, for they buried in the chancel, and there were one or two inscriptions still remaining. Mr. Hugo had published a good many charters relating to this foundation, and mention was made of cases brought before the Bishop relating to the presentation of several clergymen, it being always decided that the Priory had the right of presentation. There were twelve crosses on the walls outside, put up at the time of re-consecration. According to the Roman ritual, these consecration crosses were put inside, but in many of the churches they were found on the outside; he had seen some in this position in Wiltshire. Time did not allow of inspecting the Manor House.

The very interesting and complete early sixteenth century house of Blackmoor was then visited. The domestic chapel retains the old arrangement of the western part of a chapel, divided into two stories, the lower for the domestics and the upper communicating with the principal rooms for the master of the house and his family, the eastern part being the whole height of the chapel, for the altar and officiating priest. This was the usual arrangement of a manorial chapel, and a similar one exists at Berkeley Castle and other places.

Stoke Courcy church was the next point reached. Sir A. Acland Hood met the members here and gave a general description of the church. Mr. Bloxam made some observations on two recumbent effigies in lay costume of Sir Ralph and Sir John Verney. The former is habited in a tunic, and, from the absence of the supertunic, Mr. Bloxam thought it probable that he died in the summer. He died in 1352. Sir John Verney died in the reign of Henry VI. Mr. Freeman said the church was of a peculiar class, and therefore had a special interest, it was an alien priory, a cell appendant to the Benedictine abbey of Loxhay in Normandy, to which it was given temp. Henry II. The effect of these alien priories was that in time of war a great deal of money was sent out of the country, and the first thing that kings did was to seize them. They were finally suppressed by Henry VI, and the possessions of the priory here were given by the king to support his foundation of Eton College. Stoke Courcy church belonged to a class different from other monastic and parochial churches, for instead of having aisles in the nave and no aisles in the choir, it had aisles to the choir and none to the nave. Most of his hearers had done the same thing that day that he tried to hinder them from doing at Dunster—they had made the great mistake of rushing into the building before they looked at the outside. If they had reversed their proceedings they would have seen much on the outside that would have interested them, and, amongst other things, that the transept on one side was completely gone, having been apparently swallowed up when the chancel was widened and enlarged; also, that the church was crowned with a

small lead spire. They saw a spire that morning at Bridgwater, but spires in Somersat were very rare.

Stoke Courcy Castle was then visited. These moated remains, consisting principally of portions of two towers, some of the walls of *enceinte*, a postern, &c., show it to have been a castle of second rank. A short drive brought the party to Fairfield, a fine house, chiefly Jacobean, begun in 1583 by Sir Thomas Palmer, and finished by his grandson of the same name. Here the visitors were very hospitably entertained at luncheon by Sir A. Hood.

Passing through Stringston, Doddington Hall, long the headquarters of the ancient family of Dodington, was reached. Sir A. Hood gave a short description of this good example of a late sixteenth century house, and called special attention to the roof of the hall, which appeared to be about a century earlier than the rest of the manor house.

St. Audries, the fine modern residence of Sir A. Hood, situated in a most beautiful position, was the last place visited. Here the unbounded hospitality of the owner was only qualified by the large collection of antiquities and pictures. Thus a very full day was brought to an end.

The party again took the train at Williton station, and reached Taunton at 6.40. At 9 p.m., the Mayor of Taunton gave a brilliant *conversazione* at the London Hotel, which was attended by nearly 400 guests.

Saturday, August 9.

More than 200 persons went by special train, at 10 a.m., from Taunton station to Langport, from whence carriages conveyed the party to Muchelney Abbey, passing *en route* the Almonry and the fifteenth-century house, now the vicarage.

We are indebted to the Rev. S. O. Baker for the following notes on this interesting place:—

“The Benedictine Abbey of Muchelney was founded in 14th of Athelstan, A.D. 939 (Matthew of Westminster), and dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul. There is not much known of its history, except that it resisted many attempts to subject it to Glastonbury, until 30th Henry VIII, when it was granted to Edward, Earl of Hertford, Duke of Somerset. About 1533, plate to the value of £100 was pledged at Exeter, which was laid out in building, probably, the portion now remaining of the Abbey. This consists of kitchen, ante-room, with a grand chamber over, having transomed, square-headed windows of two lights, cusped with quatrefoiled circles in the heads, fine carved mantel-piece, and linen-pattern panelling round part of wall; the south wall of the cloister despoiled of its fan-traceried roofing; and the inner panelled wall of the refectory, being the north wall of this cloister-walk. The cloister foundations can be traced; they run to the north, to the foundations of the abbey church. This, which has partly been investigated since 1873, was 235 ft. from east to west, and the nave 52 ft. in the clear. There is a fifteenth-century altar tomb, with vault containing two bodies beneath it. On it is a headless effigy of an abbot in full ecclesiastical vestments, with a lion at the feet. The tile floor of the lady chapel was found in 1873; it is twelfth-century work, relaid in the fourteenth century or later, and carelessly done. To preserve it, it has been taken up and laid in the parish church; below it was found the work of the

Norman lady chapel, &c., with the stone coffin of a very late abbot, and a grave placed in the foundation, which had been taken out to let them in. The nave and chancel aisle-walls remain to the height of from two to three feet, having been utilized as foundation for the wall of the parish churchyard : of the rest of the abbey church nothing but foundations remain. The parish church is a fifteenth-century building, with wooden waggon roof, painted in Laudian times with half-lengths of angels dressed in the fashion of that day. The crucifix on the eastern chancel gable is worth notice. The vicarage house, where the sculptured work found in the abbey ruins is stored, is nearly in its original state. The passage and doorways are fourteenth century, and the hall, with sitting-room beyond and bedroom over it, fifteenth century. The windows are similar to those in the abbot's house, with four lights transomed. The knocker is a fine piece of ironwork—two interlaced serpents."

Mr. Baker and Mr. W. Long gave a general description of the excavations which have been made on the site of the abbey, and exhibited a plan showing the whole arrangements very clearly. Antiquaries certainly owe a great deal to Mr. Long for the manner in which he has caused the foundations to be laid open, and the antiquities and other remains cared for. The spade, thus intelligently guided, has indeed given us the plan of a noble church ; but what a sight the actual building must have been to a belated wayfarer in the marshes of Athelney !

Martock church was the next point reached. Mr. Freeman said, if they had gone round the outside of the church they must have seen enough to lead them to make certain comparisons between it and the church of Huish, which they passed on their journey hither. They would see at Huish a church not at all worthy of the tower, for it was one of the most splendid towers in the county. Here they saw a tower which was not worthy of the church. The tower of Martock would be much prized in most parts of England if it were attached to a smaller church, but attached to this beautiful nave, it seemed altogether out of proportion. This nave was well worthy of study from every point of view. It was a thing they could only find in England, and in this part of England. It was the idea of the great parish church thoroughly worked out. In most parts of the continent they would find the small village churches very inferior to those in England, with the exception of a few districts, such as around Caen and Bayeux, where there were beautiful village churches. In Germany the village churches were not to be compared with ours. On the other hand, the town churches on the continent generally surpass ours ; but if they surpassed ours, it was chiefly by the head parish church in the town being built after the type of minster and showing the characteristics of the minster. Here they had a nave which was as perfect in its own style as the nave of a cathedral or conventual church. It was essentially the nave of a great parish church. The chancel, as usual, was hardly worthy of the nave it was joined to ; the chancels in this district seldom were. When the nave was rebuilt the chancel was, perhaps, left alone or recast. But the chancel seemed to have been originally on a greater scale than usual, because they had at the east end that singularly fine window of five lancets. He remembered the time when they were altogether blocked up by some hideous erection which it was certainly a great gain to get rid of, although it was a pity that architects of the present day had adopted that process which geologists

termed "denudation." The old builders always plastered their walls, and the old architect, if he wanted to decorate the plastered wall, would paint on it. The modern architects think there is nothing so fine as to scrape the plaster off. The nave was a perfect study. It followed the usual custom of the district. Where there was no clear-story they had a coved roof. Where they had a good clear-story they had a low tie-beam roof. Mark this clear-story. They found six windows in it—the same number as the arches below. If this had been an East-Anglian church—if they were in Norfolk or Suffolk—instead of these six windows they would have twelve small ones, two over each bay. Here they had one large window filling up that space, and to his eye these windows were none the worse because they had four centred arches. If they had anything else, they must either have a window which did not fill up the space, or they must have two East-Anglian windows. The large window filling up the space was preferable, and they could not have that large window filling up the space unless they had a four-centred arch. Altogether it was a perfect design of a parochial nave of the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The clear-story and the roof had a good deal in common with St. Cuthbert's at Wells.

The adjoining late fourteenth-century manor house was then seen. The hall has a fine timber roof, and the kitchens and offices remain in a very perfect state. Two corbels facing each other attracted some attention; they were possibly connected in some way with the lighting of the room.

The party continued its journey to Montacute House, where it was received and entertained at luncheon with much hospitality by Mr. Philips. The house and gardens were subsequently seen, and Mr. Hartshorne gave a general description of the building. He said that he believed it to be the work of John Thorpe, or John of Padua,¹ and that its erection immediately preceded, or was coeval with that of Longleat. After referring to Thorpe's numerous houses in different parts of England, Mr. Hartshorne mentioned the volume of the architect's original plans, and their peculiarities, and then drew attention to the architectural details of the house, among them the cylindrical chimneys, the stone figures of animals on the gables, the statues of the Nine Worthies, the coarse nail-head ornament in the cornice, and the empty concave niches, originally intended for busts. With regard to the screen inserted in front of the great hall, it was brought in 1800 from Clifton Maubank, near Yeovil, the ancient seat of the Horsey family. The entrance doorway was compared with its far finer prototype at Hengrave Hall in Suffolk, erected by Sir John Kitson in the time of Henry VIII. The mixture of Classic and Gothic details in its decoration, showing the junction of the new with the older style of architecture, was noticed as very remarkable.

The BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS, in proposing a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Philips for his kind reception of the Institute at this fine house, said his welcome had fully borne out the spirit of the two mottos over his door:

"Through this wide opening gate,
None come too early; none return too late."
"And yours, my friends."

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xxxv, pp. 421, 433, 440.

The antiquaries then went to the church, and Mr. Freeman addressed them in the churchyard, recalling, in stirring language, the finding of the "Holy Cross of Waltham" on *Mons Acutus*, the subsequent domination of the surrounding country from that spot by Robert Mortain, and the patriotic insurrection which followed; he finally touched in succession upon the monastic, the parochial, and the architectural aspect of this historic place.

A short visit was then paid to Stoke-sub-Hamdon Church, a very interesting cruciform building of several dates, without aisles, and with a tower over the north transept. Mr. Bloxam described a perfect effigy of a priest as late fourteenth century work. Time did not allow of ascending Hamdon Hill and hearing Mr. Scarth's remarks on the camp, but he has been kind enough to contribute the following particulars:—

"This is a very large entrenchment, and one of the finest positions in Somerset, overlooking a vast tract of country—the Blackdown range of hills, the Quantocks, and the Mendips, and placed directly above the Foss Road, which runs under it to the north west. The area of the fortified summit is not less than three miles, and the earthworks can be traced all round. Two different periods are distinctly marked, the Celtic and the Roman. The camp occupies an insulated position, 240 feet above the level of the village below, and 426 feet above the sea level at high water mark at Weymouth.

"A very good description is given in the *Proceedings* of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, 1853, p. 78, and further remarks will be found in Vol. xviii, p. 1, 58. The *Archæologia* contains a paper by Sir R. C. Hoare, vol. xxi, and a plan accompanies these different accounts, by which it will be seen that the ancient British settlement occupied the south-eastern side of the fortified hill, on the portion now called Butcher's hill, where traces of occupation were once visible, but have been eradicated by ploughing. The Roman camp occupied the north-east portion of the hill, and this is defended by a double rampart, and within this enclosure, at the north east angle, is a small camp amphitheatre. The southern portion of the Roman entrenchment has been destroyed by quarrying, which has been carried on to a great extent upon the hill, to the destruction of some portions of the earthwork; but it has revealed many interesting remains, both Celtic and Roman, as the work proceeded. In addition to the Foss Road, which passes under the hill on the north-west side, there are other roads which have branches off from the camp, one of which runs to Castle Neroche, and another towards Montacute.

"Between the masses or beds of rock which form the hill, are fissures or gullies, which run across it, and in these are found iron and bronze implements, coins, and organic remains.

"The British remains consist of hut circles, flint weapons, bronze spear heads, a polished celt, and pottery. The Roman remains are a chariot wheel, stirrup, fibulæ, lamp, horse trappings, sling stones, spindle whorls, knives, spear and arrow heads, a dagger, iron swords, and pottery. The Roman coins found are of the emperors Hadrian, Faustina, Commodus, Constantine, Tetricus, and Gordian. Some mediæval remains have also been found. These are now unfortunately scattered, and for the most part lost, having passed into private hands instead of being placed in the Taunton Museum. The old coach road between Taunton and Salisbury

passed over the hill, following the depression of a deep comb now planted with trees.”¹

Mr. C. W. Dymond has kindly sent the following notes on the plan of the Hamdon Hill earthworks :

“The accompanying plan, though not constructed from a regular survey, may be regarded as approximating closely to accuracy. Four of the principal radii were chained, and the vallum and other features carefully paced ; the results being here and there verified and supplemented by measurements with a tape. The relative positions of all the details were settled by taking a copious series of compass bearings.

“Nowhere in the circuit do we find the vallum and ditch as originally constructed. At every point some portion of the former seems to have disappeared, while the latter has been partially filled up. The section I—K perhaps shows the nearest approach to that of the original rampart. Everywhere the ditch is very shallow. The only trace of a second and outer vallum (if such there ever was, which is very doubtful) may exist in the slight mound north of the footpath, and just outside the north-western hand-gate. The embankments are made of marl, and, at the highest, are not more than seven feet above the level of the ground immediately inside. There are considerable differences of level in various parts of the work estimated by the eye ; the crest of the hill may be about forty-five feet above the lowest point, which is the extremity of the south-western covert-way ; the scarp at the inner end of the same rises about fifteen feet ; that of the northern covert-way about nine feet ; and that of the south-eastern one about fourteen feet. The level at different points within and contiguous to the rampart appears to vary from about twenty-five feet just inside the pond, to thirty-nine feet at the north-western hand-gate. A natural hollow stretches from the crest of the hill to the pond. All other depressions shewn on the plan are evidently artificial. The curious pit outside the rampart, toward the north-east, which is about one hundred feet in diameter, and six to eight feet deep, has, by some, been pronounced to be the remains of an amphitheatre, and, by others, conjectured to have been a pond. Whatever it was, it was clearly not the latter ; for the conformation of the slope, and the position of the hollow thereon, are such that there could be no collecting ground for water, wherewith to supply it.

“The inclosure contains, by estimation, 12½ acres.”

A certain number of the party left Stoke-sub-Hamdon for Martock station, and returned to Taunton. The remainder continued the journey to South Petherton, a picturesque little town commanded by a large cross church with an octagonal tower. Tea was provided for the visitors by the kindness of the ladies of South Petherton, and Barrington Court was then inspected. This is a fine house of the middle of the sixteenth century, now only partly occupied as a farm house. It has much of the character of Hampton Court in its architectural details ; but the whole place is

¹ For account of antiquities from Hamdon Hill, see *Journal*, vol. x, p. 247 (with a drawing of a flint arrow head) ; also vol. xv, p. 177 ; and vol. xxxi, p. 39 ; see also *Journal of British Archaeological*

Association, vol. ii, p. 280. For bronze lamp found, see vol. iv, 384 ; vi, 442. For interments, see vol. xix, 126, and vol. xxiv, p. 61 and following.

desolate and forlorn, and the lapse of a few more years will probably reduce it to the condition of Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire.¹

Another drive brought the party to Ilminster station, and, Taunton being reached at 8 p.m., this very long and interesting day was concluded.

On Sunday, the Mayor and Corporation and the members of the Institute assembled at the Castle, and walked to the church of St. Mary Magdalene. The Ven. Archdeacon Denison preached a sermon from Genesis i, 1, and St. John i, 1.

Monday, August 11.

The large party which left Taunton by special train at 9 a.m. arrived at Wells at 10.15, and proceeded at once to the Palm Churchyard, where Mr. Freeman pointed out the main features in the history of the church of Wells as written on the building itself. Here, he said, as at Dunster, it would be easy for a skilled antiquary to trace out all those special features simply by looking at the church, without further help. Conceive such an one to have dropped from the clouds into this cloister, or to have been brought blindfold from a far country. The first glance, showing him a large cross church of Pointed style, would enable him to say, "I am either in Normandy or in England." A second glance at the finish of the towers and at the form of many of the windows would enable him to say, "I am in England and not in Normandy." He might even perhaps go on to say, "I am in western, and not in eastern or northern England," though the architecture of the church, as seen from the outside, is not so strongly local as to allow him to say this with the same certainty as what he had already said. He would next look at the buildings adjoining the church, and say, "This is more than a parish church; is it a church of monks or of secular clergy?" He would easily see that the buildings do not follow Benedictine or other monastic rule; that there is no refectory parallel with the nave; that there is no chapter-house east of the cloister; that the cloister itself is not a complete square, and is not attached to the church after the fashion of a monastic cloister. He would at once say, "This is a church, not of monks, but of secular clergy." He would then ask another question: "Is this a cathedral church, the seat of a bishop, the head of a diocese? or is it simply a church of canons, or other secular clergy, under a dean, warden, or other head, but not forming the chapter of a bishop?" To this question he could give no answer as long as he stayed within the palm-churchyard; there is no appearance there which could be decisive either way. But he could answer the question without going inside the church, by merely going from the palm-churchyard into the plot of ground east of the cloister. He would there see a house, clearly an ecclesiastical house and not the castle of a lay baron, but a house on a scale far beyond the needs of any mere dean or warden. He would at once set down that house as the palace of a bishop, and would rule that the church which he was examining was a cathedral church. He would thus, simply by using his eyes, without help from anyone else, have found out the class of church at which he was looking. But he could do yet more; by carrying on his walk a little further, he would be able to see the history of the relations between church and city. He would mark that the palace stands away from the town, walled, moated, in short, though not

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 440.

a castle, yet in some sort a fortress. He might easily see that the ecclesiastical precinct of Wells was not a quarter of an ancient city, but rather that the city had itself grown up around the ecclesiastical precinct. He would see this more clearly if the partition wall between church and city had not been partly hidden by houses, partly broken through; still with a little examination he would see it, and he would thus reach the leading fact in the history of the city, that Wells is not an ancient city with a bishopric planted within it, but simply a town which has grown up at a bishop's gate, a process, it might be added, quite unknown out of the British islands.

Mr. Freeman then spoke of Wells as the best example of a great secular church, keeping a greater number of its surrounding buildings still applied to their original uses than could be seen elsewhere—church, chapter-house, cloister, bishop's palace, houses of dignitaries and canons, vicars' close, with hall and chapel, all forming a harmonious whole, and still largely applied to the uses for which they were first meant. He then spoke of the merciless havoc which, within the last twenty years, had gone on among the ancient buildings, ecclesiastical and civil, of Wells and its immediate neighbourhood. A hole had been cut through the wall between church and city, the special memorial of the history of the place, seemingly to supply a view of the Swan inn to those who come out of the west door of the church. Within the immediate demesne of the chapter, a prebendal house in the north liberty, had been destroyed, the house of the master of the choristers had been turned into a ruin. In neither case could any intelligible motive be guessed at; it seemed to be sheer wanton dislike of antiquity and beauty. So, a fountain just outside the green, in the market place, part of the design of Bishop Beckington's square, had been just now wiped out, for the better display of a showy shop. So, if they were to follow him through the streets of Wells, and through the roads for a few miles, he could show them at almost every step, some ancient house or other building destroyed or disfigured. An effort must be made, or the smaller domestic antiquities which form so distinctive a feature of the city and district would soon be wholly swept away. After these general remarks he would, Mr. Freeman said, hand over his hearers for matters of detail to the care of Mr. Parker.

Mr. PARKER then addressed the party, and the cathedral was inspected both inside and outside under his guidance; the monumental effigies being explained by Mr. Bloxam. The party then assembled in the Chapter House,—perhaps the finest building of its kind in England,—where Canon Bernard gave the interesting results of his researches in the Chapter records bearing on the dates of the building of the cathedral. Mr. Parker then led the way over the Chain Gate into the Vicars' Close, or Close Hall; the Archdeaconry and Deanery were hurriedly visited, and the party proceeded to the Palace, entering its most picturesque grounds through Ralph de Salopia's Gatehouse.¹

The Bishop then entertained with the greatest hospitality more than two hundred guests in the beautiful vaulted substructure of Bishop Josceline's Palace. A cordial vote of thanks to the Bishop was proposed

¹ Mr. Parker's remarks on the Mediæval Architecture of Wells which were prepared for the meeting but not read

owing to want of time, are printed at page 359.

by Lord Talbot de Malahide, and the principal rooms in the palace, and the chapel, were then seen.

A short visit was made to St. Cuthbert's Church on the way back to Wells station, where the train was again taken to Glastonbury. Mr. Freeman was kind enough to make some observations at the Abbey, and the Abbot's kitchen and the great barn having been inspected the party returned to Taunton at 6.30.

The Historical Section again met in the Castle Hall at 8.45. Mr. Chisholm Batten, Vice-President, in the chair. The Rev. A. J. FOSTER read a paper on "Monmouth's March to the Moors," treating the subject under the following heads :

1. The probable appearance of West Somerset in 1685.
2. Monmouth's march from Chard to Shepton Malet ; the probable direction of the roads ; and the aspect of the town of Taunton at the time.
3. The plan of campaign in East Somerset, and the unsuccessful attempt to break out of the county to the north and east.

4. The retreat to Bridgewater before the advance of the royal forces, the battle of Sedgemoor, and the present appearance of the field of battle.

A discussion followed, in which Macaulay's visit to Somerset, and local traditions about "the Duke" were alluded to by Colonel Pinney, Mr. Kinglake, Mr. Foster, Mr. George, and others.

The CHAIRMAN then read a paper by Mr. T. Bond on "Roger Bacon."

The Antiquarian Section again met, Colonel Pinney in the chair. Dr. Pring read the concluding portion of his paper (of which the first part was read on August 5), and after a short discussion the meeting closed.

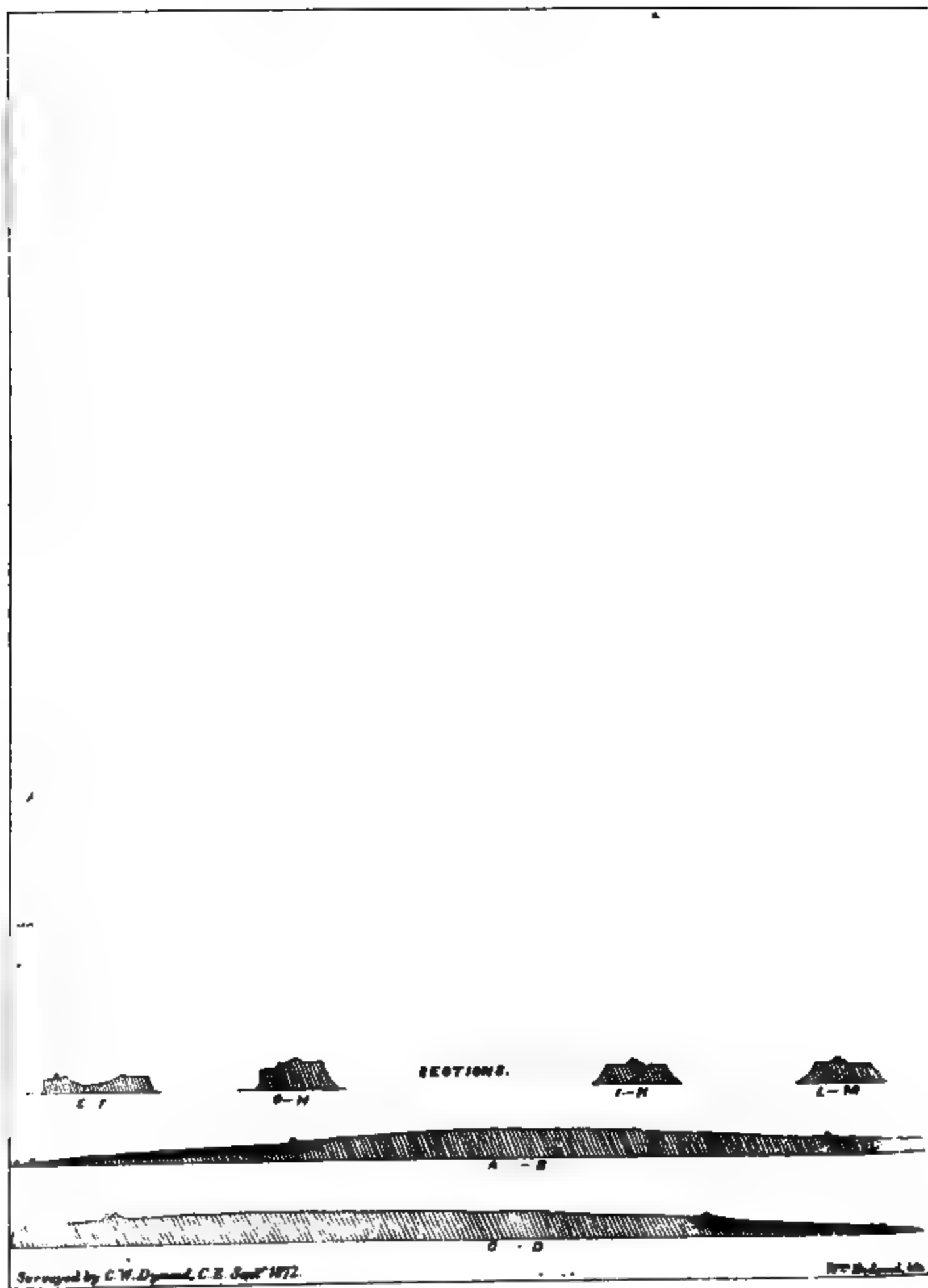
Tuesday, August 12.

The historical section met again in the Castle Hall at 11 a.m., when the Chairman, Mr. CHRISHOLM BATTEN, read the concluding part of his paper on Henry VII in Somerset.

The general concluding meeting was held in the Castle Hall at 12 o'clock, Colonel Pinney in the chair.

The Rev. F. SPURRELL proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation, specially referring to their hospitable reception of the Institute ; to the Bishop of the Diocese for his able conduct in the chair, and his reception of the Institute at Wells ; and to Mr. Luttrell, the Rev. F. B. Portman, Sir A. Acland Hood, Mr. Phelps, Mr. H. Norris and the ladies of South Petherton, who had so kindly and hospitably entertained the members of the Institute and the visitors during the week of the meeting. Mr. Spurrell said that on this, the last day of the meeting, the comparatively small number of members present made it desirable that the resolution which he had the privilege of proposing should be so comprehensive, and he would further include in it a vote of thanks to all who had contributed objects for exhibition in the local museum, which had formed so striking a feature in one of the most brilliant and successful meetings that the Institute had ever held.

This resolution was warmly supported by Mr. T. H. Baylis, and having been seconded by Mr. Bloxam, who mentioned the indebtedness of the meeting to the members of the local press, was carried with acclamation.



Mr. Batten expressed, on behalf of the Bishop, his great regret that he was not able to be present at the concluding meeting; and the Mayor of Taunton, in returning thanks, spoke of the great pleasure that the meeting had afforded to himself and the Corporation. Then the Taunton meeting was declared ended.

In the afternoon a party of about fifty went in carriages to Norton Fitz Warren Church and Earthworks, which latter remains were explained by Mr. Scarth, who has since been kind enough to furnish us with the following notes:

"The first who called particular attention to this very interesting earthwork was the Rev. F. Warre, in a paper read to the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society in 1849. No notice had been taken of it by Collinson or Phelps in their histories of the county. There is a similar omission also of the large earthwork on the Quantock hills called Ruborough camp, in the parish of Broomfield.¹

"Norton Fitz Warren camp was visited by the Somerset Society in 1872, and a further account will be found of it in the *Proceedings* for that year, p. 43.

"A very imperfect plan of the fortification accompanies Mr. Warre's paper, but after the visit of the Society in 1872 a plan was made by Mr. C. W. Dymond, which gives the earthwork as it now is, from actual measurement, with sections of the Roman part.

"The form is irregular, but almost circular, the length from north to south being somewhat greater than the length from east to west.

"There are three principal entrances, approached by deep covered ways. Near that to the north is an elliptical depression, in the field just beyond the walls, which has all the appearance of having been a small amphitheatre. The enclosure within the rampart is thirteen acres, now under cultivation, which it has always been within the memory of man. The rampart consists of a steep bank and ditch which encircles a rising ground about half a mile from the village, and is about two miles from Taunton, and not far from the ancient course of the River Tone. The ground slopes on every side from the circuit of the rampart, which on the south side has been considerably reduced in height, and the surrounding ditch filled in.

"The most curious portions of the earthwork are the entrances, which are deep worn hollows; and that from the west, as it enters the camp, divides into two ways, and at this division there appears to have been a defensive work.

"Remains are said to have been found within the area, though none have been preserved; but undoubted Roman remains have been found at the neighbouring farm of Conquest (A.D. 1666), and also in cutting the course of the Watchet Railway in the valley below the hill, a large collection of Roman pottery was found. Specimens of these are preserved in the Museum at Taunton.¹ The site of the camp is known among the old people by the name of the "Four cross roads," as I am informed, and a line of road is pointed out as coming in this direction from Castle Neroche, or from near the site of that earthwork, and another is pointed out as entering it more to the west.

¹ See *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. xiii, p. 294.

¹ See *Guide to the Museum*, p. 5.

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1. The first group of people who are not allowed to enter the country are those who are considered to be a threat to national security. This includes anyone who is suspected of being involved in terrorism or espionage.

1. The first of these is the fact that the
2. Government has not been able to secure
3. the necessary funds to carry out its
4. policy of non-interference in the
5. internal affairs of the country.
6. The second is the fact that the
7. Government has not been able to secure
8. the necessary funds to carry out its
9. policy of non-interference in the
10. internal affairs of the country.

The following are the names of the persons who have been appointed as members of the Board of Directors of the National Association of Manufacturers since its organization in 1907:

Name	Year Appointed
John D. Rockefeller	1907
Jesse B. Smith	1907
Charles M. Davis	1908
William C. Clegg	1908
Samuel Insull	1908
James H. McGraw	1908
George F. Baker	1909
John G. Thompson	1909
Robert L. Taylor	1909
Walter Dill	1909
Harold G. Wells	1909
Frederick J. Schuchman	1910
John W. Aldrich	1910
Charles E. Hughes	1910
William A. Rorer	1910
Henry P. Jones	1910
John S. Edwards	1910
James B. Connelley	1910
William B. Ewing	1910
John W. Weeks	1910
Charles D. Walcott	1910
James H. McLaughlin	1910
John W. Foster	1910
William H. Taft	1910
Charles E. Smith	1910
John W. Aldrich	1910
Charles E. Hughes	1910
William A. Rorer	1910
Henry P. Jones	1910
John S. Edwards	1910
James B. Connelley	1910
William B. Ewing	1910
John W. Weeks	1910
Charles D. Walcott	1910
James H. McLaughlin	1910
John W. Foster	1910
William H. Taft	1910
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Charles E. Hughes	1910
William A. Rorer	1910
Henry P. Jones	1910
John S. Edwards	1910
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William B. Ewing	1910
John W. Weeks	1910
Charles D. Walcott	1910
James H. McLaughlin	1910
John W. Foster	1910
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Charles D. Walcott	1910
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Charles D. Walcott	1910
James H. McLaughlin	1910
John W. Foster	1910
William H. Taft	1910
Charles E. Smith	1910
John W. Aldrich	1910
Charles E. Hughes	

Wm. W. Lister, M.D., F.R.S.E., and
J. H. Lister, Esq., of the ancient city of York. For
the full title of the latter see *Pilgrimage of*
St. James, by W. Lister, ibid., vii p. 178.

on the supposed site of King Alfred's palace. The Churchwardens of St. Thomas', Bristol, exhibited four fine Limoges enamel candlesticks. Bishop Clifford lent the fine sixteenth-century gold pectoral cross which was exhibited at the London meeting of the Institute, February 1st, 1878. The Provost of Eton sent a most valuable and interesting collection of twenty-two documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth and later centuries, chiefly relating to the priory of Stoke Courcy, and including a cartulary of that house. The Rev. S. O. Baker lent a belt, and the Sword of State of Scotland, presented to James IV by Pope Julius II in 1507, preserved with the Scotch regalia in Dunottar Castle by Sir George Ogilvy in 1652, and found secreted at Barras by Sir G. Ogilvy in 1790. Mr. Sanford also exhibited some fine illuminated MSS., an Elizabethan crystal and silver candelabrum, a beautiful inlaid fifteenth-century Persian vase of mother-of-pearl. Mr. Welman lent two silver monteiths, and Mr. Neville-Grenville one of a large size. Mrs. Helyar contributed a beautiful jewel, consisting of a large rough-cut emerald in an enamelled mount; at the back is a small portrait of Charles I, similar to those in the well known memorial rings; a fine pearl is suspended from the mount. This object was given by Charles II to Colonel Helyar in acknowledgement of his having raised a troop of horse for Charles I. Mrs. Helyar also sent a ring with a portrait of Oliver Cromwell, set round with brilliants; and some fourteenth century documents relating to East and West Coker. General Munro lent a collection of Greek and Roman coins from the Crimea. Mr. Surtees exhibited a silver loving-cup, a gilt flagon, and a gilt posset-cup. Mr. Troyte-Bullock sent a late fourteenth-century ecclesiastical vestment, the christening-cup and robe of Admiral Blake, a set of hunting buttons, each engraved with a dog and its name, and other gold and silver antiquities. The Rev. H. Ruddock exhibited Blake's sea-chest, two of his cups, and a waistcoat. Mr. R. Lang exhibited an interesting collection of fans carved and painted, and a collection of enamelled snuffboxes, patch-boxes, miniatures, &c. Mr. A. Hartshorne sent a set of attested drawings by Nolckens of the Venus de Medicis. The Corporation of Taunton exhibited the borough seals of 1420 and 1685, and a wooden press belonging to a large oval seal. Mr. W. Ready sent a set of casts of official seals of Somerset. Majolica and china were well represented by the collections of Mr. E. Bourdillon, Mr. W. Harrison, Mr. R. Lang, Mrs. Payne, the Rev. I. Gale, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Surtees, and other contributors. Mr. W. P. Pinchard sent several pieces of embroidered silk of the time of Queen Anne, and Mr. R. Ready contributed a collection of rings and other objects. Many portraits of local personages were arranged on the walls, together with a number of delicate drawings of Wells by Mr. A. A. Clarke, and early prints of Taunton. The two massive gold vases presented by the County to the late Captain Speke, of African fame, were exhibited by Mr. Speke.

The Council desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the expense of the Taunton Meeting and of the general purposes of the Institute:—W. E. Surtees, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Penny and Son, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. P. E. George, 1*l.* 1*s.*; W. Pyne, 1*l.*; J. A. Bennett, 1*l.* 1*s.*; W. G. Marshall, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Hon. W. H. B. Portman, 2*l.*; W. Sparks, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. J. B. Portman, 1*l.* 1*s.*; F. H. Dickinson, 1*l.* 1*s.*; T. T. Knyfton, 5*l.*; Rev. J. C. Kinglake, 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. R. Macleay, 2*l.*; W. H. Helyar, 2*l.* 2*s.*; C.

418 PROCEEDINGS AT MEETINGS OF THE INSTITUTE.

Pooley, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. Canon Meade, 5*l.* ; Genl. Munro, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Sir P. Douglas, Bart., 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Major Altham, 1*l.* ; E. J. Stanley, 5*l.* ; Mrs. E. F. Davies, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. Canon Bernard, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; T. Sibly, 2*l.* ; H. J. Badcock, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Major Barrett, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; F. W. Newton, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; V. Stuckey, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Col. Morris, 1*l.* ; Col. Adair, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; Sir A. H. Elton, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; Rev. W. H. Lance, 10*s.* ; F. H. Cheetham, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; Rev. C. O. Goodford, 5*l.* ; Lady Smith, 5*l.* ; J. Withycombe, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; H. Steed, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; J. White, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; the Lord Clifford, 5*l.* ; Dr. Liddon, 5*l.* 5*s.* ; H. Spencer, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; A. Barclay, M.P., 5*l.* 5*s.* ; R. N. Grenville, 1*l.* ; W. Speke, junr., 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Sir H. James, M.P., 5*l.* 5*s.* ; R. Ekyn, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; G. T. Bullock, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; G. Walters, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; T. Slowman, 10*s.* 6*d.* ; W. Maynard, 10*s.* ; H. Heaven, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; W. Pollard, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Mrs. Hayward, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Mrs. Welby, 1*l.*

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES AT LYDNEY PARK, GLOUCESTERSHIRE : a Posthumous Work of The Rev. W. HILLY BATHURST, M.A. With Notes by C. W. KING, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Longmans & Co., 1879.

This work forms a valuable addition to the class of literature which treats exclusively of the period of the Roman rule in Britain, and which during the last thirty years has shown a great increase of development. It opens with a chapter of about sixteen pages written by the late Mr. Bathurst, based upon a MS. account by his father, the Right Hon. C. Bragge Bathurst (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster for many years under Lord Liverpool's administration), upon the splendid remains of a temple situated within a Roman camp at Lydney, in Gloucestershire, on the western bank of the Severn, and about a mile and a half from that river, some twenty miles after it has passed the city of Gloucester.

Owing to the lamented death of Mr. Bathurst whilst the work was in preparation, it was placed in the hands of Mr. C. W. King, M.A., for completion, and this gentleman has displayed his usual erudition in editing it.

The buildings occupy a space of 315 feet by 300 feet, the actual measurement of the temple itself being 93 feet by 76 feet. Until the commencement of the present century they were completely overgrown with brushwood, the foundations here and there showing themselves, and being called by the country people the "Dwarf's Chapel." But in 1805 Mr. Bathurst had the whole area excavated, plans made of the walls, rooms, and pavements, and then the site was again covered up. A vast number of coins were found on this occasion, a catalogue of the most remarkable of which, some 770 in number, drawn up by the late Miss Charlotte Bathurst, is appended to the work. These range from the reign of Augustus to that of Honorius. From this fact Mr. Bathurst argues that the site was occupied by the Romans during the whole period of their sway in Britain. This, however, we think an erroneous idea, as also his conclusion that from the large number of coins found that the place was abandoned in haste. As a matter of fact, coins of the earlier emperors were in circulation centuries after their deaths, and almost every Roman site in Britain is found to be thickly strewn with coins. This arises, we are inclined to think, from the buildings being chiefly of wood (raised slightly above the ground by a low foundation wall), between the interstices of which, as in modern times, coins frequently got lost—and when the buildings were destroyed by fire, as in this instance, and in most others, the coins remained buried amongst the charred wood and ashes. It is certainly impossible from any of the remains found to assign a date for the erection of the buildings. If we take the letters of

the inscription on the tessellated pavement as a guide, they are much ruder, and of later date than those in the inscribed pavement at Thruxton, in Hampshire.

The general plan of the buildings would seem to consist of the temple, standing in the middle of a large court with two sides of the latter (north-east and north-west) constituting ranges of large buildings, which appear to have been a villa on an extensive scale, similar to that at Woodchester, with a group of buildings which were probably baths, added subsequently, extending to the north of the angle formed by the two before-named sides of the courtyard.

The temple and the remains found in it are the most interesting portion of the site. From the inscriptions discovered, it would appear to have been devoted to the worship of a god whose name was variously spelt as Nodons, Nodens, and Nudens. It is to be feared that neither the explanation of the name of this deity, advanced by Sir W. Drummond and the Rev. D. Lysons (as a corruption of ΝΩΔΥΝΟΞ, in the sense of "an alleviator of pain"), nor that of Sir S. Meyrick and Mr. King, *i.e.* Deus Noddyns, "the god of the Abyss,"—derived from the British, and Romanised,—are correct. From the letters D. M. preceding Nodonti, in one of the inscriptions (fig. 1, pl. xx), and the fact that it was dedicated by a military man, *armatura*, we think it is quite probable that (as Dr. Hübner has read it in the *Corpus Inscr. Latinarum*, vol. vii, No. 138) the name was a local one added to that of Mars, (*i.e.* D(eo) M(arti) Nodonti). Mr. King reads it as D(eo) M(aximo) Nodonti.

Mr. King's remark as to "the curious *agnomen* 'Armatura,' which has been translated 'Imperial Guard,' but which more probably stands here in its present Italian sense of a suit of armour," is unquestionably erroneous. He adds: "Designations derived from articles in common use were borne even by persons of patrician families, as 'Malleolus' by the Cornelii, or 'Aciscolus' by the Valerii. As for the word understood in the sense I suggest, it exactly corresponds to 'Thorax,' a well-known Greek name. There is also reason to suspect that 'Armatura' is a translation of the *British* name of Blandinus, by which he was still addressed by his countrymen; for his *nomen*, Flavius, proves him to have been of the same family," &c. Here again we must join issue with Mr. King. The word "Armatura" is certainly meant to designate the position held by the dedicator in the Roman forces. From the *Notitia* we know that a *cuneus* of *armaturae* was serving in Britain. They are also known from other inscriptions (see Steiner, No. 332; Henzen, No. 6794; Muratori, 801, 8, &c.). They are mentioned by Vegetius, lib. ii, c. 7, 15 and 17, and lib. iii, c. 14. Amminanus Marcellinus mentions them, xiv, 11; xv, 4 and 5; and xxvii, 2. See also Zell, "Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Römischen inschriften," p. 319.

The reading of the inscription on the tessellated pavement in the temple, called by Mr. King "the dedication," is also, we think, a still undecided matter. We have before us a copy of this inscription and pavement, drawn and engraved by Robt. F. Stothard in 1828, which gives the inscription in the same manner as Mr. King, although much more of the pavement is delineated. It is evident that only the following letters can be read *with certainty*:—

D * * * IT * LAVIVS SENILIS PR REL EX STIPIBVS POSSVIT
O * * * * * ANTE VICTORINO INTER * * * I * * E.

Mr. King expands them, as "*D(eo) M(aximo) It(erum) Flavius Senilis Pr(aeses) Rel(igionis) ex Stipibus Possvit O(pitul)ante Victorino Inter(prete Latine)*."¹ Only the lower portion of an upright stroke exists after the first letter, D, and mere fragments between that and what seems to be the letter I. Flavius Senilis seems correct, but PR. REL. may be the abbreviation for various words. Dr. Mc Caul suggests *Pr(etio) Rel(ato)*,—*Br. Rom. Inscr.*, p. 74. *Opitulante* does not, we think, seem warranted by the appearance of the *lacuna* at the commencement of the second line, whilst the same remark may be applied to the letters after INTER; but it is only just to observe that Dr. Mc Caul's reading of this line—

OP. CVRANTE VICTORINO INTERAMNATE,

seems equally unjustifiable.

Praeses Religionis is a term uncommon if not unique in epigraphy; but Dr. Mc Caul's reading, *Pretio Relato*, is, we think, preferable to any yet proposed. No doubt, were further search made, other remains would be found upon this site which might throw extra light upon the subject.

The remainder of the relics are many of them very elaborate. No less than ten tessellated pavements are engraved in the volume. A number of the rooms were furnished with hypocausts; and many bronze articles were discovered, and are engraved, amongst them a fine figure of a winged Victory standing on a globe, rings, a steel-yard weight representing a bust of Jupiter, fibulae, styli, and the usual articles found upon all Roman sites.

Mr. King does not notice the pottery found here, or give any list of the potters' marks. The latter are, however, we believe, few in number, the well-known name MAIORIS occurring amongst them.

There can, we think, be no doubt whatever that the "Terminal Statues," Pl. 30 and 31 (and Appendix), are *not* of the Roman period; but the statue of Ceres, Pl. 19, is a fine example of Britanno-Roman sculpture.

The name of this Roman station must, until further discoveries are made in its neighbourhood, remain an open question. Provisionally, however, Dr. Hübner (*Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii, p. 42) has given it the name of "Fanum Dei Nodontis."

We heartily welcome this volume, as an earnest of what may be done in the cause of archaeology by such spirited exertions as those of Mr. Bathurst and Mr. King. In matter, in type, and in the style of its engravings, it deserves all praise, and we venture to hope that it will excite such emulation as may lead to a similar description and illustration of other Roman stations in the kingdom.

¹ Mr. King considers the four last letters to be TINE. This does not seem warranted by the engraving, especially

after observation of the other examples of the letter N in the inscription.

Archaeological Intelligence.

THE RE-DISCOVERED ROMAN INSCRIPTION FROM BOWNESS.—We are indebted to Mr. W. Thompson Watkin for the following communication:

“In the second volume of Hutchinson’s *History of Cumberland* (published in 1794), p. 486, the following passage occurs:—

“‘Some time ago the following particulars were communicated to the *Cumberland Pacquet*—There was lately dug up at Bowness, in Cumberland, very near the western extremity of the Picts wall, and the most western station thereon, a red freestone, about 3 feet long, 16 inches broad, and two inches and a half in thickness, with the inscription following, in Roman capitals—

.
. . . ONIANVS DEPIC . . .
SEDDATE VITE IVRAQVARTVS
SVPPLEAT VOTIS FIDEM
AVREIS SACRABO CARMEN
MOX VIRITIM LITTORIS
VENVSI

“‘There are fragments of another line at the top; and probably there may have been several more, as it is impossible to ascertain what length it may have been when entire.

“‘We cannot vouch for the accuracy of the above inscription, as we have not had an opportunity of examining the original.’

“The stone mentioned in this passage appears to have been lost soon afterwards. Mr. R. S. Ferguson, who has looked through the files of the *Cumberland Pacquet*, has been able to obtain a copy of the letter, which is signed ‘J. Smith,’ and dated from Carlisle, 5 January 1791. It appeared in the issue of the *Pacquet* on the 12th of that month.

“In the summer of 1879, Mr. John Jackson, of the Carlisle Scientific Society, drew Mr. Ferguson’s attention to a stone bearing an inscription existing at Bowness, which the latter gentleman soon identified as that named by Hutchinson, and which had been so long missing. It was found in the possession of a Mr. Robinson, who said that his father ploughed it up, and that he had known it for thirty years. The dimensions had been incorrectly given, for it was found to measure in length 17½ inches, width (on the right) 8½ inches, and at the left extremity 11 inches, and was a slab of red sandstone.

“The long period during which it had been hidden (or probably re-buried) had been detrimental to the inscription, which was found partially encrusted with lime. The judicious application of lemon juice soon, however, removed most of this, and then it was at once seen that it had been to some extent wrongly read.

"The first line was clearly NONIANVS DEDICO ; in the second line the first two letters given by Mr. Smith as SE were obliterated, and it was doubtful whether the letters given as IT in VITE, the I in IVRA, and the R in QVARTVS were correct. In the fifth line it was evident that LITTERIS, instead of LITTORIS, was the correct reading, whilst the last line VENVS, if it ever existed, had been removed.

"Such was the nature of the inscription when it came into the hands of epigraphists for critical treatment. Mr. Ferguson kindly favoured me with a photograph of it. The second line seemed alone difficult. Dr. Hübner after seeing the photograph, wrote to me concerning it that this "line . . . D DAT, &c., remains as uncertain as before." The first improvement in reading the text of it was by Professor E. C. Clark, who rendered it as (PR)O DATE VT FETVRA QVARTIS. When favoured with this gentleman's reading by Mr. Ferguson, I at once accepted VT FETVRA as correct and warranted by the photograph, but rejected (PR)O on the ground that D was most unmistakably the letter before DATE, and QVARTIS on the ground that the last letter but one was also unmistakably V. However, a start in emendation had been made ; but the line still remained a puzzle. It was to my friend, Dr. McCaul of Toronto, that the correct reading was at last due. From a photograph which I had sent to him, this learned epigraphist at once read the line as—

(SE)D DATE VT FETVRA QVÆSTVS,

and says in his letter announcing the fact "I govern *questus* by *fulcrum*, i.e., *sed date ut fetura suppleat fulcrum questus votis*. I suppose the object dedicated was a cow, and that the deities were Ceres and Sylvanus or Triptolemus. But, however, that is a guess. It is of more consequence to settle the reading of what remains. I understand by *viritim*—*legendis a quoque viro*, i.e., in golden letters for the use of each man."

"Beyond the reference to *viritim*, Dr. McCaul gives no translation. This we will consider immediately. In the meantime, it would seem that some pregnant animal had been made the subject of a prayer or vow, to two deities at least, probably those named by Dr. McCaul. It would almost appear that the vow was that of several persons, but why should only one dedicate? I suggest the following collocation—'Sed date fidem ut foetura suppleat questus votis,' the meaning being—'But (ye Gods) give us your assurance that the production of the animal in question shall crown our vows with gains.'

'Aureis sacro carmen mox viritim litteris.'

'I (the dedicator) will commemorate the vow in golden letters.'

"The practice of placing inscriptions in golden letters is often referred to in ancient writers. Dr. McCaul refers to one of Pindar's Olympic Odes being so placed. There is another example which I can add from the *Digest*, lib. 41, tit. x, s. i., where in a long passage extracted from the works of Caius (or Gaius) a jurist of the Antoninian age, the latter speaks of golden letters as of a fact in Roman life. Pliny also tells us of their existence in the porch of the temple at Delphi.

The name of the dedicator has in all probability been some such name as VETTONIANVS.

But the peculiar and most interesting feature of the inscription is that it is in Trochaic Septenarian verse, and though breaches of quantity occur, it is on the whole about equal to other epigraphic poetry found in

England, all of which is more or less disfigured in the same manner. The verses appear to be, in their present state,

‘ONIANVS DEDICO

SEDDATE VT FETVRA QVÆSTVS SVPPLEAT VOTIS FIDEM
AVREIS SACRABO CARMEN MOX VIRITIM LITTERIS.’

“I should have said that subsequently to receiving from me Dr. McCaul’s reading, Mr. Ferguson re-examined the stone (now in the Carlisle Museum) and confirmed the words VT FETVRA QVÆSTVS.

“To abler hands I leave the confirmation or rejection of the translation, &c., which I have thus given, in the hope that it may be received with all toleration, as at least an attempt to determine the exact meaning of the verses.”

ROMAN CASTRUM AT BECKFOOT, CUMBERLAND.—A Roman *Castrum*, long supposed to exist, has just been partially laid bare at Beckfoot, near Malbray, and a stone, supposed also to be lost, has been re-discovered built up into a house near the *Castrum*; it bears this inscription:—

LIA · PRÆF · COH · II PANNON · FECIT.

THE STONE BOW AT LINCOLN.—A rumour has reached us, much to our astonishment, that the removal of this interesting building has been contemplated. It is to be hoped that the displacement of Temple Bar will not be made a precedent for such an other piece of vandalism.

ROMAN REMAINS AT IRCHESTER.—A different spirit seems to prevail in the neighbouring county of Northampton, for the Roman remains found at Irchester have had a special building erected for them on the spot, so that they will be preserved as a perpetual memorial.

PUBLICATION OF A NEW ANTIQUARIAN MAGAZINE.—We gladly call attention to the publication on January 1st of the first number of *The Antiquary*, a magazine devoted to the study of the past, edited by Mr. Edward Walford, M.A. We may gather from the following appropriate adage from Lord Bacon:—“Out of monuments, names, wordes, proverbs, traditions, private recordes, and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books, and the like, we doe save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time,”—which appears upon the prospectus, that *The Antiquary* has been projected upon no narrow lines; indeed, the following numerous subjects will fall within the scope of this new monthly publication:—

Alchemy and Witchcraft; Ancient Ballads and Dramas; Ancient Castles and Seats; Antiquities, local, etc.; Archæology; Architecture; Arms and Armour; Art, ancient and modern; Articles of Vertù; Autographs; Bibliography; Biography, eccentric and forgotten; British and Anglo-Saxon Literature; Notes on the Calendar; Campanology; Cathedrals and Abbeys; Ceramic Art; Church Furniture; Church Restoration; Curiosa; Dress and Vestments; Early Voyages and Discoveries; Early Printing and Block Books; Epitaphs and Inscriptions; Engravings and Etchings; Excavations and Explorations at home and abroad; Exhibitions of Paintings, Sculptures, etc.; Family Pedigrees; Genealogy; Heraldry; Illuminated MSS.; Inns and Hostelries; Letters and Extracts from family archives; Local Traditions and Folk-lore; Manorial and other Customs and Tenures; Meetings of Learned Societies; Monumental and other Brasses; Music and Musical Instruments; Numismatics;

Obituary Notices of Antiquaries ; Old English Poets, Travellers, etc. ; Parish Registers ; Picture and Art Sales ; Provincial Dialects and Customs ; Public Records and Muniments ; Reviews of Archæological and Historical Books ; Seals ; Topography, English and foreign.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* having for some time ceased to fill the position which *Sylvanus Urban* once held as the organ of students of antiquities, it certainly appears that there is ample room for a publication like *The Antiquary* ; and we learn from the prospectus that " We shall not, however, allow ourselves to be so restricted in our choice of subjects as was our predecessor half a century ago. We have many other questions to discuss which were unknown to our grandfathers, or at all events unappreciated by them. The more intelligent study of history, the wide spread of art education, the increased interest felt in the study of local traditions and dialects, as shown in the establishment of societies for promoting it ; these and other causes have enlarged not only our sphere of knowledge but also our sympathies." With these extended and sensible views, the new publication has a large area of action ; and, without in any way trenching on the ground of *Notes and Queries*, a certain space will also be provided for enquiries on antiquarian subjects. We cordially wish this new magazine every success. It is published by Mr. Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

ANCIENT WOOD AND IRON WORK IN CAMBRIDGE.—Mr. W. B. Redfarn proposes to publish a Series of Elevations and Sections drawn from examples of carved wood and wrought-iron work dating from the sixteenth century. When we add that the Rev. D. J. Stewart and Mr. J. W. Clark will contribute much of the letterpress we sufficiently indicate the valuable character that Mr. Redfarn's work will assume. This is really a kind of work that should have been done for Cambridge fifty years ago, before the twin demons of restoration and improvement had deprived the town of so many valuable examples of art in wood and stone. But there is, fortunately, still a vast quantity of beautiful work remaining, and accurate representations of such things as the organ screen in King's College Chapel, the tomb of Dr. Caius, or details of some of Wren's bookcases at Trinity will surely be welcomed by a large body of art students. We hope in this work to hear incidentally something more about "Theodorus Haveus Cleviensis, artifex egregius, et insignis architecturæ professor," who did so much at Caius College, and whose portrait, representing him with a pair of compasses, is still preserved there ; and we shall doubtless be told more than we know at present about Rudolph Simons "architectus suâ ætate peritissimus," whose portrait remains at Emanuel, and who built that college for Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sydney, and rebuilt or repaired a great part of Trinity. Mr. Redfarn's book will be published in half-crown parts, imp. 4to, by Mr. W. P. Spalding, 43 Sidney Street, Cambridge.

THE CHURCH BELLS OF RUTLAND.—We hear with much satisfaction that Mr. North is preparing for publication the Church Bells of this little county. That the new work will be as ably done as his former ones on the Bells of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire we have no kind of doubt, and hope not only that the *Bells of Rutland* will soon be issued, but also that the author will undertake the Bells of Lincolnshire, while the spirit of the county is being stirred up for a new County History.

EXHIBITION OF HELMETS, &c.—A special exhibition will be held in the Spring at the Rooms of the Institute. The Baron de Cosson will exhibit a large number of helmets, and several members have promised to send similar objects for exhibition. A circular respecting this matter will shortly be issued.

Members are informed that a new General Catalogue of the Library of the Institute has been lately compiled, and they are reminded that books can be obtained on loan from the library under certain regulations.

INDEX.

A.

- Abood, Table of, Mr. Loftie's memoir on, 337.
- Adams, Rev. R., exhibits crucifix, 387.
- Addy, Mr. S. O., his historical memoirs of Beauchief Abbey, noticed, 209.
- Anderson, Sir C., Bart., his communication on Roman remains in Lincoln, 277; his memoir on Towers, 373.
- Antiquarian Magazine, publication of new, 424.
- ARCHÆOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE :—Northampton Castle, 116; proposed county history for Lincolnshire, *ib.*; discovery of Roman coins near Eastbourne, *ib.*; origin of the name Northampton, 211; publication of Scottish historical documents, 212; of a new Monasticon, *ib.*; archaeological honours, *ib.*; arrangements for the Taunton meeting, *ib.*; re-discovered Roman inscription from Bowness, 422; Roman *castrum* at Beckfoot, Cumberland, 424; the Stone Bow at Lincoln, *ib.*; Roman remains at Irchester, *ib.*; publication of a new Antiquarian Magazine, *ib.*; ancient wood and ironwork in Cambridge, 425; publication of Church Bells of Rutland, 425; exhibition of helmets, &c., 426; new general catalogue of Institute library, 426.

B.

- Bain, Mr. J., contributes original documents relating to Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, 95; to Kendal, Cumberland, 174; editor of Scottish historical documents, 212; contributes original documents relating to Yorkshire, 272; to Dorset, 380.
- Baker, Rev. Sir Talbot H. B., Bart., exhibits drawing of Roman vase, 183.
- Baker, Rev. R. S., his account of explorations at Irchester, 99; exhibits Roman antiquities from do., and ring found at Little Houghton, 101.
- Balance Sheet for 1878, 286.
- Baron, Rev. J., exhibits photograph of heraldic stone at Warminster, 101.
- Bathurst, the late Rev. W. H., his Roman antiquities at Lydney Park, noticed, 419.
- Baylis, Mr. T. H., exhibits short sword, 385.
- Bayly, Mr. J. A. Sparvel, his memoir on

Roman Billericay, 70; exhibits Roman antiquities, 101.

Beaumont, Mr. W., his work on arms formerly in churches at Warrington, 209.

BERKSHIRE :—Weapons and implements from Yattendon, exhibited, 183.

Bloxam, Mr. M. H., his remarks on Roman antiquities from Irchester, 101; memoir on sepulchral effigies at Ledbury, 237; reads paper on Roman sepulchral effigy from Caerleon, 281; exhibits photograph of do., and of Roman soldier found in London, 284.

Braikenridge, Rev. G. W., exhibits mazer bowl, 284.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Journal, vol. ii, noticed, 204.

Broadwater, Mr. Burges' memoir on helm at, 78.

BRONZE, ANTIQUITIES OF :—Celts found near Flamborough Head, 183; weapons and implements found at Yattendon, *ib.*

Brown, Mr. D., exhibits charters relating to Yorkshire, 184; Mr. Bains' notes on them, 272.

Burges, Mr. W., his memoir on tomb and helm of Thomas de la Warre in Broadwater church, 78; exhibits helm, 103; his memoir on Il Caporale at Orvieto, 343.

C.

Cambridge, Mr. Redfarn's proposed work on ancient wood and ironwork in, 425

Cannibalism in England, memoir on by Mr. C. S. Greaves, 38.

Church, Mr., his remarks on Roman antiquities at Cirencester, 101.

Clark, Mr. G. T., his memoir on the Land of Morgan, the earls of Gloucester and Hertford, 117; on the Babingtons, Knights of St. John, 219; on Dunster Castle, 309; his observations on Roman and Norman architecture, 382.

Clarke, Mr. Somers, Jun., reads his report on Rothwell Market House, 382; exhibits drawings of do., 383.

Cosson, the Baron de, his remarks on helms, 103; proposed exhibition of his collection of helms, 426.

Cripps, Mr. W. J., his work on old English plate, noticed, 113.

CUMBERLAND :—Original documents relating to Kendal in, 174 ; Roman remains in, notes on, 177 ; sepulchral slabs in, 179 ; Lady Vane's objects of antiquities from Hutton-in-the-Forest, exhibited, 285 ; iron maces and silver racing bells from Carlisle, exhibited, 383.

D.

DOCUMENTS, ORIGINAL :—Relating to Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, 95 ; to Kendal, Cumberland, 174 ; to Yorkshire, 272 ; to Dorset, 380.

Dryden, Sir H., Bart., exhibits jack boots, 280.

Dublin, memoir on brass in Christ's Church cathedral, by Sir P. Grey Egerton, Bart, 213.

E.

Easton Maudit, Rev. A. Foster's memoir on, 88.

Egerton, Sir P. Grey, Bart., his memoir on a monumental brass in Christ's Church cathedral, Dublin, 213, 386 ; exhibits rubbings, drawings, MSS. books, and family pedigree, 387.

ESSEX :—Mr. Sparvel Bayly's memoir on Roman Billericay, 70 ; Mr. Stopes' do. on salting mounds, 369 ; flint weapons from Faulkbourne, exhibited by Rev. F. Spurrell, 386.

Evans, Rev. D., exhibits seal from Abergele, 104.

Eyton, Rev. R. W., his Key to Domesday, noticed, 108.

F.

Fairbank, Dr. F. R., exhibits photograph of black Roman vase from Doncaster, 386.

Ferguson, Mr. R. S., communicates notes on and exhibits photographs of Roman remains in Cumberland, 177 ; his paper on sepulchral slabs in do., 179 ; exhibits illustrations, 183 ; do. glass quarry of Abbot Chambers, iron maces from Carlisle, silver racing bells, rings, and tobacco stoppers, 383 ; do. ring, 388.

Ffarington, Miss, exhibits personal ornaments, 388

Fortnum, Mr. C. D. E., his memoir on a signaculum of St. James of Compostella, 33, 102 ; remarks at the opening of a new session, 99 ; on death of Mr. Henderson, 102 ; exhibits signaculum, 103.

Foster, Rev. A., his memoir on Eastern Maudit, 88.

FRANCE :—Antiquities in the south-west of, memoir on by Professor B. Lewis, 1 ; memoir on St. Denis, by Mr. J. H. Parker, 231 ; badge of Notre Dame de Liesse, exhibited, 281.

G.

Greaves, Mr. C. S., his memoir on cannibalism, 38.

Greenwell, Rev. W., his British Barrows, noticed, 185, 292.

H.

Harland, Mr. H. S., exhibits bronze celta and other objects, 183 ; bedesman's badge and stone celta, 281.

Hartshorne, Mr. A., exhibits MS. catalogue of Lund Church Library, 101 ; his statement respecting Rothwell market house, 382.

Helmets, proposed exhibition of, 426.

Henderson, Mr. J., remarks on his death, 102.

HEREFORDSHIRE :—Mr. Bloxam's memoir on sepulchral effigies at Ledbury, 237.

Hilton, Mr. J., exhibits brass badge, 281.

Hippisley, Mr. H., exhibits supposed portrait of Wyclif, 280.

Hoare, Captain E., exhibits silver seal, 384 ; miniature of Miss E. Lyons, 387.

Huyshe, Mr. W., his notes on postilion's boots, 278 ; exhibits boots, 280.

I.

ILIJUM :—Dr. Schliemann's memoir on recent discoveries at, 169.

ITALY :—Mr. Burges' memoir on Il Caporale at Orvieto, 343.

K.

Kerrison, Sir E. C., Bart., exhibits antiquities from Hoxne, 183.

KENT :—Rev. C. F. R. Palmer's paper on priory of Dartford, 183, 241, 277 ; memoir on Fate of Tonbridge Castle, 378.

L.

LANCASHIRE :—Drawing of Roman tile from Quernmore, exhibited, 386.

Lewis, Professor Bunnell, his memoir on antiquities in South-west of France, 1 ; ditto on antiquities of Tarragona, read, 386 ; exhibits plans and photographs, 387.

Library of Institute, new catalogue of, 426.

- Lincoln, Sir C. Anderson's communication on Roman remains in, 277; Rev. Precentor Venables' do. on miliarium, 231; Stone Bow at, 424.
 Loftie, Rev. W. J., his memoir on Table of Abood, 336, exhibits stela of Pernefert, Egyptian scarabs, gold ornaments, &c., 387.
 Lubbock, Sir J., Bart, his pre-historic times, noticed, 199.

M.

- Maclean, Sir J., exhibits rubbing of inscriptions from Cyprus, 101.
 Malta, Mr. Clarke's memoir on Babingtons, Knights of, 219.
 Manning, Rev. C. R., his notes on brass of Robert de Haitfeld and Ada his wife at Haitfeld, Yorks., 172; exhibits portion of bit from Hoxne, 183.
 Marshall, Dr., his Genealogists' Guide to Printed Pedigrees, noticed, 308.
 MIDDLESEX :—Mr. Vernon's memoir on the church of Harefield, and the manor of Moor Hall, 145.
 Middleton, Mr. H., exhibits drawing of pillory, &c., at Coleshill, Warwickshire, 104.
 Mozley, Rev. T., his work on Henry VII, Prince Arthur and Cardinal Morton, noticed, 105.

N.

- Nesbitt, Mr. A., contributes notes on horse-shoeing in Greek and Roman times, 181; exhibits photograph of book cover, 285.
 Nightingale, Mr. J., exhibits silver medalion of William and Mary, 386.
 North, Mr., his publication of church bells of Rutland, 426.
 NORTHAMPTONSHIRE :—Mr. Sharp's memoir on Rothwell crypt and bones, 56; Rev. A. Foster's do. on Easton Maudit, 88; Mr. Watkin's do. on Roman inscriptions, 93; original documents relating to Canons Ashby, 95; Rev. R. S. Baker's account of explorations at Irchester, 99; exhibits Roman antiquities from do. and ring from Little Houghton, 101; ring from Kettering, *ib.*; destruction of Northampton castle, 116; report on Rothwell market house, read, 382; preservation of remains at Irchester, 424.

P.

- Palmer, Rev. C. F. R., his memoir on the priory of Dartford, 183, 241, 277.
 Palmer, Mr. C. J., his Palgrave family memorials, noticed, 115.

- Parker, Mr. J. H., his archaeological honours, 212; his memoir on St. Denis, 231, 382; his remarks on the mediæval architecture of the city of Wells, 358.

- Powles, Mr. W. D., his remarks on objects from graves in Columbia, 183; exhibits gold ornaments from do., *ib.*; exhibits pottery from do., 281.

- PUBLICATIONS, ARCHÆOLOGICAL, Notices of :—Henry VII, Prince Arthur and Cardinal Morton, by the Rev. T. Mozley, 105; Key to Domesday, by the Rev. R. W. Eyton, 108; Old English plate, by W. J. Cripps, 113; Palgrave Family Memorials, edited by C. J. Palmer and S. I. Tucker (*Rouge Croix*), 115; the British Barrows, by the Rev. W. Greenwell and G. Rolleston, 185, 292; Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Journal (vol. ii), 204; attempt to identify the arms formerly existing in the parish church and Austin Friary, Warrington, by W. Beaumont and J. P. Rylands, 209; Historical Memorials of Beauchief Abbey, by S. O. Addy, *ib.*; Lectures on the Rise and Development of Mediæval Architecture, by the late Sir G. G. Scott, 287; Church Work and Life in English Minsters, by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, 304; the Genealogists' Guide to Printed Pedigrees, by G. W. Marshall, 308; Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, by the late Rev. W. H. Bathurst, 419.

R.

- Ready, Mr. R., exhibits Roman rings, &c., and gold repoussée watch, 101.
 Relfarn, Mr. W. B., his proposed work on ancient wood and iron work in Cambridge, 425.
 Rolleston, Dr. G., see Greenwell, Rev. W.
 ROMAN ANTIQUITIES :—Mr. Sparvel Bayly's memoir on Billericay, 70; Mr. Watkin's memoir on inscriptions in Northamptonshire, 93; Rev. R. S. Baker's account of explorations at Irchester, 99; exhibits antiquities from do., 101; at Cirencester, *ib.*; rings exhibited, *ib.*; coins found near Eastbourne, 116; Mr. Watkin's memoir on inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1878, 154; Mr. Ferguson's note on remains in Cumberland, 177; Mr. Nesbitt's notes on Horse Shoeing, 181; Rev. Sir T. Baker exhibits drawing of vase from Chatham, 183; Sir C. Anderson's communication on remains in Lincoln, 276; Mr. Bloxam reads paper on sepulchral effigy from Caerleon, 281; exhibits photograph

of the same, and of figure of soldier found in London, 284.; Rev. Precentor Venables' communication on Milliarium found at Lincoln, 281; exhibits photograph of do., 283; Rev. Prebend. Wordsworth exhibits squeeze of inscription from miliarium, *ib.*; Rev. Preb. Scarth's memoir on occupation of the West of England, 321; Professor B. Lewis' memoir on remains at Tarragona, read, 386; Mr. Watkin exhibits drawing of tile from Quernmore, *ib.*; Dr. Fairbank exhibits photograph of black vase from Doncaster, *ib.*; Rev. W. H. Bathurst's antiquities at Lydney Park, noticed, 419; Mr. Watkin's communication on rediscovered inscriptions from Bowness, 422; *castrum* at Beckfoot, 424; Stone Bow at Lincoln, *ib.*; remains at Irchester, *ib.*

Rothwell, memoir on bones and crypt at, by Mr. S. Sharp, 56; report on Market House read, 382.

Russell, Rev. J. S., reads communication on tomb at Curry Malet, 103.

Rutland, publication of church bells of, by Mr. North, 426.

S

Scarth, Rev. Prebendary, his memoir on Roman occupation of the West of England, 321.

Schliemann, Dr. H., his memoir on recent discoveries at Ilium, 169.

Scott, the late Sir G. G., his lectures noticed, 287.

Scotland, proposed publication of historical documents relating to, 212

Signaculum of St. James of Compostella, memoir on, by Mr. Fortnum, 33.

Smith, Mr. W. J. Bernhard, exhibits prick spurs, 183; sword from Malta, and Japanese arrow-head, 184; scramasax and Afghan knife, 285; plug bayonet, 386.

Smith, Mr. R. H. Soden, his remarks on gold ornaments from graves in Columbia, 184; exhibits Goa Stone in silver case, 383; Romano-British vase, 384.

SOMERSET: Mr. Wilshire's communication on discovery in Curry Malet church, 103; Mr. Clark's memoir on Dunster Castle, 309; Report of Annual Meeting at Taunton, 389; Rev. Preb Scarth's memoir on Roman occupation, 321.

Spurrell, Rev. F. exhibits flint weapon, 386.

Stopes, Mr. H., his memoir on the salting mounds of Essex, 369.

Suffolk: antiquities from Hoxne, exhibited, 183.

T.

Talbot de Malahide, the Lord, his observations on Dr. Schliemann's paper, 382; on Tarragona, 386.

Taunton, see Somerset.

Taylor, Mr. T., exhibits horæ, 103.

Tucker, Mr. S. I. (*Rouge Croix*) see Palmer, Mr. C. J.

V.

Vane, Lady, exhibits objects of antiquity from Hutton-in-the-Forest, Cumberland, 285.

Venables, Rev. Precentor, his communication on Roman milliarium at Lincoln, 281.

Vernon, Mr. W. F., his memoir on Harefield church and manor of Moor Hall, 145.

W.

WALES, Mr. Bloxam's paper on Roman sepulchral effigy from Caerleon, 281.

Walcott, Rev. Mackenzie E. C., his church work and life in English minsters, 212; noticed, 304.

Waller, Mr. J. G., remarks on pilgrims, 102; on Broadwater helm, 103.

Warminster, photograph of heraldic stone from, exhibited, 101.

Warner, Rev. J. Lee, exhibits mould for casting pilgrims' signs, 388.

WARWICKSHIRE:—Drawing of pillory, stocks and flogging post at Coleshill, exhibited, 104.

Waterhouse, Mr. A., exhibits bronze weapons and implements from Yattendon, 183.

Watkin, Mr. W. T., his memoir on Roman inscriptions in Northamptonshire, 93; on do. discovered in Britain in 1878, 144; his communication on origin of name Northampton, 211; exhibits drawing of Roman tile from Quernmore, 386; his communication on re-discovered Roman inscription from Bowness, 422.

Wilshire, Mr. C. W., his communication on discovery in Curry Malet church, 103.

Wordsworth, Rev. Canon, exhibits squeeze of Milliarium from Lincoln, 214.

Wray, Mrs., exhibits rubbing of sixteenth century brasses, 388.

Y.

Yorkshire, MS. catalogue of Lund Church Library, exhibited, 101; memoir on brass at Haitfeld, 172; photograph of black Roman vase, exhibited, 386.

Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

16, NEW BURLINGTON STREET, LONDON, W.

DECEMBER, 1879.

Patrons.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, K.G., F.S.A., &c.

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